#823
3 of 4

1798

Irish Rebellion

Collection

MICHAEL DWYER

From an original portrait drawn & engraved by Petrie.

THE

UNITED IRISHMEN,

THEIR

LIVES AND TIMES.

WITH SEVERAL ADDITIONAL MEMOIRS, AND AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS, HERETOFORE UNPUBLISHED; THE WHOLE MATTER NEWLY ARRANGED AND REVISED.

BY

RICHARD R. MADDEN,

F.R.C.S. ENG., M.R.I.A.,

AUTHOR OF "TRAVELS IN THE EAST," "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SAVONAROLA," "MEMOIRS OF THE COUNTESS OF BLESSINGTON," "PHANTASMATA, OR ILLUSIONS AND FANATICISMS," ETC.

"The mind of a nation—long fettered and exasperated, will struggle and bound, and when a chasm is opened, will escape through it, like the lava from the crater of a volcano."—J.K.L.

Third Series—Second Edition.

WITH PORTRAITS.

LONDON:

The Catholic Publishing and Bookselling Company, Limited,

CHARLES DOLMAN, MANAGER,

61, NEW BOND-STREET AND 22, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

DUBLIN:

J. MULLANY, 1, PARLIAMENT-STREET.

1860.

TO

WILLIAM H. F. COGAN, ESQ., M.P.,

I Dedicate this Volume,

A LARGE PORTION OF WHICH IS DEVOTED TO THE ILLUSTRATION

OF THE CHARACTER OF

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET,

A MAN OF GREAT WORTH AND VIRTUE, SOUND UNDERSTANDING,

SOLID JUDGMENT, FINE TALENTS, AND

HIGHLY CULTIVATED TASTES;

OF SINGULAR EQUANIMITY OF MIND, URBANITY OF MANNERS,

AND KINDLINESS OF DISPOSITION;

YET OF INFLEXIBLE INTEGRITY, STEADFAST PRINCIPLES,

JUST VIEWS, AND WELL-WEIGHED OPINIONS;

BECAUSE QUALITIES LIKE HIS CAN BE BEST APPRECIATED

BY ONE SIMILARLY CONSTITUTED.

R. R. MADDEN.

9, Great Denmark-street, Dublin,
10th April, 1860.

CONTENTS.

MEMOIRS IN THIRD SERIES.

MEMOIR OF THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE 1-4

CHAPTER I.

Notes, illustrative of the origin and early career of Thomas Addis Emmet, by Thomas Emmet—communicated to R. R. M. by Robert Emmet, Esq., of New York 4-6

CHAPTER II.

Folk-lore of the Emmets—Notice of the origin of this family, and of several members of it—Of Dr. Robert Emmet, of Christopher Temple Emmet—Notice of the Historical Society and its leading members—Notice of Miss Maryanne Emmet, subsequently Mrs. Holmes—Lines by her daughter, Mrs. Cunningham . . . 7-26

CHAPTER III.

Early history of T. A. Emmet—His career in the University of Edinburgh as a student of medicine—His intimacy with Sir James Mackintosh, Dugald Stewart, &c.—His career in the Inns of Court as a law student, and at the Irish Bar, in 1792-3-4-5-6-7—His connexion with remarkable proceedings in the case of J. N. Tandy against the Earl of Westmoreland 27-43

CHAPTER IV.

The first Society of United Irishmen—Their views and objects, Reform and Emancipation—Connexion of T. A. Emmet with the Society of United Irishmen—A member of the Directory—His relations with T. W. Tone—The garden scene at Rathfarnham—Notice of John Keogh—Arrest of the members of the Provincial Committee at Bond's, the 12th of March, 1798—Imprisonment—Noble conduct of Mrs. Emmet—Proceedings in the Irish parliament in relation to the state prisoners—Plunket's ungenerous conduct on that occasion to the friend of his youth and his fellow-student at the University, T. A. Emmet 43-53

CHAPTER V.

Compact of the state prisoners with government—Examination of Emmet, A. O'Connor, and Dr. Macneven—Several accounts of the compact, drawn up by Emmet, Macneven, and Sweetman—The American minister in London—Mr. Rufus King objects to the state prisoners being sent to America—Emmet's letters in 1807 to Mr. King . . . 53-90

CHAPTER VI.

Captivity in Fort George—Correspondence with the Governor of the Fort, and with the government—Quarrel between Emmet and O'Connor—Explanation demanded—Arrangement of the difficulties connected with it—Mr. Sweetman's important original papers on this subject 91-108

CHAPTER VII.

Letters to and from Thomas Addis Emmet, communicated to the author by Robert and Thomas Emmet, Esqrs., of New York—Account of the death of Dr. Emmet—Letters to Macneven on the views of the United Irishmen in France—Allusions to the movements of his brother Robert 108-134

CHAPTER VIII.

T. A. Emmet's sojourn on the Continent after the peace of Amiens, and recommencement of hostilities between France and England in 1803—His communications with the French government—Memorial to Buonaparte—Reply of the latter—The result—T. A. Emmet's departure for America in October, 1804—His letters while on the Continent to his family . . . 134-141

CHAPTER IX.

Career of T. A. Emmet at the American Bar—Haines' notice of it—High honours, professional eminence, and distinction attained by him 141-155

CHAPTER X.

Letters of T. A. Emmet written during his residence in the United States 156-162

CHAPTER XI.

Close of the career of Thomas Addis Emmet—Unprecedented respect paid to his memory throughout the United States by all classes, by the highest functionaries in all public departments, by the enlightened and eminent men of all professions, creeds, and parties. 163-185

CHAPTER XII.

Notices of the death and funeral of T. A. Emmet in the United States, and proceedings of public bodies on the occasion of his decease—Monument erected to his memory in New York—Summary notices of various United Irishmen, refugees in America—Notice of the family of T. A. Emmet—Of the death of Mrs. Emmet . 185-196

MEMOIR OF WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN.

CHAPTER I.

Early history of Dr. Macneven—Biographical notice by his daughter—His early history—Education in Germany—Return to Ireland—Medical pursuits—His connexion with Roman Catholic committee; Services throughout his career to the Roman Catholic question—Became a member of the Society of United Irishmen—Oath administered to him by Miss Moore, the friend of Lord Edward Fitzgerald—Political and professional career in Ireland and America—Letter of his son in respect to O'Connell's denunciation of his father and his associates 197-213

CHAPTER II.

Thomas O'Connor's reminiscences of Macneven and his services to the Catholic cause—His arrest—Compact of state prisoners with government—His examination—Imprisonment at Fort George, and liberation 213-231

CHAPTER III.

Career of Macneven in the United States—His influence and talents constantly exercised there in behalf of his countrymen—His controversy with the friends of General Jackson, on the Bank Deposit question, and Sampson's defence of his conduct—Macneven's reminiscences of the men of 1798, and the opponents of the United Irishmen—Author's intimacy and correspondence with him—Singular account of the villany of Reynolds—Macneven's eulogies of O'Connell—His last public appearance and address to his countrymen in 1837—Memoranda of Dr. Macneven, respecting his family—His letters to the author—His death in 1841—Notice of his character—Concluding observations of the author—Summary statement of his views in the publication of those memoirs . 232-256

MEMOIR OF ROBERT EMMET.

CHAPTER I.

The early career of Robert Emmet—His education in Trinity College, Dublin—His talents—Acquirements—His tastes—His connexion with the Historical Society and Debating Society of Trinity College, Dublin—His class fellows and associates—The University—Visitation at Trinity College—Expulsion of Power and Ardagh in 1797—Expulsion of nineteen students in 1798—Robert Emmet's letter to the Board of Fellows and withdrawal of his name from the college books—Moore's connexion with Emmet, and the proceedings at the Visitation—Moore's early flaming patriotism and fiery political poetr 257-287

CHAPTER II.

Robert Emmet's connexion with the Society of United Irishmen, subsequently to March, 1798, and prior to the Insurrection in July, 1803—Goes on the Continent in 1800—Sojourns with his brother in Holland in 1802—Notice of Colonel Despard's plot, and his career—Renewed efforts of the United Irishmen on the continent at the close of 1802—T. A. Emmet's statement of the cause of that renewal—The violation of the compact entered into by state prisoners with Government 287-305

CHAPTER III.

The peace of Amiens—Its short duration—Proceedings of the leaders of the United Irishmen in relation to the embarrassed position of affairs, and probability of a renewal of the war between France and England—Communication of the Emmets with Buonaparte 305-327

CHAPTER IV.

Arrival of Robert Emmet in Ireland, in October, 1802—His associates and confidential friends—John Keogh's acquaintance with his projects—Notice of Richard M'Cormick—Provost Elrington's duties towards the students of Trinity College, Dublin, and Robert Emmet in particular—House of the Emmets in Stephen's-green, and at Casino, near Miltown—John Patten's reminiscences of Robert Emmet—Notice of J. Patten—Death of Dr. Emmet—His will, burial, &c.—Death of Mrs. Emmet—Means and resources of Robert Emmet to carry on conspiracy—Concoction of his plans, and preparations for carrying them into effect—Explosion in Patrick-street—The several depots in Dublin . . 327-345

CHAPTER V.

Account of the outbreak and failure of the Insurrection of the 23rd of July, 1803—Plans and projects of Robert Emmet—Lord Hardwicke's defence of the proceedings of his administration in relation to them—Proceedings in parliament in July and August, 1803. 346-407

CHAPTER VI.

R. Emmet and his associates after the failure of the attempt on the night of the 23rd of July, 1803, and their flight from Dublin—Death of Lord Kilwarden, Colonel Brown, &c.—Notices of several of Emmet's associates—Notice of Mr. D. Fitzgerald—Narrative and notice of Anne Devlin—The torture of women in 1798 and 1803—The house of the conspirators in Butterfield-lane—Flight of Emmet and some of his associates to the Wicklow mountains—Mr. Marsden's official statement of affairs of the 23rd of July—Military force in Ireland in 1803—Proceedings in Parliament—Controversy between the Lord Lieutenant and Commander of the Forces—Emmet's statement of his plan of insurrection, and causes of its failure—His arrest—References to suspected informers—His attempted escape from prison—St. John Mason's account of it—Official statement of it 407-437

CHAPTER VII.

Trial of Robert Emmet—Mr. Plunket's speech—Emmet's speech—Various accounts of the effect produced by the latter—Judge Perrin's account of it 437-458

CHAPTER VIII.

Death of Robert Emmet—Disposal of his remains—His character, and the question of the object, means, plans, and results of the Insurrection of 1803—M'Nally and Robert Emmet—C. Phillips's reference to the alleged perfidy of M'Nally—Death of Robert Emmet's mother—Execution of Robert Emmet—Question of the place of interment—Lines on Robert Emmet—His character and qualities—Question of legitimacy of projects similar to his—Conclusion—Connexion of Orangemen with plots and conspiracies—Summary—Statement of the evils of Orangeism 458-494

CHAPTER IX.

Poetical Pieces by Robert Emmet 495-502

CHAPTER X.

Notice of Sarah Curran—Emmet's arrest leading to the discovery of papers and correspondence of his with a member of the family of John Philpot Curran—Account of those papers in the original letters and correspondence of Major Sirr—The Major's new line of duties about the person of Miss Sarah Curran—The story of "The Broken Heart." 502-545

APPENDICES.

I.

Manifesto of the Provisional Government, and proclamation written by Mr. Long, found at Mass-lane 546-556

II.

Report in manuscript of Robert Emmet's speech, said to be the original draft of that speech in Robert Emmet's own hand-writing—Controversy respecting it 556-563

III.

Observations on the conduct of Mr. W. C. Plunket on the trial of Robert Emmet—Legal proceedings of Mr. Plunket against Cobbett, in 1804, for libel—Legal proceedings for libel instituted against Messrs. Gilbert and Hodges by Mr. Plunket, in 1810—Affidavits of Mr. Plunket—Notice of the career of Lord Plunket . 564-589

IV.

Official vindication of Lord Hardwicke's administration in Ireland, from an original MS. now published for the first time 589-609

V.

Testimonial to the late Lord Plunket and the vindication of his conduct towards the Emmets, on which it has been advocated 609-613

VI.

Secret service revelations—Walter Cox and Anthony Conwell—Mr. Cox playing the part of a double traitor—Mr. Conwell seeking to be employed in the capacity of a spy informer, to have O'Connell convicted on a charge of high treason 613-616

T. W. Huffam

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

From an original Miniature painted by Aubry in Paris 1803.

THE

UNITED IRISHMEN,

THEIR LIVES AND TIMES.

MEMOIR OF

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

SINCE the publication of the second volume of the first series of this work in 1843, I received from Mr. Robert Emmet of New York, the eldest son of Mr. T. A. Emmet, all the letters and other documents in his possession, that were calculated to throw any light on the public character and career of his father. These papers have reference chiefly to family history, and transactions that occurred during the residence of T. A. Emmet on the Continent, subsequent to his liberation; and to the breach of faith with the state prisoners, on the part of the government, which led to and was the plea for, the renewed communications with the French government on the liberation of the prisoners. Those documents will be found the most important of any of the materials of these volumes.

Circumstances over which I had no control, prevented my receiving these valuable papers in time to avail myself of them in the memoir of T. A. Emmet; and in the subsequent series of the former edition of this work, published in 1847—the memoir of Robert Emmet—an opportunity was not afforded me of using those materials, except to a very limited extent. Thus a considerable portion of the correspondence of T. A. Emmet—and certainly the most important portion of it—remained unpublished in my hand, reserved for the opportunity now afforded me (at the expiration of fifteen years from the time of those papers coming into my possession) for publication in the present edition.

I did not think lightly of their importance as historical documents; nor did I form a wrong estimate of T. A. Emmet at the outset of my researches and collection for materials for this under-

taking, nearly a quarter of a century ago, when I came to the conclusion that his memory was destined to live in history, and to occupy a larger space in it, than that of many of the public men of the time in which he lived, and of any of the actors in the struggle which he engaged in.

Ireland's patriotism had to wait long enough for the appearance on its stage of a true man, a wise and a good one—of intellectual powers of the highest order, of enlarged philosophic views, of generous sentiments, and of an ardent temperament under the control of reason and religion, all devoted to one aim and end—the good of his native land—as it was understood by him. History can afford to wait, for a longer period than I have retained unpublished those documents I have above referred to, for materials for the biography of such a man as Thomas Addis Emmet.

The unscrupulous use that has been made of my labours, and the advantage taken of them, accomplished as they have been at a vast expense of time and trouble—the wholesale appropriations that have been made, especially of the matter of the memoirs of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet, in America and elsewhere—have rendered it incumbent on me to advert to those efforts of mine to illustrate a period of our history of an eventful character.

There are times when it is not only pardonable for a man, but obligatory on him to do justice to his pursuits, even though he has to uphold them in his own productions. The possession of the documents I have referred to, and the permission of the nearest living relative of Thomas Addis Emmet to make use of them in the furtherance of my work, afforded me advantages and a sanction which, I presume, were sufficient to justify me for undertaking to be the biographer of the Emmets.

The necessity of placing beyond all doubt the authenticity of documents which eventually must become historical materials, has led to my prefixing to them the communication which accompanies them, from the eldest son and worthy representative of T. A. Emmet; and in taking this step, well calculated though it be to serve the character of my work, and more encouraging for its author than any other reference to his labours could be, it is nevertheless with great reluctance I have determined on the publication of this letter; and the terms in which the writer is pleased to speak of my humble efforts to perform the task which I have assigned to myself, and now nearly brought to a conclusion, have not diminished that reluctance.

FROM ROBERT EMMET, ESQ., TO R. R. MADDEN.

"New York, November, 1843.

"My dear Sir—I have felt many pangs of self-reproach for having seemingly neglected a duty, and violated a *well-merited*

courtesy towards you, in regard to your memoir of my father's life, and I can only hope that the truth may place me in a more favourable position in your eyes than I fear I now occupy.

"It is many months since my brother Thomas handed me the bundle of papers which I now send you (collected and prepared by him, or under his immediate direction) for the purpose of examining them, and making such corrections as I should think proper. I undertook, after having done so, to forward them to you. Unfortunately, in the turmoil and distractions of professional business, I mislaid them, and though I repeatedly searched every part of my office and house, I never could find any trace of them until this very day, when on emptying a large bundle of chancery papers, which were put away some time ago among the things to be forgotten in this world, I found this parcel. I can only account for this mischance by their being so similar in appearance and size to our law papers; and I much fear that my discovery of them at this late day may, instead of being useful or gratifying to you, occasion you vexation and regret, as their loss did for me. Trusting, however, that you have not closed your labours to rescue the memory of the United Irishmen from oblivion and obloquy, I send them to you, without even the delay necessary to give them a careful examination.

"In regard to this suggestion, I can only add that I have the most entire reliance on your own good taste, judgment, and feeling. In my haste to get these papers out of my unfortunate hands, and on their way to yours, I have not time to say all that I feel towards you (not only as an embryo United Irishman, but as a son of my father) for what you have so nobly undertaken and faithfully accomplished.

"I trust I shall yet have an opportunity of tendering to you in person the large share of gratitude which you are entitled to claim from me and mine, and if that occasion should never present itself, be assured that you cannot make yourself our creditor for a greater amount than is sincerely acknowledged.

"Believe me, dear Sir, respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed) "R. Emmet."

And now it only remains for me to observe, that I have deemed it best for the sake of that authenticity of character which belongs to the biographical notes, accompanying epistolary documents, and notices of the career of T. A. Emmet, which appeared in American periodicals at the time of his death, which I have received from his son, to give them in this memoir precisely in the words and form in which I received them, without any additions or alterations, using them in the order of the distinct epochs and leading events they are connected with—for instance, commencing the

memoir with the biographical notice by his sons, introducing the epistolary documents at that part of the memoir which treats of events subsequent to the liberation of the prisoners, and the notices of the career of T. A. Emmet; and in the use of the three sets of documents communicated to me, carefully distinguishing each of them from any matter of my own. It must be obvious this arrangement was indispensable—as, for instance, in the biographical notice much of the early history of the Emmet family was not known to the descendants of T. A. Emmet, and that which was wanting could only be obtained in Ireland. All such matter as seemed to me to be deficient has been supplied at the end of that biographical notice—not incorporated with it, for the reasons above stated; though no doubt the memoir would be in form at least more strictly *en regle* as to its details.

CHAPTER I.

NOTES, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE ORIGIN AND EARLY CAREER OF THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, BY THOMAS EMMET—COMMUNICATED TO R. R. M. BY ROBERT EMMET, ESQ., OF NEW YORK.

"Dr. Robert Emmet, the father of Thomas Addis, was the second son of Dr. Christopher Emett, an eminent physician, who married Rebecca Temple, grand-daughter of Sir Thomas Temple, created a baronet in November, 1612, by James I.

"Dr. Christopher Emett had but two children, Thomas and Robert.

"Thomas died at an early age, leaving but one daughter, who died shortly after her father.

"Robert studied the profession of his father, and practised for some time in Cork before he removed to Dublin, where he resided during the remainder of his life. He reached the highest grade in his profession, and for a long period held the situation of state physician.

"The family are in possession of a very large and valuable piece of plate, presented to him by the trustees of St. Patrick's Hospital (Swift's Hospital for the insane), upon which is the following inscription:

"'To Robert Emmet,* Esq., State Physician, as a memorial, not compensation, of the many services rendered by him to that institution, as Governor, Physician, and Treasurer thereto.—February 3rd, 1783.'

* "The mode of spelling the family name had been some years previously changed by the doctor (for what reason is not now known) from Emmett to Emmet."

"Dr. Robert Emmet, in 1760, married Elizabeth Mason, daughter of James Mason, of Killarney, by Catherine Power. He had a numerous family, only four of whom lived to become of age, viz., Christopher Temple, Thomas Addis, Maryanne, and Robert.

"Christopher Temple, his eldest son, also married into the Temple family. He married Anne Western Temple, niece of Sir John Temple, and daughter of Robert Temple and Harriett Shirley, daughter of Governor Shirley of New England.

"Robert Temple, after the American revolution, went with his family, consisting of three daughters, to Dublin, where his aunt, Mrs. Dr. Emmet, then resided. The Temple family all came to Dr. Emmet's house, and remained there a long time; while there, Christopher Temple Emmet married the eldest daughter, and a son of Sir J. Blackwood married the second. Christopher Temple Emmet was endowed with superior talents, and graduated from Trinity College, having received many of the honours conferred by that institution. He studied law, and after being called to the bar gave great promise of celebrity in his profession, and was considered one of the most eloquent and learned men at the Irish bar. His death, which was sudden and caused by over-exertion in his profession, created a great sensation at the time; and notices of his character and death, and the high estimation in which he was held, will be found in the public journals of the day.

"Thomas Addis was the third son of Dr. Emmet.* He was born in Cork on the 24th of April, 1764. It is now uncertain where he received the rudiments of his early education. He passed through Trinity College with great credit and distinction. After leaving college he went to Edinburgh to pursue the study of medicine, for which profession he was designed by his father.

"After leaving Edinburgh he went to London, to attend the hospitals, and acquire greater proficiency in surgery and medicine. He was there attached to Guy's Hospital, and became the intimate friend and companion of Dr. Babington, for whom he retained through life the most sincere regard. He subsequently spent some time on the continent of Europe, and travelled through France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy.

"In Paris he received the account of the death of his elder brother, and immediately returned home. He then at the request of his father changed his profession, and commenced the study of the law in the Temple, London, being then about twenty-five years of age. In 1791, and shortly after his admission to the bar, he married Jane Patten, daughter of the Rev. John Patten, of Clonmel, and Margaret Colville. Maryanne, the sister of Thomas

* Dr. Emmet had a son next in age to Christopher Temple, who died in, or previously to, 1777.—R.R.M.

Addis, married Robert Holmes, an eminent barrister in Dublin, who is still living there.* She died at an early age, leaving but one daughter, who married George Lenox Conyngham, Esq., now of the War-office, London. Mrs. Holmes was also remarkable as a woman of very superior intellect and literary acquirements.

"Robert was the youngest son of Dr. Emmet. He went through his academic studies with distinguished credit, and entered Trinity College. He was prevented from graduating by his political opinions and conduct; but, during the time he remained in college, he was pre-eminent as a scholar, gaining prizes in all his studies.†

"Considering the variety and extensive course of Mr. Emmet's studies, the number of societies he had belonged to, the prominent stations he had occupied in them, the enlarged views he had acquired from the study of ancient and modern history, we cannot be surprised that, upon his return to his native land, her degraded and oppressed condition should early claim his attention.

"With all the qualities that distinguish a humane, just, and generous mind, he had a bold, enterprising, active, and sanguine disposition. He knew his country's history too well to be in doubt as to the true causes of her misery, and he could not in silence brood over wrongs which by his exertions might possibly be redressed. In this he had no ambition to gratify, or individual benefit to obtain, but everthing to risk on the troubled waters of revolution, uncertainty, and danger. He wrote many political essays, which can probably be better obtained in Ireland than here; there are none among his papers. The details of the part he took in the rebellion can also be better obtained from persons in Ireland. It was a subject upon which he never conversed with his family, nor has he left any papers whatever relating to it."

The preceding notes respecting the early career and origin of Thomas Addis Emmet I have given as they were furnished to me by his sons. The details of both, which remain to be supplied, I now lay before my readers.

* Robert Holmes died on the 7th of October, 1859, at the house of his daughter, Mrs. Cunningham, in Eaton-place, London, in his 95th year.

† In *The Dublin Journal*, June 30th, 1795, in a notice of the quarterly examinations held in Trinity College, Dublin, we find a list of twenty-four names of young gentlemen who obtained premiums, and amongst these we find the name "Emmett" preceded by that of "Curran." The persons above referred to were Robert Emmet and Richard Curran, eldest son of John Philpot Curran.—R.R.M.

CHAPTER II.

FOLK-LORE OF THE EMMETS—NOTICE OF THE ORIGIN OF THIS FAMILY, AND OF THE CAREER OF SOME MEMBERS OF IT.

THE notes of the sons of Thomas Addis Emmet, that have reference chiefly to the career of their illustrious father, leave many deficiencies to be supplied in the accounts given of the origin of this remarkable family—perhaps one of the most remarkable, in an intellectual point of view, of any family that we have authentic accounts of.

DR. ROBERT EMMET.

This gentleman was a native of the town of Tipperary, where his father, Christopher Emmet, exercised the profession of a physician, and represented a family of English descent, whose founders came into Ireland with the invaders or adventurers prior to the reign of Charles I., as we may infer from the following data:

We find in the "Fifteenth Annual Report of Commissioners of Records of Ireland, 1825," p. 622, among the enrolments of adjudications in favour of claims of (the 1649) officers preserved in the Exchequer, the name and claim of John Emmett.

In the "*Inquisitiones in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ,*" vol. i., we find the name Emettston in the *Index locorum* of the Inquisitions of the county Meath, *temp. Jac. I.* and also *Car. I.*

But in no other place, in the six volumes of the Reports of the Commissioners of Public Records, do I find the name Emmett or Emett.

"In 1656, in the Court of Chancery in Ireland, there was a bill filed by a person named William Emmett, and several suits were subsequently instituted, down to the year 1698, by and against Katherine Emmett, Thomas Emmett, and Cornet Emmett. . . . And in the reign of Queen Anne there was a Thomas Emmett, a justice of the peace for the county of Limerick."*

Dr. Robert Emmet's father, Christopher Emmet, who practised his profession in the town of Tipperary, died there in 1743. In his will mention is made of his wife, Rebecca, granddaughter of Sir Thomas Temple; his two sons, Thomas and Robert; a brother named William; a nephew, Christopher, probably the son of the preceding William; his sister-in-law, Elizabeth Temple, residing in Dublin; and Agnes Cuthbert of Castlebar. From his will, lodged in the Prerogative Court, Dublin, the following abstract is taken:

* "Notes and Queries," September, 1857. No. 90, p. 233.

Christopher Emmett, of Tipperary, by his last will, dated 20th April, 1743, bequeathed to his wife, Rebecca Emmett, the use of her own room and the furniture thereof, in the house in which he then resided, and all his plate, during her widowhood, and a sum of £50 sterling; also his interest in the lease of the fairs and markets of said town. And in case she should thereafter marry, a further sum of £50. And as to all the rest and residue of his worldly substance, same to be divided amongst his two sons, Thomas Emmett and Robert Emmett. And in case of the death of his said sons in the lifetime of his said wife, his executors to pay her the sum of £200 sterling; also a sum of £50 each to his sisters-in-law, Elizabeth Temple, of the city of Dublin, and Agnes Cuthbert, of Castlebar. The remainder to be divided between his brother William and sisters, and his nephew Christopher; with power to his executors to sell and dispose of his freehold and personal estate for the purposes aforesaid. Administration granted to his wife, 14th November, 1743. Ambrose Harding, Joseph Whyte, and Samuel Taylor, and his said wife, executors named in said will.

The widow of Dr. Christopher Emmett died in the house of her son, Robert, in Dublin, as may be inferred from the following obituary notice in *The Hibernian Journal*: "24th November, 1774, died in Molesworth-street, in her 74th year, Mrs. Rebecca Emmett." By "The Dublin Directory" for that year we find Dr. Robert Emmet was then residing in Molesworth-street. The alteration in the spelling of his name was made by him prior to the year 1760, for in the original deed of marriage settlement—perfected in Cork the 10th of November, 1760, which document came into my possession from a member of his wife's family—his signature to it is Robert Emmet. And from that period certainly the name was thus written by him and his descendants. This fact, though apparently trivial, is of importance, for a document purporting to be signed by his son, Robert, and disposed of a few years ago in England as the original draft of his celebrated speech on his trial, was discovered by me not to be in his handwriting, principally by the spelling of the name, Emmett, instead of Emmet, which was the way he invariably wrote his name.

Dr. Robert Emmet, I am informed by his kinsman, the late John St. John Mason, Esq., was born about 1720 in Tipperary; he graduated in Edinburgh, and, probably prior to his father's death in 1743, he established himself in Cork, and practised his profession there for several years, and evidently with success—though, strange to say, after much inquiry of the oldest physicians of that city, and some researches amongst the archives of the literary and scientific institutions longest in being there, I have

not been able to discover the slightest trace of his connexion with that city.

Mr. J. St. John Mason informs me that "It was whilst the doctor was practising in Cork he made the acquaintance of Miss Elizabeth Mason (aunt of my informant), at the house of her brother, James Mason, junior, with whom she was then residing. She was the daughter of James Mason, of Ballydowney, near Killarney, Kerry. He married that lady in the year 1760. He was in good practice, and was considered very skilful in fever cases. He built a large house in Cork, in George's-street, which was afterwards "The Bush Tavern." He was a man of easy and gentlemanly manners, remarkable for vivacity and pleasantry, but free from coarseness or that exaggeration of expression in moments of hilarity called grimace. He possessed humour, but not of a caustic nature. In discourse he was fluent and happy, in the choice of words, and in the use and application of classical quotations. He was remarkably punctual and precise in business and professional affairs. In money matters he was extremely exact, and somewhat rigorous in transactions of a pecuniary kind. On one occasion he (J. St. J. M.) had had some arrangement to make with the doctor of a pecuniary nature. Thomas Addis Emmet was present (this was after the doctor's removal to Dublin), and it appeared to him that his father had dealt too rigidly with his kinsman. This was the cause of a coolness between the doctor and his son for a week; though both were living in the same house they did not speak to one another. This was a very rare (or rather an unique) occurrence.

"Dr. Emmet in person was rather tall. In the cast of his countenance there was a strong resemblance to the pictures of Sterne we see prefixed to his works.

"He did not remain very long in Cork after his marriage. He had six children: Henry and Elizabeth (who died young), Christopher Temple, Thomas Addis, Maryanne, and Robert. Speaking of two of his sons—Christopher Temple and Thomas Addis—he (J. St. J. M.) has heard him say: '*Uno avulso haud deficit alter.*'"

The following particulars respecting the marriage will be found important:

ABSTRACT OF SETTLEMENT EXECUTED ON THE MARRIAGE OF ROBERT EMMET, ESQ., WITH MISS ELIZABETH MASON, FROM THE ORIGINAL DEED IN POSSESSION OF R. R. M.

The deed is dated the 15th of November, 1760. The signatures to it are the following: Robert Emmet, Elizabeth Mason (the future Mrs. Emmet), James Mason (father of the preceding

Elizabeth), John Mason (son of the preceding James, and father of the late John St. John Mason, Esq., first cousin of Robert Emmet, who was thrown into prison in 1803, and kept in confinement for many years subsequent to the insurrection of that year), likewise Henry Hilliard, and John Gunn.

The deed recites that on the marriage of James Mason with Catherine, the mother of said Elizabeth (an only daughter) and John (eldest son), he executed a deed, bearing date the 15th December, 1732, vesting in trustees John Gunn and Henry Hilliard, Esqs., certain lands, viz.: The town and lands of Cahircrohan, East Clyng, Colegarraff, Ahaleebegg, Annagh, Ballydowny, Farranispig, Knocksardnead, and West Clyng, in the baronies of Magony and Trughenaking, in the county of Kerry, to raise the sum of £500, as portions for the younger children of said marriage. That sum, by a subsequent provision in the deed, was limited to £450. And by the present settlement it was agreed that the marriage portion of Elizabeth Mason should be £500, to be raised out of said lands, and laid out by above-named trustees in land, with the consent of Robert Emmet, and that the interest of said sum, as also of the sum of £100, which Robert Emmet was to vest in said trustees, was to be paid by them to Robert Emmet during his life, and after his death to the said Elizabeth, his wife, and after her death to the issue of said marriage, to be proportionally divided amongst them, at the attainment of each of twenty-one years of age.

In the original deed the signature of Dr. E. is Robert Emmet, but in the body of the deed, wherever his name occurs—except in one place—it is written Emmett. It may be concluded that the change in the name was made by him about the period of his marriage.

Dr. Emmet's removal to Dublin was attended with immediate advantages that could not be attributed alone or chiefly to his professional merits, but probably to his connexion with the Temple family mainly, and the nobleman who was then viceroy, the Marquis of Buckingham.

In "The Dublin Directory" for 1771, the name Robert Emmett (*sic*) appears with the title, "State Physician." His predecessor in that office—Dr. Robert Robinson—had held it from 1753 to that period. In the same year—in virtue of his office of State Physician—he became a governor of Swift's Hospital for the Insane. In the Directory for 1772 he is designated, "Robert Emmet, State Physician, Molesworth-street," at p. 53; and at p. 115, "Robert Emmet, M.D., Licentiate in Physic of the College of Physicians." The title of "State Physician" is given him in that and each succeeding Directory, and the name is written

Emmet down to the year 1803, included, when it disappears. (His death had taken place in November, 1802.) In the Directory for 1780 his place of residence No. 109, Stephen's-green, west, appears for the first time ; so his removal from Molesworth-street must have taken place in 1779.* In the Directory for 1785, at p. 62, in the list of "State Officers," we find the following remarkable notification : "State Physician, Robert Emmet, M.D., F.R.S., and Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D." But in the following year the name of T. A. Emmet, M.D., disappears from the list of State Officers, and again appears, in 1787, in the list of Physicians : "T. A. Emmet, M.D., abroad." And though not connected with the immediate subject of this notice, it may be added that in the Directory for 1785 we find an appointment that proved, thirteen years later, a happy one for Surgeon (subsequently General) Lawless, that of "George Steward, Esq., State Surgeon," who, in 1790, was appointed "Surgeon General."†

In *Grattan's Life*, by his son, the character of Dr. Emmet is placed in an absurd and injurious light. He is represented as instilling into the minds of his sons the most extravagant principles—as exaggerating the duties of patriotism to the point of recommending the performance of the most insane acts; of having his "pill and his plan" ready for every evil, physical or political; and of so drugging his prescriptions with politics that "he would kill the patient who would take the one, and ruin the country that would listen to the other." The same passion for antithesis—for aggregating striking contrasts and strong dissimilarities in the same paragraph, which distinguished the most splendid of the speeches of the gentleman on whose authority this account is given, is observable in this statement. The person living who is the best qualified to speak of the habits and principles of Dr. Emmet, a gentleman intimately connected by ties of friendship and other relations with his family, who lived under his roof, and still has a perfect remembrance of his character and of his conduct towards his children, declares that, beyond passing observations on the duty which every man owed his country, there are no grounds for those injurious state-

* The house No. 109, Stephen's-green, west, which continued to be the town residence of Dr. Emmet to within a year of the time of his decease, no longer exists. In the former edition of this work it was erroneously stated that on the site of Dr. Emmet's the house was built which is now inhabited by Dr. Wilmot. The site of Dr. Emmet's house, No. 109, Stephen's-green, west—long the abode of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet—is now occupied by two houses. One of them is the corner house of Lamb's-lane ; the College of Surgeons is separated from it by this lane.

† The timely information of the intention of government to arrest Surgeon Lawless and Surgeon Dease, the evening before the arrest of the Sheares, was sent to both gentlemen by Surgeon General Steward. Lawless effected his escape ; Dease had not the energy to attempt it. The intimation of the intended arrests was conveyed by Surgeon Peile, who in after years communicated the fact to Surgeon Cusack.

ments. The plain fact of the matter is, some of the leading members of the Whig Club and of the opposition in parliament, whose fierce denunciations of the government, whose representation of the corruption of parliament—the evils of the intolerable borough system, had inflamed the people to the highest pitch of political frenzy—became desirous to account for the acts which they committed when labouring under the excitement of passions thus inflamed, by ascribing to democratic violence, or the mischievous counsels of the persons by whom they were guided, all the misfortunes which befell the people. Dr. Emmet was a man of warmth of feeling—frank, upright, and steadfast in his opinions. His lady was a person of a noble disposition and of a vigorous understanding, fit to be the mother of three such children as Christopher Temple, Thomas Addis, and Robert Emmet. The parents of such children ought to have been exempt from the attempt to represent them as unfaithful to their parental duty, or unfortunate in their notions of its obligations.

Poor Dr. Emmet and his wife, from the time of the arrest of their son Thomas Addis, gradually sank under the calamity which laid the proud hopes of their old age in the dust. They were no longer the same persons. In their appearance, in their conversation, their mode of life consequent on the abandonment of their former enjoyments, and the cessation of intercourse with those who formerly were the companions and associates of their imprisoned son (now "all gone, and not a friend to take his fortune by the arm"), the change became obvious to the few who proved in the time of their adversity that they were friends indeed in their acts and thoughts, and not in name alone. Dr. Emmet died at Casino, near Miltown, in the autumn of 1802. He was buried in the graveyard of St. Peter's church, in Aungier-street, on the right-hand side of the entrance, close to the wall, on the south side.

An erroneous account has been given of Dr. Emmet's remains having been interred in the churchyard of St. Anne's church in Dawson-street. About four years ago I discovered the tomb of Dr. Emmet in the cemetery of St. Peter's church, Aungier-street, with the following inscription on it:

Here lie the remains of
Robert Emmet, Esq., M.D.,
Who died the 9th of December, 1802,
In the 73rd year of his age.

Here also the remains are interred of the widow of Dr. Emmet, who survived her husband only nine months. This poor lady lingered out the remainder of her days—few and sorrowful as they were—in her new place of residence, Bloomfield, near Donny-

brook. She preceded her youngest son, Robert, to the tomb by a few days. From the period of the arrest of her son, T. A. Emmet, in March, 1798, her existence was a blank.* She died—mercifully was it ordained—some days before the execution of Robert Emmet.

CHRISTOPHER TEMPLE EMMET.

Christopher Temple Emmet was brought up to the bar; he was born in Cork in 1761; was educated at the school of Mr. Kerr, and entered college in 1775, at the age of fourteen, under Mr. Hales. He obtained a scholarship in 1778. He was called to the bar in 1781; was appointed one of her majesty's counsel in 1787; and during his short professional career, a period not exceeding eight years (for he died in 1789), his brilliant talents and eminent legal attainments obtained for him a character that in the same brief space was probably never gained at the Irish bar.

He married Anne Western Temple, the eldest daughter of Robert Temple, Esq., in 1781, a distinguished American loyalist, who had returned home with his family not long previously—"some time after the battle of Bunker's-hill, which (I am informed by Mr. J. St. J. Mason) he witnessed."†

"He was certainly," says Mr. Mason, "one of the brightest ornaments of the Irish bar, and the most eloquent man of his day. He was of a fuller figure and stouter person than T. A. Emmet, but not so tall. He was remarkably near-sighted, even more so than T. A. Emmet. The latter, however, made more use of his

* Substance of the will of Dr. Emmet of Casino, near Miltown, taken from the copy of that document in the Registrar Office, Henrietta-street, Dublin:

Robert Emmet leaves the lands of Knockena, in the county of Kerry, and the leasehold interest in the land and house at Miltown, to Thomas Addis Emmet, subject to the appropriation of two thousand pounds, left in trust for Mrs. Emmet, and also the sum of five thousand pounds, the interest on which was to be paid to his "dearly beloved wife, formerly Miss Mason," and a further sum (not specified) to make her income three hundred and sixty pounds a-year. At her death the interest of the two thousand pounds was to be paid to Maryanne Holmes; at her death without issue to devolve to Thomas Addis and Robert in equal shares. The sum of two thousand pounds more on the death of Mrs. Emmet to Robert, and fifteen hundred pounds to the grand-daughter of the testator, Catherine Emmet, daughter of R. Temple of Ballydowny, in the county of Kerry, which place was settled on Temple Emmet at the period of his marriage. Thomas Addis Emmet was appointed sole executor; he and Robert the residuary legatees. The will was signed the 3rd of February, 1800. I find a receipt of his for rent from a Mr. Richard Sadlier, dated 1810, for £144, one year's profit rent out of said lands.

Thomas Addis Emmet possessed also a small property at Stillorgan—the lands of Callery. At the time of his banishment he sold this property to an attorney of the name of Fleming, one of the attorneys' corps, distinguished for the burning ardour of his loyalty in 1798. This gentleman, very soon after peace and order were somewhat restored, was transported for forgery.

† In the list of marriages in "Exshaw's Magazine" for September, 1784: "Christopher Temple Emmet, Esq., Barrister-at-law, to Miss Temple, both of Stephen's-green."

eye-glass—spectacles he never used, previously, at least, to his departure from Ireland."

A premium book of Christopher Temple Emmet—obtained at the examination in Trinity College—is in my possession, "The Orations of Demosthenes," with many manuscript notes in the handwriting of C. T. Emmet, illustrative of the classical attainments and critical talents of the gifted youth thus rewarded: "*Propter insignes progressos in artibus, in classe secunda.*" The date of this premium is 1777.

In his profession, his eminence as a lawyer was acknowledged by all his cotemporaries; nor in literary pursuits was he less distinguished. Several poetical pieces of his appeared in a collection of original poems, published by Edkin, in 1789, and others in a later edition in 1803. One of these, addressed to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, "The Decree," for beauty of imagery and smoothness of versification, is not surpassed by many poems in our language.

Mr. Grattan, in his memoirs of his father, gives the following account of Temple Emmet:

"Temple Emmet, before he came to the bar, knew more law than any of the judges on the bench; and if he had been placed on one side, and the whole bench opposed to him, he could have been examined against them, and would have surpassed them all; he would have answered better both in law and divinity than any judge or any bishop in the land. He had a wonderful memory—he recollected everything—it stuck to him with singular tenacity. He showed this in his early youth, and on one occasion he gave a strong instance of it. There existed at that time in Dublin College, an institution called the Historical Society; there were subjects selected for discussion, and prior to the debate there was an examination in history. On one occasion the books happened to be mislaid, and it was thought no examination could have taken place; but Emmet, whose turn it was to be in the chair, and who had read the course, recollected the entire, and examined in every part of it, and with surprising ability."*

Mr. Grattan speaks of his eloquence as abounding in imagery, which gave too much of a poetic character to his oratory. The few, however, of his cotemporaries who were living within the author's recollection entertained a different opinion of its merits; and amongst them were some of the most highly gifted of their countrymen. The kinsman of Temple Emmet, J. St. John Mason informs me that one of the most remarkable speeches made in the Historical Society was delivered by Temple Emmet, at the close of the sessions, when he was under sixteen years of age.

* "Grattan's Life and Times," vol. iv. p. 356.

The Historical Society—"the normal school" of Irish eloquence—the first arena on which the talents of the most distinguished men of Ireland of all parties strove for mastery, is intimately connected with the history of the subject of this memoir.

Its origin and early proceedings excited no less interest than the career and destiny of those who were its brightest ornaments; and to that interest the research is due which has enabled the author to give some particulars respecting the society to the public.

The archives of the Historical Society, after much inquiry, were by him traced to the possession of the son of one of its original members, Mr. Kinchela of Kilkenny, late mayor of that city; and to that gentleman's liberality he is indebted for the use of the records in question. They consist chiefly of the laws, some fragments of the reports of the proceedings, and of the dispute of the Society with the Board of the University. These documents are connected more especially with the proceedings and constitution of the second Historical Society, which was established in 1792.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

The first Historical Society was formed in 1770 by some members of Trinity College, Dublin, who, observing the deficiencies of the academic system, and the total neglect of every useful branch of the *belles-lettres* in the under-graduate course, devised this means of encouraging a taste for History and Elocution; every allusion to cotemporary events or persons being prohibited. No persons were eligible but students of long standing, and fellows as honorary members.

The Society flourished for about twenty-two years. The names of the greatest men that Ireland can boast of are to be found on the roll of its members. Temple Emmet, Plunket, Bushe, the friend of the latter, T. W. Tone, who filled the situation of Auditor, and so early as 1786 had already "obtained three medals from the Historical Society."*

The old Society, having lost several of its ablest members, and amongst others its pride and ornament, Temple Emmet, had gradually declined. In 1792, it was remodelled, or rather revived, under a new name, "The Junior Historical Society."

The record of its proceedings in the documents above named is scanty and defective. The code of laws is perfect; and the following brief outline of the more important rules may not be uninteresting:

"The Society to meet in November, and continue its sittings till the month of June following, every year, on each Monday evening.

* Tone's Life, Wash. ed., vol. i. p. 22.

"At every meeting the President to appoint two members to bring in two questions for debate each; one of which the Society was to choose for the next evening's debate. One of the said members to defend, the other to oppose the subject of debate.

"At every meeting, thirty pages of history to be made the subject of examination.

"Graduates of the university to be excused from such examination.

"Elections to be made and votes taken by ballot.

"Every member residing in college to give his chambers in turn for the use of the Society.

"Every person on the college books, or a graduate of the university, to be entitled to be proposed for admission.

"At the conclusion of each debate, each member to give in the name of the person, in his opinion, who was the best speaker on the question.

"Once a month the name to be laid before the Society of the person having the greatest number of commendations in oratory; and where the number shall exceed fifteen, a medal to be awarded to him.

"A similar reward for the best answers at each month's meetings, at the regular examinations on historical subjects.

"The office of president to continue for one month; each session to close with a speech from the chair."

The Historians, in providing for their intellectual refections, appear not to have neglected refreshments of another kind; for it is enacted, that

"The treasurer shall find the Society in tea and cakes, prior to the chair being taken."

In the few reports of the proceedings which are given, the names of the speakers in most instances are omitted.

The first meeting of this society, on the 16th April, 1792, was opened by Mr. John Kinchela, with an address, explanatory and commendatory of the objects of the institution. In concluding his address, the speaker recommended this "school of history and theatre of oratory" to his youthful auditory. "The day," he said, "of emancipation from academical toils will soon come; but when you have been launched on this busy world, and have left this society to your successors, the avocations of life shall teach you to consider the circle of this youthful community as a little struggling world in itself. With what satisfaction then shall you consider that you were the founders of such an institution; and when your pursuits will permit you to pay a casual visit to the meetings of this society, you will feel a pleasure in recalling the days of yore, and talking over the little affairs of this institution, which owes its foundation and its prosperity to you."

On the next subject of debate, "Whether the death of King Charles I. was justifiable ?" a very able speech in the negative was pronounced, and is given at length in the report of the proceedings.

At a meeting the 5th of April, 1792, on the question, "Whether the conquest of barbarous nations for the purpose of civilization is justifiable ?" the report is given of a speech in the affirmative of the exploded proposition; it is an able speech, however, and displays no little ingenuity in making "the worse appear the better reason."

The society, in 1794, encountered the hostility of the Board of Fellows of Trinity College.

The admission of a graduate into the Historical Society, the Rev. Mr. C———, who had been expelled from college, was made the pretext for bringing down the censure of the Board on Mr. Hugh Kerr, one of its leading members, and a threat of expulsion of any student of college who should attend a meeting of the society outside the college walls. This proceeding, and other vexatious steps, such as the withdrawal of the use of the hall formerly granted for their meetings, on the original terms, put an end to the meetings of the Historical Society within the walls of the college. The Exhibition Room was engaged for their meetings, the latter end of April, 1794. The Board in the early part of April had plainly signified its disapproval of the proceedings of the society; Tone, Corbet, Browne, Robert Emmet (then a very young lad), John Shears, James M'Cabe, Peter Burrowes, Kerr, and Lawson, were at that period amongst its stirring members; while Hayden and M'Carthy, Scully, Power, and Ardagh stood less prominently forward, and were influenced more by the love of letters than enthusiasm and politics in attending. Several of the former class were suspected by the Board of entertaining republican principles, and of having made the Historical Society a theatre for the discussion of modern politics. The Board took an indirect mode of attacking the society; one of the Fellows, the Rev. George Millar, at a meeting of the society, took occasion to inform an old member of the society that if he did not immediately quit the room he would move for his expulsion. The grounds for this menance were, that the member had been expelled from college, and none but those in college or on its books were privileged to be members of the Historical Society. The member withdrew, and the following day an order from the Board directed that no person should be admitted to the debates of the Historical Society whose name was not on the books.

The order for the exclusion of extern members was the beginning of the war, which was carried on with much vehemence for a

length of time, between the College Board and the society, and enlisted in the quarrel the wit, eloquence, learning, and satirical propensities of both parties.

In this "civil war of wit," the partisans of the Board and the refractory members of the society belaboured one another with classical cudgels. The press teemed with erudite pasquinades. The combat was carried on by "a college of wit-crackers that could not be flouted out of their humour."

"The Academic Sportsman; or seven Wise Men of Gotham," fell foul of "The Chichesterian; or the Spouting Academy." Comedies, burlesque heroics, satirical songs, ludicrous poems, were put forth by the collegiate belligerents; some in the vernacular tongue, others in dead languages—

> A savage Greek and Latin war,
> Like that which Bentley waged with Parr.

Among the squibs which the historians condescended to write in English, the following is a fair specimen of the grave irony brought to bear on the interference of the Board of Fellows:

At a full meeting of the Vintners, Publicans, and Courtezans in the city of Dublin, held the 1st of May, 1794, Mrs. Margaret Leeson in the chair, resolved—

"1. That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Vice-Provost and Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, for their public spirited suppression of the Historic Society.

"2. That the said Society has considerably injured our respective trades, by employing the gentlemen of the university (formerly our best customers) one whole evening in the week in literary pursuits, and wasting many other evenings in preparation for it.

"3. That the kind interference of the college must cause the custom of the college to return gradually to us, and the time of the young gentlemen to be more profitably employed than in the pursuits of the said institution.

"That the President and Senior Fellows be made free of our Society, and that the freedom of the same be presented to them in a quicksilver box.

"Mrs. Leeson having left the chair, and Mrs. Simpson being called thereto, Resolved—

"That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mrs. Leeson, for her very proper conduct in the chair.

"Signed, by order,

"Catherine Grant, *Secretary*."

A FRAGMENT OF "A SONG TO BE SUNG IN CELEBRATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF FELLOWS."

"The board of old Alma, when sitting in glee,
To our humble petition was pleased to agree,
That its seers our protectors and patrons should be;
That historic dispute
Should henceforward be mute,
And get such a check and expulsion to boot,
That the lads of the college, like us, might entwine
The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine.

"The news through the houses immediately flew,
And the inmates began then to give themselves airs:
'If these lads had been suffered their schemes to pursue,
The deuce of a lady could live above stairs;'
But now sure the cry
Is, in transports of joy,
'Ye sons of old Alma, to us shall you fly,
And, thanks to the Fellows, we'll teach you to twine
The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine.'

"The yellow-haired god, with his nine fusty maids,
No longer to Alma shall venture to flee;
Idalia once more takes them back to her shades,
And Parnassus again their old prison shall be.
The vice-provost learn'd
Has sent them an errand,
They'll never in college again be discern'd,
Nor ever more hinder the students to twine
The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine."
&c. &c. &c.

The issue of a contest with the heads of an institution in which Lord Clare exerted authority, might have been easily foreseen. The Historical Society got the character of a Jacobin club, its members were placed under the ban of the lord chancellor, and in 1798, at a visitation held by his lordship at Trinity College, one of the charges brought against a number of the students, arraigned on that occasion, was that of belonging to the Historical Society. The society broke down; Tone, who was to the second society what Temple Emmet was to the first, was then furnishing work for history instead of discussing its details. Among the students who were expelled college in 1798, were some of the leading members of the society, and one who had withdrawn his name at that time from the college books—Robert Emmet—whose loss to the society was not the least of its disasters; nor did it long survive that loss.

In 1810, the Historical Society was again revived. Some young barristers of liberal politics and distinguished abilities, Counsellor Finlay, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. John Martin Anster (of subsequent celebrity as a poet—J. Anster, Esq., LL.D.), whose beautiful "Ode to Fancy" obtained the prize medal of the society in 1813, were among its leading members. This society shared

the fate of its predecessors in 1815 or 1816; and once more it rose from its ashes, and still is in existence, recalling, not indeed the bright and palmy days of the original society, but in some slight degree the dawning talents that were displayed in the original institution.

Christopher Temple Emmet, in the full vigour of mind and manhood, died of a few day's illness, whilst absent from his home and family, on the Munster Circuit, in 1789, at the early age of twenty-seven, leaving a daughter, born in April, 1795, at Stephen's-green. (See Walker's "Hibernian Magazine.")

The widow of C. Temple Emmet only survived him a few months; she died in November, 1789.

Christopher Temple Emmet's daughter, Catherine, and only child, after the calamities and dispersion of her family, went to the United States, with the intention probably of remaining with some members of her father's family who were residing in New England, but returned after a short absence to England.

She had been for some years under the care of a lady who kept a school at Liverpool, and who subsequently became the second wife of Counsellor Robert Holmes.

Eventually Miss Catherine Emmet went to England to reside, and lived, I believe, to the time of her decease at the house of the Rev. Mr. Hazlitt of Addlestone, near Chertsey, the father of the celebrated writer, William Hazlitt.

Of the two brothers of C. Temple Emmet, the subsequent memoirs of T. Addis and Robert Emmet will be found to give all the authentic information ever likely to be given to the public.

It remains here to say a few words of the sister of these brothers—one worthy of the name of Emmet, and of that race of which Ireland has so much reason to be proud.

Maryanne, the sister of T. A. Emmet, married Mr. Robert Holmes, a distinguished barrister, in the latter part of 1799. This amiable and accomplished lady died about 1804, leaving one daughter (born in 1800), who married Mr. George Lennox Cunningham of the War-office, London. Mrs. Holmes shared in the talents which seemed to be hereditary in her family. At the time that the projected Union was exciting general interest, two very remarkable pamphlets appeared which were ascribed to her—one of which, called "An Address to the People of Ireland, showing them why they ought to submit to an Union," published in 1799, there is no doubt of having been written by her.

This pamphlet is written with very great power, and its mode of *advocating* the Union may be gathered from its motto:

> "Of comfort no man speak;
> Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs."—SHAKSPEARE.

The design of this extraordinary production was to expose to the people the true character of the new-born patriotism of such men as John Claudius Beresford, the Right Hon. John Foster, Lord Kingsborough, Lord Cole, Colonel Barry, Messrs. Whaley, Saurin, Vereker, and Bagwell; many of whom were then (1799) red-hot "patriots," who in the year following were not ashamed to sell their country, but thankful to Providence (as one of them had the candour to acknowledge) that they had a country to sell. We have spoken of this pamphlet as an extraordinary production; a few extracts from it will show that the term has not been misapplied. The reader will please to remember that it was written forty-four years ago:

"Who could have foreseen, and by whom would it have been believed, that patriotism—long-suffering, much reviled, and much calumniated patriotism—driven from the northern coast to seek refuge on the sea-beaten wilds of the west; pursued, wherever it could be traced, by extermination—branded, wherever it rose, with infamy—and marked, wherever it was met, for destruction—that spirit against which every hand of power was raised, which, like the troubled dove, could find no place on which to fix its feet, on which to rest its wings—should seek and should find a sanctuary in the great chair of the House of Commons, and animate the declamation of the opposition?

"Accustomed as I have been to consider parliament not as the sanctuary of patriotism, the adoption of the name does not bring conviction to my mind that they are animated by the spirit, and I warn my countrymen to beware of the delusion. You are called on to oppose this Union, and to preserve your rights. Now I ask the men who call on you what rights you have to support? I ask parliament what right *they* have not wrested from you? They adjure you to support the consitution. Alas! for that constitution, originally a shadow, now embodied a substance of corruption. You are called upon to resist—*what?* Not *oppression*, it has been *protected*. Not *injustice*, it has been *legalised*. Not *cruelty*, it has been *indemnified*. You are called on to resist an Union. You are called upon to oppose an incorporation by which you are to lose—a name.

"If I am to bend to the altar of British supremacy, if I am to wear the chains of everlasting slavery, it matters not to me whether I wear them as an Irishman or a West Briton—it matters not to me whether my fetters are forged in East or West Britain. If I am to receive the essence, I will not war about the form in which it is presented to me. If you had one right unalienated, I, too, would say to you, while the life-blood flowed from my heart in defence of that right, 'Never submit to an Union—never, never, never.' . . . .

"Is it for the Convention, the Insurrection, and the Indemnity Acts, that you are to resist the annihilation of the parliament which passed them? While those bills stand recorded on their journals parliament ought to know that the country cannot dread their extinction. And if the minister of England wishes to use any argument but military force for the accomplishment of this measure, let him present that statute-book to the people, and ask them—'Why should you wish the duration of this parliament? do you not feel that I am omnipotent in it? are not my mandates written *here in blood?*' . . . .

"If the parliament meant fairly by the people, if they wished to gain their confidence or to deserve it, they would expunge from their records those acts which must for ever blast confidence and destroy hope. They would say to the people: 'Countrymen, we are men, and we are weak—we have injured you most deeply, most fatally—we were placed here to protect, and we have destroyed you; but we will repair that injury, we will revoke that destruction: we here repeal, in the face of our country, that code which the barbarous prejudices of our ancestors instituted—we repeal, too, that code which our own sanguinary policy framed—we return into your hands the power which you delegated to us; purify it, regulate, and restrict it, and from the sovereignty of the people, if the people wills it, we will again receive it.' Parliament of Ireland, act thus, and the people *will* oppose an Union—expunge from your statutes those sanguinary proscriptions, and a generous people will erase from their remembrance the recollection that they ever existed—from their bosoms, the feelings which they have excited. Do this and you will stand—if you do not, you sink. . . . .

"The people see that the minister may be defeated; they see that those very laws which are enforced against them are nugatory against the higher orders; they see the Convention Bill infringed by the very men who framed it, and county meetings called universally under the auspices of members of parliament.

"If great men have a right to call county meetings to express their disapprobation of one measure, have not poor men a right to call them to express their wishes for another? Are laws only binding when they are to restrict a people from stating their grievances—from demanding redress? County meetings ought to be called; the people ought to instruct their representatives to examine into their grievances—to redress them: to frame a parliamentary reform, on the broad principles of immutable justice and universal franchise; they ought to instruct them to address the king to withdraw his foreign troops, only retained here to intimidate and extirpate. . . . .

"I shall not enter into a discussion of the merits or justice of the measure; in my mind there can be but one opinion as to its justice, and but one argument for its adoption—necessity. If I was inclined to oppose an Union, it should be with the speech of the English minister, in which I cannot find one argument in favour of it, save that one to the potency of which I bow—*force*. . .

"As long as foreign troops are spread over your country, as long as they swarm in your capital, trust me an Union is not relinquished; trust me it is the intention to dragoon you into the acceptance of it: and as long as you, legislators of the land, permit, without representation or complaint, force and illegality to stalk triumphant through your streets, you cannot wonder if the people doubt your sincerity, and feel an indifference about your existence. . . . .

"Nor shall I dwell more on the advantages which are to accrue to this country from an Union than I have done on the justice of the measure; nor do I believe that one advantage will result from it, or from any other convention between Ireland and Great Britain which the English minister proposes, and which the English mercantile interest approves of: no convention or community of interests ever will be equitably conducted where both parties are not equally able to assert their own rights, and to resist the innovations or injustice of the other. . . . . I beg my countrymen not to suppose that I think the measure a good one; no—but I know it to be inevitable. I beg them not to suppose that I place the smallest reliance on the promises of equity and disinterestedness of the minister. No—but I know that we cannot either reject the measure or insist on the performance of the treaty. I know that our part of it will be signed and most strictly performed, and that the English part of it will be filled up how and when it suits the interest of the minister. As to the justice we are to meet, it will be like that which is shown to a child by the guardian who wrests his all from him, while he tells him 'I will make you happy,' and gives the child a whistle or a cake. The boy may feel that he is injured—but he must *then* submit.

"It is said by one party that Cork will be advantaged, and by the other that Dublin will be injured. In the great scale of national interest, it appears to me of little importance whether Cork or Dublin is to be the richer city. . . . .

"As to the argument that Dublin would be ruined, they must be miserably ignorant of the state of Dublin who suppose that the reign of ruin would then commence—who do not know that ruin has been long an inmate of that capital. Let them seek the haunts of ruin; they will find her not merely destroying edifices, they will find her destroying man! They will see her consuming the habi-

tation and the inhabitant! Let them contemplate the ravages of desolation in every mansion of misery in their Liberties and their suburbs, and they will perhaps feel, as I do now, that it is not the destruction of stone and lime which is to be deprecated—it is the destruction, the unalloyed and unobserved destruction of the human species which ought to be lamented! . . . .

"Should this ruin come, it will but assimilate the glaring distinctions of the city into one mass. Splendour will no longer rise in the vicinity of wretchedness, nor misery curse the unfeeling luxury which mocks its hopelessness! It has been a misfortune to this country that abundance and want have constantly come into contact; they have met with mutual defiance—they have parted with mutual distrust.

"With respect to another objection, that the seminary of instruction would be destroyed, I declare in my conscience, I do not think that if Trinity College, its learning, its illiberality, its prejudices, and its venality were all sunk together, the country would be injured by it. If from its extinction I could see arise the simple principle of 'Do justice and love mercy,' I feel that my country would gain. It is not science I would wish to destroy—it is not learning that I would wish to limit; but I would wish science to be accompanied by liberality, and learning by humility. . . . .

"I would beg the people to remember that it is the wish of the minister to have them in a state of insurrection, that he may have a pretext for this measure; it was his wish to have them driven into insurrection before; it was his command to goad them into it, and hence the system of unparalleled cruelties which we have witnessed, and from which I trust my countrymen have learned to detest cruelty. . . . . It was equally the wish of the friends of the country to keep the people from commotion, as it was that of the minister to bring them to it; both felt that partial insurrection must be as injurious to the country as advantageous to the minister. Insurrection has been one of the favourite measures of that man: he has tried it in France; he has attempted it in Holland; and he effected it in Ireland. Steering wide, in his political career, of every principle of avowed and understood policy, he astonishes and awes, bewilders and leads a fascinated people. Minister of England, you are a great man! while I detest your principles, and deprecate your measures, I admire your abilities. For fifteen years you have ruled Great Britain—you have converted a fluctuating and delicate situation into a certain and critical one—you have blinded a selfish nation to their own interest, and led them on their own destruction—you have paralyzed or energized all Europe—you have sent liberty to the Asiatic and the Indian—

you have persecuted the spirit, and the genius has arisen to avenge the persecution—wherever the name of Pitt and the fetters of slavery have gone, the genius of emancipation has followed. You have conceived uncommon designs, you have attempted them, and they have failed. Man of immeasurable talents, why have you not learned that rectitude would have assisted you? why has not your policy taught you sometimes to appear to feel like a man? and why has not your reason detected the fallacy of your crooked policy? For fifteen years you have held the helm of Britain—you have ruled her with an undivided and absolute authority—you have ruled her ill—you have been to England a bad minister—to Ireland a destroying spirit, passing over the land with devastation, sparing only those whose thresholds *were marked with blood*. You have sought to precipitate her into the gulf which you have formed for England, and you have overwhelmed her in chaos and confusion. Whether to Ireland is to rise light out of darkness, and order from discord, yet remains with that Providence whose inscrutable wisdom works good out of evil, and often makes the crimes of men the instruments of good to the species."

Mrs. Maryanne Holmes—the sister of C. Temple, T. Addis, and Robert Emmet—died in 1804. Her remains were interred with those of her parents in the churchyard of St. Peter's church in Aungier-street.*

The only child of this highly gifted lady, born in 1800, who married Mr. George Lennox Cunningham, has given evidence in her writings of the fact I have already stated, that talents were hereditary in the Emmet family. The public will be able to judge of the grounds I have for that assertion from the lines of Mrs. Cunningham which are now laid before them, and they will perceive that the old instincts of the family—which made their country, and those who loved it, dear to them—are not all dead and buried in the graves of Temple, Thomas Addis, Robert, and Maryanne Emmet:

* Mr. Robert Holmes married secondly a young lady who had kept a school at Liverpool, and died within a year of her marriage. With this lady—Mrs. Elizabeth Holmes—the daughter of Temple Emmet had been educated. In the year 1859, this venerable man—not less remarkable for his vigorous mind and manly virtues than for the republican simplicity and sternness of his principles, and the uniform consistency of his long and honorable career—died in London at the house of his daughter.

WEEP NOT FOR THE DEAD.*

[By the niece of T. Addis and Robert Emmet.]

"Weep ye not for the dead, neither bemoan him—but weep sore for him that goeth away: for he shall return no more, nor see his native country. But he shall die in the place whither they have led him captive, and shall see this land no more."—*Jeremiah*, xxii. 10 & 12.

Not for the dead—not for the unconscious, weep,
Whose country's ruin troubleth not their sleep;
There is a mockery in the tears ye shed
For them who from the wrath to come have fled—
No! weep not for the dead.

Your grief afflicts not them—they do not hear
The tones whose lightest sound was once so dear;
Would ye awake them, if ye could, to know
What we, they loved and left, must undergo?
Wake not the dead to woe.

Weep ye not for the dead! a blessed doom
Hath closed on them the portals of the tomb;
Their quiet memory dreams not of the past—
Their anchor through eternity is fast—
Their changeless fate is cast.

Weep ye not for the dead—but weep, weep sore
For them who go, and shall return no more;
Weep for the vanquished, captive, exile bands,
Condemned to waste away in foreign lands,
With nerveless hearts and hands.

Weep for the weary, wayworn, agèd men
Who deemed they ne'er should leave their home again:
They go, they go from that belovèd home—
They go, in distant dreariness to roam,
And back they shall not come.

Weep for the delicately nurtured young,
Whose childish accents must renounce the tongue
In which their mothers taught them to lisp forth
Praise to their God—good will to all on earth—
The tongue that hailed their birth.

Weep for the widowed bride, on whom the blight
Of desolation resteth—whose life's light
Is quenched within the tomb of one that lies
In the fallen land she learned from him to prize—
Fallen, never to arise.

Weep for the brave—the banished, baffled brave,
Bereaved of all they vainly bled to save—
The brave who still would gladly die to free
The native country they shall never see,
Dear, even in slavery!

Weep, weep for these; but let no senseless tear
Flow for the dead. Exempt from grief and fear,
The land that bore them pilloweth their head—
Their graves among their fathers' graves are spread—
Then weep not for the dead.

City of Bristol Steamer,
13th August, 1833.

* Poems, by Mrs. George Lennox Cunningham, daughter of Robert Holmes, Esq.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY HISTORY OF T. A. EMMET—HIS CAREER IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH AS A STUDENT OF MEDICINE—IN THE INNS OF COURT AS A STUDENT OF LAW, AND THE IRISH BAR, IN 1792-3-4-5-6-7.

Thomas Addis Emmet was born in Cork on the 24th of April, 1764. He was placed at the same school that his brother had been sent to, and at the age of fourteen entered Trinity College, in 1778, under Mr. Hales. His career at college, if less brilliant than that of his brother Temple, was such as gave ample promise of his future eminence. His qualities were not of the same shining character. The powers of his imagination were less remarkable than the solidity of his judgment and the logical precision and acumen of his reasoning faculties. His oratorical efforts were distinguished by no bold flights of impassioned eloquence; they abounded not in the flowers of a poetic imagination, but in plants of a less precocious maturity—of a more enduring bloom: an impressive earnestness of manner, an honesty of purpose, and sincerity of conviction in the delivery of his sentiments; a strict adherence to truth; a manly scorn of the meanness of subterfuge or falsehood; a closeness of reasoning that never deviated from its essential line of argument; and on occasions which called for the display of fervid feelings an outbreak of indignant or enthusiastic eloquence, which formed a striking contrast with the apparent calmness of reflection and coldness of feeling which his staid demeanour and contemplative cast of countenance would seem to indicate.

His physical conformation was not robust; he was measured in his gait, and retiring and unobtrusive in his deportment. In his dress he was careless—almost negligent; he bestowed no attention on personal appearance. His head was finely formed—it had all the compactness that a phrenologist would look for in the head of a man of profound thought; and the expression of his countenance indicative of integrity and straightforwardness that inspired confidence and respect, and made those who came into contact with him feel the presence of a man of inflexible principles, and of fixed, well considered opinions. A slight cast in his eyes, accompanied by a habit of closing his eye-lids, incidental to what is termed "nearness of sight," gave a kind of peering expression to his regard. It was that of a man who communed more with himself than with external things, but its predominant expression was benevolence: it was the regard of a man whose suavity of disposition was too great to be spoiled by studious habits, by strong convictions on political subjects, or a determined purpose to act upon them when the occasion came for action.

Thomas A. Emmet, being designed for the medical profession, was sent to Edinburgh to pursue his studies. There he became the fellow-student of Mr. (subsequently Sir) James Mackintosh; of Dr. Samuel Mitchill, who became celebrated in the pursuit of natural history in America; of Dr. Rogers, afterwards of New York; and the intimate acquaintance of Dugald Stewart. He remained at Edinburgh during the years 1783-4-5-6, and his time there was most industriously employed. He devoted himself with uncommon ardour to his professional studies: two of his medical books are now in the possession of the author, one in the French and the other in the Latin language; the ample notes, sufficient to fill a small-sized volume, in either books, are in the language of each work. His popularity with his fellow-students was so great, that at one time he was the president of no less than five societies, connected with literary, scientific, and medical subjects: the Speculative, the Royal Medical, the Physical Societies, &c.

The celebrated American naturalist and physician, Dr. Samuel Mitchill, the fellow-student of Thomas Addis Emmet, at the request of many of the friends of both, pronounced a discourse on the life and character of Emmet in the New York City Hall, the 1st of March, 1828; from which the following passages, illustrative of the early career of T. A. Emmet, are extracted:

"In October, 1784, I found T. A. Emmet at the university of Edinburgh. He had, in the September preceding, received the degree of doctor in medicine in due form—pursuant to a decree of the faculty and an order of the academic senate. The velvet cap had been put upon his head by the distinguished principal, William Robertson. He staid there during the winter which succeeded his graduation, for the purpose of further improvement. Gentlemen who can afford it, and are not pressed immediately into business, not unfrequently do so. I soon became acquainted with him; I even sought an introduction, for he was in high consideration among the students, and he was reputed by the professors and seniors as having performed his exercises and gone through the prescribed course of study with more than common ability.

"The statutes impose upon a candidate for the doctorate, among other tasks, the publication of a dissertation upon some professional subject in the Latin language. Mr. Emmet, possessing a taste for chemistry, had defended, at the solemn examination, a composition *de aerë fixo vel acido aereo*—the production upon which Professor Black had founded much of his well-earned fame. Experimenters had proceeded at that day far enough to ascertain that it was an air fixed in or attracted by other bodies, as by chalk, for example; and they had proved that it was of an acid quality, capable of changing the purple of litmus to red. But they had

not discovered that its basis was elementary charcoal, nor, that in correct nomenclature, it ought to be called *carbonic* acid. The performance was considered to have been his own, and not the work of one of those useful hirelings who prepare exercises for the dull and lazy.

"As to the style it was deemed a good specimen of modern Latinity, and in regard to the matter it was reckoned one of the best inaugural tracts. Mr. Smellie, one of the printers to the university, a good naturalist, and a fair judge of literary and scientific matters, had made a selection of those collegiate pieces that went through his hands, which he published in a volume from time to time under the title of *Thesaurus Medicus*. Emmet's dissertation has the honour of being reprinted and preserved among the choice articles there. I procured one of the original copies, and as I have lately refreshed my memory by examining it in my library, I will give you a sketch of its contents.

"The dissertation states that it is 'chymico-medical.' His motto on the title-page is quoted from Virgil:

"Audite ô mentibus æquis—neve hæc nostris spectentur ab annis, quæ ferimus.

"The first section or chapter contains the history of the substance as it was understood forty-seven years ago. That his diligence may be duly appreciated, it becomes me to tell you he quotes the English philosophical transactions, and the writings of Priestley, Cavallo, Falconer, Lavoisier, and Bergman, as reigning authorities. He likewise manifests his acquaintance with the labours of Percival, Nooth, Black, Macbride, and Pringle, to whom he makes becoming references and acknowledgments (pp. 1—14).

"In the next division of his subject he examines the "nature of the aereal acid," and after an elaborate discussion of the matter from the facts and opinions before him, he concludes his inquiry by observing, like a candid, modest, and sensible man (p. 45): 'If I should be required to give a theory of the aereal acid, I should not venture to do it at present; we are probably ignorant of many qualities belonging to the gases, but further removed from an acquaintance with their peculiarities and constitutions. This, however, I will venture to assert, that fixed air, as far as I can judge, approaches as nearly to a simple substance as any gas or any acid, and in the two cases we are equally unacquainted with their constituent ingredients.'

"The third part of his discussion is directed to the employment of the aereal acid in medicine (p. 46). Herein he exhibits a summary of its use in gangrene, diseases of the stomach from a defect of vigour, in putrid typhus fever, in angina maligna, in confluent small pox and putrid measles, in consumption of the lungs, in

dysentery, and in scurvy, after the manner of an industrious inquirer, who had exerted every effort that health, opportunity, and assiduity could apply for the elucidation of the subject.

"The capital city of Scotland abounds in societies, composed mostly of the higher order of students, who meet for mutual improvement. Several of them are so well administered as to have acquired considerable property, and have become corporate bodies. The *Royal Medical* is one of these, in which memoirs are read and debated. Mr. Emmet was a conspicuous orator in these discussions. He was thought to be one of the best speakers, if not the very best. He was sufficiently esteemed to be chosen one of the four presidents. It was a regulation that a part of the discussion in the order of business should be in Latin, and herein perhaps Mr. Emmet excelled every person who took the floor. His knowledge was various, his memory retentive, his ideas methodical, and his utterance impressive.

"There was another society in which he appeared to great advantage in these juvenile pursuits. This was the *Royal Physical* Society. The objects of this association were virtually the same with the former. A new hall had been constructed, and a formal inauguration ordered. Dr. Emmet, one of the presiding officers here too, was appointed to deliver the discourse. This he executed much to the satisfaction of his audience in the Latin tongue; although in the preface of the pamphlet he informs the reader that it was but a work of three days (*tridui opus*). The copy I possess of this tract is noted as having been received from the author. I recollect, almost as well as if it was yesterday, his attitude and manner, and the motion of his right hand, which grasped a roll. You rationally expect an epitome of it.

"It was pronounced early in December, and printed by request almost immediately after. He has a bold and animated exordium, in which he congratulates the members on devoting themselves to Concord as well as to Esculapius. The society had been formed of two other societies—one called the *Physical*, and the other the *Chirurgical*. He felicitates them on the union, and compares their junction to two streams making a large river, which, flowing with a full current, would impart perpetual fertility to the fields of medicine. He adverts to the payments they had made, the sums remaining unpaid, and the means of extricating themselves from debt, by the subscriptions of the generous. In addressing the ordinary members, he urges in forcible terms the cultivation of the Latin tongue. In recommending temper and moderation, he advises to adorn the brows with laurel, provided the laurel, like the branch torn from Polydorus (as told by Virgil), does not issue blood. And on the conducting of their discussions, he compares the discreet

conflict of opinion to the motion imparted by the angel to the fountain of Bethsaida, by which agitation the persons who used it went away invigorated and healed. He next addresses the senior fellows, and afterwards the professors of the university, in polite and respectful terms. In his peroration he tells the members, that he does not wish that Society to surpass all the trees of the grove, and oppress them by its bulk; but that like the tree dreamed of by Mandane when the gods foretold the birth of Cyrus, it would spread its branches far and wide, that distant nations might be refreshed by its shade, and the Society might be respected wherever medicine flourished or philosophy was esteemed. If I am not mistaken in my remembrance, I have given you an outline of this neat and happy performance.

"There was a third society, to the presidential chair of which he was elevated. This was the Association for the Promotion of *Natural History*. Its patron and pattern was Professor John Walker, who, after having studied medicine, betook himself to theology, and preached to a congregation in a neighbouring parish. From this good and learned man I derived interesting knowledge. On a visit to the little island Inch Keith, in the Frith of Forth, he showed me the nest of the Eider-duck (*Anas molissima*), made of the exquisitely soft down derived from her body for the purpose; and the univalve mollusca (*murex purpurea?*), affording a juice equal to the purple of Tyre. He explained to me the geognostic constitution of the vast basaltic columns near Arthur's Seat in the King's Park; and illustrated to my comprehension the genera and species of vegetables that we found in our rambles through the fields and gardens of Mid-Lothian. It is one of the delightful incidents of my communication to you, to recall the time long gone, and alas! to return no more, when I was taught to read the pages of Nature's admirable book, with Emmet, by such an able and amiable instructor as Walker.

"I believe I am correct in remarking, that the distinction and praise he obtained while yet at the university, operated upon me as incentives to industry, after a model so conspicuous and admired, with the hope of gaining similar rewards.

"There was yet another society, called the *Speculative*, to which he belonged, and over which he also became a presiding officer. The exercises here were of a different character from those of the others, inasmuch as they embraced almost every subject except physical, natural, and medical science. The whole extent of politics, metaphysics, economics, literature, and history were considered at the meetings.

"Where he obtained his boyish education, in what particular seminary, and under what instructors, are matters of which I am

not informed. It is sufficient for me to observe that, on the title-page of his dissertation at Edinburgh, he assumed the title of bachelor of arts from Trinity College in Dublin. After this preparatory course he came from Ireland, his native country, to Edinburgh, for completing his professional studies. His father was a physician, and held the place of archiater or court physician to his majesty for the kingdom of Ireland. It may readily be understood that his classical attainments should be mingled with medical beginnings. The Irish students frequent Edinburgh to a very considerable number. The college in Dublin, though richly endowed, famous for classical and mathematical proficiency, and possessing also a faculty of physic, does nevertheless collect in its halls but a part of the students who devote themselves to medicine. They flock to the sister kingdom. Nor is it strange that it should be so. The university has professors of acknowledged ability. Its library is voluminous, diversified, and constantly increasing. The fees for matriculation and lectures are moderate. Access to the books is liberal and easy. The infirmary may be visited upon convenient terms, and practical lessons derived from the cases of the sick. Private instruction may be obtained, by those who wish it, on almost every subject. In a city where fuel is cheap, wages low, and rents moderate, young men can economize their funds. The societies already mentioned, and others, afford much instruction. To which I may add, that they who can spare time and gain introductions may be admitted into the best of company.

"Young Emmet had gained in this place as much reputation as one of his years could attain. He was prepared to enter the world of business, and give counsel to the sick and disabled. And in this function he would probably have been able and successful; adorning from year to year a profession he had cultivated with extraordinary diligence and ardour."

Emmet's intimacy with Mackintosh did not cease with his sojourn at the university. When he had graduated in medicine, he proceeded to London to attend the hospitals. He renewed his acquaintance there with his fellow-student Mackintosh, and was cordially received by him.

Having visited the principal schools of medicine in Great Britain, he went on the Continent, accompanied by Mr. Knox, a son of Lord Northland, and travelled through Germany, France, and Italy, and returned to Ireland in 1789, the period of the lamented death of his elder brother.* Of him, Thomas Addis was accustomed to speak as "one of the foremost men in point of talent that Ireland ever produced."

The death of Temple Emmet changed the destiny of his bro-

* T. A. Emmet received the intelligence of his brother's sudden death in Paris.

ther. It is said that it was at his father's desire he relinquished his profession, and determined on going to the bar; but his own account to the friend in Ireland, the late William Murphy, in whom of all others he reposed the greatest trust, and with great reason for so doing, referred the change to the advice of Mackintosh, on the occasion of his passing through London on his return to Ireland.

Mackintosh, in speaking of his companions and fellow-students at Edinburgh, makes mention of Hope, Clerk (Lord President of the Council), Malcolm Laing (the historian), Professor Wilde, Benjamin Constant, "a Swiss, of singular manners and powerful talents, and who made a transient appearance in the tempestuous atmosphere of the French revolution," and Thomas Emmet, "who soon after quitted physic for law, and became distinguished at the bar." There is a miserable affectation prevalent of under-rating the oratorical powers of eminent Irishmen, even such men as Burke, Grattan, and Curran, and of describing their highest flights of eloquence as appeals to the passions, in contradistinction to the cool, deliberate, argumentative appeals to the reason which distinguish the oratorical powers of Scotch and English speakers. Mackintosh says,* "Emmet did not reason, but he was an eloquent declaimer, with the taste which may be called Irish, and which Grattan had then rendered *so popular at Dublin*. Wilde had no precision and no elegance; he copied too much the faults of Mr. Burke's manner."

There are men in America, eminent in the legal profession, and elevated to its highest honours, who are fully as competent as Sir James Mackintosh to form a just opinion of oratorical merit, and the author has heard such men pronounce opinions highly favourable of Emmet's eloquence; and he never heard from them or from any body connected with jurisprudence in the American university, neither from its president, Dr. Duer, nor any other person acquainted with Emmet's efforts at the American bar, "that he did not reason." On the contrary, the general opinion entertained in that country was, that Emmet was a very close and powerful reasoner.

In the strange revolution of time and events, when Mackintosh was in Scotland, in 1801, "Constant was a tribune in France, Hope was Lord Advocate of Scotland, and Emmet, his former companion, was then a prisoner under his control."

T. A. Emmet, shortly after his brother's death, went to London, read two years in the Temple, occasionally attended the courts at Westminster, and often spoke with pleasure of having heard Erskine plead at the beginning of his career. He returned

* Mackintosh's Life, &c., vol. i. p. 27.

to Dublin, and was admitted to the Irish bar in Michaelmas term, 1790. He was in his 26th year when he commenced the study of the law.

Dr. Mitchill, referring to Emmet's change of profession, says:

"His elder brother, a barrister in Dublin, was removed by a premature and unexpected death. A vacancy was thus produced, which it was judged he could advantageously fill. He had surmounted the labour of acquiring one profession. He had, on this occasion, the resolution to attempt a second. He determined to undertake the study of the law, and to qualify himself for the duties of the bar. . . . .

"At the head-quarters of the legal institutions of Great Britain, it is not to be wondered at that Mr. Emmet in a short time qualified himself for his new profession. They who consider his previous attainments will instantly perceive that a mind like his had already ample stores of learning. He had entire knowledge of moral principles and obligations. He understood the rights and duties of man. He did not go there to get instruction on the nature of crimes and offences. On these and other fundamental qualifications of an enlarged soul he had long before acquired his stock of intelligence. What he wanted was a technical acquaintance with rules, forms, and precedents, and with the modes of applying them to the cases that offered in practice. His mind possessed the versatility and strength adequate to these subjects. It was by some of his friends considered a subject of regret that he changed his profession. They said that judicial studies circumscribed the faculties and narrowed the mind. The observation, if it is intended particularly for the pursuit of the law, is unjust; it applies with as much pertinency to any other employment which occupies the chief or entire attention."

In January, 1791, shortly after his admission to the bar, T. A. Emmet married Jane, daughter of the Rev. John Patten of Clonmel by his marriage with Margaret Colville.*

The earliest notice I find of the efforts of T. A. Emmet at the bar is one of the proceedings instituted in the month of June, 1792, in the singular case of James Napper Tandy against the viceroy, the Earl of Westmoreland, the lord chancellor, the Right Hon. John Foster, and Arthur Wolfe, Timothy Dillon, and George O'Reilly, Esqrs. Matthew Dowling, the attorney of Tandy, had

* The Rev. John Patten of Annerville, near Clonmel, died in 1787. Margaret Colville, the wife of John Patten, deceased July the 2nd, 1787, mother of Jane, William, and John Patten, was born the 8th of September, 1735. Jane Patten was born the 16th of August, 1771; William Patten was born the 10th of August, 1772; and John Patten, the only surviving child, the 10th of June, 1774. The wife of T. A. Emmet was a niece of the late eminent merchant, Mr. Colville of Merchants'-quay, and a first cousin of Mr. W. C. Colville, a director of the Bank of Ireland.

issued a subpœna against the lord lieutenant, and the singular question came on to be argued before the judges in the Court of Exchequer the 27th of June, "Whether any action, civil or criminal, can lie against a lord lieutenant of Ireland, pending his viceroyalty?"

These proceedings arose out of a proclamation, bearing the names of the lord lieutenant and some members of the privy council, offering a reward for the apprehension of Tandy.

The proceedings were instituted on the ground that the official rank of the lord lieutenant was conferred by letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain; while the great seal of Ireland was the only one which could be recognised in any court of law in Ireland.

Those who advised the course of proceedings adopted in Tandy's action against the lord lieutenant and privy council were men of a time that was productive of boldness. The circumstances of Tandy's case are briefly these: He was secretary to the Dublin Society of United Irishmen. It became the object of the society to discover the views of the Defenders: he accordingly met a party of Defenders at Castle Bellingham, where he took the oath; he was informed against, a bill of indictment was privately prepared against him at the Louth assizes, the authorities expecting to take him on his way to Dublin, where he had shortly to stand his trial for libel. He was informed of his danger, however, at Dundalk, and soon after quitted the kingdom.

Previously to his departure, he had challenged Toler, the solicitor-general; and Toler, it is said, was content to waive his privilege as an officer of government; but finding that Tandy was dilatory in taking advantage of the readiness on his part which had been intimated to his opponent, he complained of the breach of privilege, and Tandy was summoned to the bar of the House of Commons; a warrant was issued against him, and subsequently a proclamation was put forth, offering a reward for his apprehension. These were the grounds of the proceedings against the viceroy and his privy councillors.

The final hearing of the motion came on the 26th of November, 1792—the Hon. Simon Butler, T. A. Emmet, and Mr. M'Nally for the plaintiff Tandy. The result was what might be expected; and the case is not only remarkable for the question raised in it, but for the report of the speech of Emmet on this occasion, the first of his on record, and the one at greatest length of any that has reached us. In that speech there were sufficient indications of ability of the first order to justify the anxiety felt to take him from the bar, and to shelve such formidable talents on the bench.

The great object of those proceedings it was desirable to keep

undiscovered in the preliminary steps; that object was to contest the validity of the lord lieutenant's patent, as having been granted under the great seal of England, instead of that of the chancellor of Ireland. The object, however, was disclosed to the crown lawyers, and Tandy's advocates were obliged to bring forward the main question prematurely.

Various efforts were made by the crown lawyers to obtain an admission from plaintiff's attorney and counsel of the object of those proceedings. Throughout the proceedings, prudence and professional skill as well as abilities of a very high order were exhibited by the Hon. Simon Butler, one of the leading counsel for the plaintiff.

In the course of the proceedings the court addressed Mr. Tandy's counsel, Mr. Butler: "Would you, Mr. Butler, be understood to insinuate that there is no legal chief governor in this kingdom?"

Mr. Butler replied: "My lords, the regard I have for the peace of this kingdom obliges me to decline an answer to your lordship's question; but the conclusion can be readily drawn from the premises."

Mr. J. St. John Mason who, be it remembered, was a first cousin and a very intimate and confidential friend of T. A. Emmet, has given me a written statement of his recollections of T. A. Emmet and his brothers, wherein I find the following account of the part taken by T. A. Emmet in the very remarkable proceedings in the King's Bench, J. N. Tandy *versus* John Fane, Earl of Westmoreland, in 1792:

"With respect to the proceedings in the King's Bench against the viceroy, Lord Westmoreland (on account of a proclamation which the latter in council had issued for the apprehension of J. N. Tandy, who had fled the country on the issuing of an order for his arrest, in consequence of a report of a secret committee of the House of Commons, charging him with treasonable communication with the Defenders), the object was to contest the validity of the appointment of Lord Westmoreland as lord lieutenant, and indeed of all those who had previously filled the office of viceroy; and to produce the Earl of Westmoreland as a witness in those proceedings of Tandy, for the purpose of showing that his lordship's appointment was invalid, inasmuch as it was in virtue only of letters patent granted under the great seal of England, and not under the great seal of Ireland, which was then a separate kingdom. On that occasion, a subpœna having been issued for the attendance, as a witness, of Lord Westmoreland, T. A. Emmet moved for the plaintiff that the defendant, John Fane, Earl of Westmoreland, *of the kingdom of Great Britain*, do enter into security for his

appearance at court on the first day of next term. The court refused the motion. The attorney-general declared that the lord lieutenant would not give security. The Hon. Simon Butler, for the plaintiff, said" he trusted that Lord Westmoreland would give security, if the court was pleased to order him to do so. But the hearing of the arguments on the question, whether any action, civil or criminal, can lie against a lord lieutenant of Ireland, pending his viceroyalty, was postponed to the following term. In the meantime the great object of plaintiff's counsel had been defeated by the disclosure of their main object (which they believed the government ignored) in instituting these proceedings—namely, to raise the question of the validity of the appointment of the lord lieutenant. The plaintiff's attorney, Matthew Dowling, had been examined by the defendant's counsel on the subject of the object of these proceedings, and had, by Mr. Butler's direction, refused to answer any questions as to that object.

"On the renewed proceedings in this case, 26th November, 1792," says Mr. Mason, "T. A. Emmet spoke strongly on the subject of the lord lieutenant's appointment. One passage created a sensation throughout the kingdom: 'I boldly assert that there has been no legal viceroy in Ireland for the last six hundred years, and not only the counsel for Lord Westmoreland will not deny that fact, but they will not dare to let his patent come under a train of legal investigation.' "

And Mr. Mason, after citing this passage, observes: "Leonard M'Nally, the barrister, betrayed the cause by disclosing the object to the government, or the judges, or legal advisers of the crown, who had all been previously ignorant of it."

I take it, what Mr. Mason meant to say was, that Mr. M'Nally was the person suspected by Tandy's counsel of being the betrayer of their secrets in this instance.

It should be borne in mind that when Thomas Addis Emmet took the part and delivered the speech which he did on this occasion, he had only been at the bar about a year and a half, having been called to it at the term of 1790.

With respect to the betrayal of the secret of Tandy's counsel to the crown lawyers (whosoever the betrayer was), the importance of the disclosure was manifest in the urgency of the application of the attorney-general to quash the proceedings *in limine;* an application which, at the early stage of the proceedings, so embarrassed Tandy's counsel as to defeat their plans.

In the report of those proceedings I find Mr. Leonard M'Nally, whom Mr. Mason charges with picking the brains of the leading counsel in this case (as in later times he has been charged with picking the brains of his clients, pleading speciously in the

case he was supposed to advocate sincerely), represented as following up vigorously the course taken in support of the motion of Mr. Butler. The report says: "Mr. M'Nally, one of Mr. Tandy's counsel, strongly seconded Mr. Butler's efforts."

As the speech of Mr. Emmet on this occasion was the first made at the bar of which we have any account, and the only one reported at length of any speech of his at the Irish bar, I lay before my readers the authentic and authorized report of it:

"Mr. Emmet, on the same side with Mr. Butler, began by commenting on the nature of this application. 'It was made,' he said, 'by the attorney-general avowing himself not to be counsel for the Lord Westmoreland, no cause being in court on which to ground this application before appearance, and unsupported by any affidavit. It was not,' he said, 'a motion, and it would not be called a motion, if the counsel on the other side could call it by any other name. He would, however, tell the court what it was—it was a *message* from a great man, desiring the court to stop the progress of the law against him; and he would say, on the authority of 2 *Inst.* 56, that it is exactly that against which the *nulli negabimus justitiam* of Magna Charta was enacted. The ground of the application, as stated by the attorney-general on a former occasion, was, that Lord Westmoreland would not appear, and that it would be inconvenient and even dangerous to arrest him in the midst of his guards. If by law he cannot be compelled to appear,' said Mr. Emmet, 'the menace was unnecessary; if by law he may be compelled to appear, the menace was *indecent*. If he can be compelled to appear, he must appear; and notwithstanding the character given of him by his own immediate advocates, I cannot believe that while he claims to be the viceroy of this kingdom, he will set the example of resisting the laws to the subjects of his sovereign. But by law he may be compelled to appear; no privilege exempts him from *being sued*. It is a principle of the law, laid down in 1 *Com. Dig.* 104, Title action, c. 3, that "every *subject* of the king, ecclesiastical or temporal, man or woman, villein or free, may *be sued*." So great was the protection to the subject's right of suing, that the common law mode was preserved even against the king, until another was pointed out.' (For this Mr. Emmet cited 1 *Com. Dig.* 104, c. 1, until 'the time of Edward I. the king might have been sued in all actions as a common person.') The court observing that there was a doubt expressed in that very passage as to the fact, he then cited 43 Ed. III., 22; *Thel. Dig.* l. 4, c. 1, 3; 24 Ed. III., 55; and having established that position, proceeded to argue that even supposing Lord Westmoreland to be, what he claimed to be, lord lieutenant, his privilege is only an emanation from and cannot be

greater than the king's prerogative. But even the king can be sued by petition, and would still continue suable by the common law mode, if another, more adapted to the subtlety of the times, had not been found out; therefore the lord lieutenant must still continue suable by the common law mode, since he cannot be sued in any other way. The court have no right to quash its process for anything but irregularity, and none is alleged here. But the only foundation of the application is, that an action will not lie against the lord lieutenant. That may be true, and yet he may be sued. There are many men, in many cases, against whom actions will not lie, and yet they may be sued and must appear. If the viceroy has such a privilege, he comes too soon—he must plead it. In Mostyn *versus* Fabrigas, Cowp. 172, Lord Mansfield says, 'If it were true that the law makes him that sacred character he must plead it, and set forth his commission as special matter of justification, because *prima facie* the court has jurisdiction.' Mr. Emmet then cited several authorities to show that this was the rule of all privileges, and observed that this attempt to avoid pleading and setting forth the lord lieutenant's commission resulted from fear; for his counsel knew that if it was spread on the record it might be demurred to, and could be proved to be a nullity. This endeavour to determine the question in a summary way has also another object, to prevent the plaintiff from being able to appeal, or from taking advantage of a writ of error; but that very reason ought to induce the court to refuse the application. A question of novelty and importance ought to be put in the most solemn and conclusive mode of determination, and the court ought to decline deciding in a manner summary and final on a matter in which the subject ought to have the power of appeal. He next questioned the *dictum* that no action will lie against a governor locally during his government. 'It is my Lord Mansfield's opinion,' said he, 'unsupported, as far as I know, by any other authority in the books; and fortunately my Lord Mansfield has given the reason of his opinion: "because upon process he would be subject to imprisonment." The guarded manner of expressing the *dictum* shows its weakness. He says *locally* no action lies, but he does not and could not say that no action would lie against him out of the place where he is governor, and yet his imprisonment in England would as much impede and embarrass his government as if it were at Barbadoes. But it is not necessary that he should be subject to imprisonment in order that an action should lie. They are every day brought against peers and persons whose bodies are privileged from arrest. If the rights of the subject to have remedy for injury must be restricted as far as that policy renders it indispensable, the principles of the common law and the right of the subject ought

not to be sacrificed, even to the attainment of that great object, the security of a viceroy's person, if it can be attained in any other way. The consequence therefore is, that the court must so mould its process as to attain the redress of the subject without violating that privilege. This can be done by making the next process after this subpœna distress and not attachment, and he by letting the plaintiff proceed at his peril to a parliamentary appearance.' Mr. Emmet then cited by way of analogy to his last position a case from Raymond, 152, in which it was determined that an officer of the king's household, whose person was consequently free from arrests, might be sued, so as that the king might not be deprived of his service, and so might be outlawed. He then observed that the inconveniences of the opposite doctrine would be most monstrous, and show it cannot be law. Mr. Butler had very forcibly asked would it be a good replication to the plea of the statute of limitations that the defendant was chief governor? He would also ask would it be good evidence on a question of twenty years' possession in ejectment that the defendant was lord lieutenant, and that therefore no action could be brought against him? Were the court prepared to say that a viceroy might contract any debts, might break any contracts, might do any wrongs, might commit any crimes with impunity? Were they prepared to say that the king, by continuing any man to be a governor during life, might give him, not only a pardon for all crimes, but an indemnity from all civil engagements? The king himself has no such indemnity. Were the court prepared to say that no action will lie against him as executor or trustee? The law says almost as much of the king; it says he shall not be a trustee, and that if he be appointed executor he shall delegate others, against whom actions shall be brought; thus preserving the subject's right to remedy. The lord lieutenant certainly can be a trustee, and be sued as such, for he is one in many instances, and actions are brought against him as such every day. Here Mr. Baron Power intimated that the court knew the cause of action, for the attorney-general had told it to them; upon which Mr. Emmet replied that neither the court nor the attorney-general could possibly know the cause of action; that no one but Mr. Tandy, his counsel, and his attorney could know the cause of action; and that the court, if they decide against the plaintiff, must say that no action whatsoever will lie against the lord lieutenant. 'But,' continued Mr. Emmet, 'if the governor be entitled to such a privilege as is contended for, he must be a *legal* governor, and *legally* appointed, inasmuch as the privilege is a *legal* one. The court may know that he is *de facto* governor, and that may be sufficient to warrant and induce them to pay him every obeisance and attention, or perhaps to sanction any ministe-

rial act which he must do, but he can never have a legal right to a legal privilege in a court of law unless he had a legal right to his office; but he has not a legal right to his office, for he is appointed under the great seal of England. It was but lately that some of the ablest lawyers on the bench and at the bar were of opinion that the great seal of England can appoint a regent; for it can appoint a viceroy, whose name and whose functions differ but little from those of a regent. The attorney-general deprecated on a former day the supposition that this country has been for six hundred years without a legal viceroy. To that,' said Mr. Emmet, 'I answer with the sincere wish that this country may not continue to be as it has been for the last six hundred years; its independence was ascertained in 1782, and if there was any abuse crept in before, it ought to have ceased then. For the last ten years, I boldly say, there has been no legal viceroy in Ireland; and the counsel for Lord Westmoreland will not only not venture to contradict me, but they will not even dare to let his patent get into a train of legal investigation.' Mr. Emmet concluded that this was an application which Lord Westmoreland had no right to make, and which the court had no right to grant."*

The next account met with of Emmet's practice at the Irish Bar, is at the assizes of Tralee, April, 1793, at the trial of Lieut. Carr, of the 40th regiment, for the murder of a Mr. O'Connell, who had been shot in a duel by the prisoner. Emmet was the counsel for the latter, and showed great skill and judgment in his defence. See "Erskine's Magazine" for April, 1793. In September, 1793, at the Cork assizes, T. A. Emmet and the Sheares were associated with M'Nally in the defence of a Mr. O'Driscoll, for a seditious libel: their client was acquitted.

Before the alteration in the constitution of the United Irish Society, in 1795, a case occurred before Prime Serjeant Fitzgerald, in which a conviction was obtained on a charge of administering the United Irishman's oath, then a capital offence. Emmet appeared for the prisoners on a motion in arrest of judgment. He took up the pleadings in which the words of the oath were recited, and he read them in a very deliberate manner, and with all the gravity of a man who felt that he was binding his soul by the obligations of a solemn oath. The words were to the following effect: "I, A. B., in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament; and as a means and absolute and imme-

* Report of proceedings in actions—James Napper Tandy, plaintiff, and John, Earl of Westmoreland, defendant. Published by order of the Society of United Irishmen, December, 1792, p. 14.

diate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which, every reform in parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient to the freedom and happiness of this country."

Having read the test, and defended its obligations with a power of reasoning and a display of legal knowledge, in reference to the subject of the distinction between legal and illegal oaths, which the counsel for the prosecution described as producing an extraordinary impression, he addressed the court in the following terms:

"My lords—here, in the presence of this legal court, this crowded auditory—in the presence of the Being that sees and witnesses and directs this judicial tribunal—here, my lords, I, myself, in the presence of God, declare I take the oath."

He then took the book that was on the table, kissed it, and sat down. No steps were taken by the court against the newly-sworn United Irishman: the amazement of its functionaries left them in no fit state of mind either for remonstrance or reproval. The prisoners received a very lenient sentence.

The only speech of T. A. Emmet reported at length, on the trials of the United Irishmen in which he was professionally engaged, was in the case of twelve prisoners who had been imprisoned nearly seven months in the artillery barracks of Belfast, and were brought up by *Habeas Corpus*, directed to General Lake and Colonel Barber, before the Court of King's Bench, the 10th of October, 1797.

In Emmet's admirable speech on behalf of the prisoners, the observation of Mackintosh, that "he did not reason," was palpably refuted. The law of the land in reference to the violation of it on the part of the military officers in converting their barracks into common prisons, when martial law was not enforced—in keeping men immured for indefinite periods, without the form even of a committal by a justice of the peace—in depriving them of the benefit which the law accorded at each term, which prescribed a general gaol delivery, was laid down in a speech replete with legal knowledge, and free from any declamatory tropes or figures. After arguing at considerable length, that every place of confinement must be one recognised by the law, and every committal directed by a justice of the peace to a gaoler legally appointed, he asked, "Who is this General Lake? Is he gaoler-general of the north? or has Colonel Barber a patent for his private prisons? By what authority do they confine the subjects of this land in their quarters

or their houses, and deprive them of bail or mainprize? If they have such authority, to what purpose does the law say that no gaol shall be erected without act of parliament, or at least without the king's grant?

"Would to God, my lords—I speak it in the sincerity of a man who prizes tranquillity above everything but liberty and virtue—would to God I could persuade you, my lords, to interfere your dignified and venerable authority in favour of insulted law, and once more to endeavour to restore quietness throughout this distracted land—that I could expect you to interfere in a manner warranted by precedent, sanctioned by success, and dictated by necessity."*

It was on very rare occasions that T. A. Emmet appeared as counsel for the United Irishmen at the trials of 1797 and 1798. An understanding had been entered into with their leaders that he should take no prominent part in their behalf, from the time that he became intimately connected with their proceedings in 1796. He acted in the capacity of chamber lawyer to their committees, and there were few events of importance to their interests on which he was not consulted by them. Such was his position in relation to the Society at the period when he became a member of it, in 1796. It is necessary now to inquire into the views and prospects of the Society at the date of his connexion with it.

CHAPTER IV.

CONNEXION OF T. A. EMMET WITH THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN—ARREST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE AT BOND'S, THE 12TH OF MARCH, 1798—IMPRISONMENT.

As in the rebellion of 1641 there were three distinct parties in Ireland professedly combined for one object—not co-operating cordially, but frequently conflicting and contending for the supremacy of their opinions; so in 1798 there were, 1st—"Actual Reformers;" 2nd—"Emancipators;" 3rd—"Revolutionists." All these professed to travel by one route, but on many occasions diverged. They were like three instruments in a concert, very good when in tune and sounding together harmoniously, but when the second or third instrument got out of tune, the whole was discord, and the concert proved a failure. In the north the Presbyterians, who were principally of the first and third class, and with whom "the *United* system" originated (but with whom "emancipation" was a secondary object), would not at first move

* *The Press* newspaper, No. 26, 25th November, 1797.

in unison with the party by whom emancipation was the primary object; while the third class, who were the "emancipators," looked more to the acquisition of the civil and religious rights which, under the existing constitution, the other classes were already in possession of, than for any change in the form of government, or the substitution of a republican for a monarchial one. Of all classes there were many who were insensibly led on from the pursuit of objects that were attainable by legal means, to the contemplation of designs ulterior to the first, which could only be accomplished by means which were not legal. Accordingly we find, as the views or influence of one or other of the parties preponderated they varied in their plans, and the jangling that followed was alone the cause of their failure; at least, a great deal of the obstacles which sprung up and beset their society arose from *these causes*.

A very large portion of the members of the first society entertained no views beyond reform, and many of these, when the oath was first proposed, seceded and never returned; and yet this oath became, for a time, the strongest bond of the union among the people.

There is no slight analogy between the plans and projects of the Greek revolution and those of the leaders of the United Irish insurrection. Secret oaths were a part of the agency of both. The history of political oaths in every age and country is one not devoid of interest nor of instruction; ultimate evil to those who have recourse to them, everywhere seems to be the invariable result of their adoption.

In reflecting on the conflicting interests which in insurrectionary movements it is attempted to reconcile and to amalgamate, one is reminded of an opinion expressed by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his life of Henry VIII., on the nature of alliances between neighbouring kingdoms. "Betwixt great estates, adjacent to another, such jealousies arise that they make peace sometimes, but never friendship. Their league and confederacies have in them the nature of harmonical accords, which jar in the second, but agree in the third interval."

In men who are "fit for treasons, stratagems, and broils," the passions and mental qualities we expect to find are ambition, vanity, malignity, restlessness, or recklessness of mind. Were these the characteristics of T. A. Emmet? The question, with perfect safety to the memory of Emmet, might be put to any surviving political opponent of his of common honesty, who was acquainted with those times, and the men who were prominent actors in them. Emmet's ambition was to see his country well governed, and its people treated like human beings, destined and capacitated

for the enjoyment of civil and religious freedom. For himself he sought no pre-eminence, no popular applause; he shrunk from observation where his merits, in spite of his retiring habits, forced themselves into notice. No man could say that Emmet was ambitious.

Emmet's vanity was of a peculiar kind; he was vain of nothing but his name: it was associated with the brightest of the by-gone hopes of Irish genius, and with the fairest promises of the revival of the latter in the dawning powers of a singularly gifted brother. No man could say with truth that vanity or selfishness was the mental infirmity of Emmet.

No malignant act was ever imputed to him. The natural kindness of his disposition was manifested in his looks, in his tone of voice; those who came in contact with him felt that his benignity of disposition, his purity of heart and mind were such, "and the elements so mixed in him, that nature might stand up and say to all the world—this was a man." Malignity and Emmet were as dissimilar in nature as in name.

A restless mind was not the mind of Emmet; the calm, tranquillizing influence of philosophy had given its serenity to his intellectual organization. The repose, if one may so speak, of his character was apparent in the composure of his demeanour and the quietude of his deportment; no man could say of Emmet, as Gregory of Nazianzen did of Julian, his fellow-student, "that he prognosticated evil of him from the restlessness of his regard, the wandering of his eyes, and the unsteadiness of his nature."*

The charge of recklessness or unscrupulousness of conduct never has been brought against Emmet. Then, under what circumstances, or impelled by what motive, did such a person become a rebel?—a man of a moderate independence, of rising prospects at the bar (in the first year of his practice he realized £700, I learn from Mr. J. St. John Mason), devoted to his family—his chief happiness in its circle—of domestic habits, of irreproachable character; who had "given hostages to fortune," and had a father's interest in the preservation of peace and quiet; who had a stake in the soil, and being connected with it by other ties besides those of love, was necessarily opposed to measures which perilled property and the privileges of its owners. If the reader would know the cause, he will find it in every page of Irish history that is devoted to the illustration of this period of it, and it may be comprised in a single sentence: The cruel policy of ruling the country by means of the disunion of the inhabitants, and the abandonment of the power and functions of government to a faction, whose interests and passions were arrayed in deadly hostility against the great body of the people.

* Gregory of Nazianzen, orat. iv. in Julian, p. 122.

In the winter of 1790, Tone instituted a kind of political club, consisting of Drennan, Stokes, Pollock, Johnson, Burrowes, Stack, and Russell. Any two of the men present would have been the delight and entertainment of a well-chosen society; but all altogether was, as Wolsey says, "too much honour." Tone adds: "In recording the names of the members of the club, I find I have strangely omitted the name of a man whom, as well for his talents as his principles, I esteem as much as any, far more than most of them, I mean Thomas Addis Emmet, a barrister. He is a man completely after my own heart; of a great and comprehensive mind; of the warmest and sincerest affection for his friends; and of a firm and steady adherence to his principles, to which he has sacrificed much, as I know, and would, I am sure, if necessary, sacrifice his life. His opinions and mine square exactly."*

The first mention made of Emmet's taking any active part in politics is in Tone's Journal, where Emmet's introduction to the sub-committee of the Roman Catholics, the 15th October, 1792, is recorded. Tone states that he was well received by the members, and "richly deserved their admiration." "He was the best of all the friends to Catholic emancipation, always excepting Mr. Hutton" (himself).† From this time Emmet, behind the scenes of Catholic agitation, continued to give his pen to their cause; and, with his usual heedlessness of self, allowed others to take the merit of his services.

The grand juries throughout the country, in the spring and summer of 1792, had published resolutions expressive of their readiness to give "life and property" in defence of the principles of Protestant ascendancy. These were replied to in the name of the sub-committee of the Catholics, and the writers of these replies were two Protestant barristers, Messrs. Tone and Emmet. "At work with Emmet on the reply to the grand juries, 23rd October."‡ The address of the sub-committee to the Dublin corporation, at the same period, was also written by Emmet: this paper, which Tone calls a most excellent one, met the unanimous approbation of a meeting of the parochial delegates.

Aggregate meetings of the Catholic body now became frequent, and every person of any note connected with them took a part in their proceedings. Emmet alone kept aloof: he rendered them all the assistance in his power—he devoted his fine talents to their service, but he made no public display, and sought no public approbation for them. At this time he was not a member of the Society of United Irishmen, but long before he joined it he was the person in every emergency consulted by its leaders. When Tone, in the spring of 1795, was about to quit the country for

* "Tone's Life," vol. i. p. 40. † Ibid, p. 196. ‡ Ibid, p. 197.

America, he and Russell had an interview with Emmet at his country-seat at Rathfarnham.

The particulars of this interview have been already given; it is sufficient to recall the nature of it and the associations connected with it. The meeting took place in a little study which Emmet was building at the bottom of the lawn. He said "he would consecrate it to their meetings, if ever they lived to see their country emancipated."

The place where the conversation took place was a little triangular field. Emmet remarked, "that it was in one like it in Switzerland where William Tell and his associates planned the downfall of the tyranny of Austria."*

On Tone's departure from Dublin to embark at Belfast, Thomas Addis Emmet addressed the following letter to him:

"My dear Friend—I have just this instant heard from Simon M'Guire that you leave town to-night. I can scarcely believe that you would entirely break yourself away from this country, and from me among the rest, without calling on me or even writing a line. You know, and I trust will always be convinced that my friendship and affectionate regard for you is most undiminished. It is not of that nature to shake by adversity, which God knows how soon it may be my lot to undergo. Wherever you are you shall always command a steady friend in this country, as long as I reside here. Write to me at least when you reach your destination, and as often as may suit your convenience. Perhaps your letters may be useful to me for regulating my future settlement in life. God bless you. Give my most affectionate compliments to Mrs. Tone,

"And believe me sincerely," &c.†

The organization of the union was intended to be a complete representative system. It underwent two important changes. In 1794, the society, having been forcibly dissolved, became a secret one the beginning of 1795. Its objects extended far beyond reform and emancipation.

In 1796, the military organization was engrafted on the civil. All officers, to the rank of colonel, were elected by the committees: those of a higher grade by the executive; and with the concurrence of that body, the colonels had the nomination of an adjutant-general for each county. The commander-in-chief was nominated by the Leinster directory, and that officer was Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

A military committee was also appointed in 1798 by the same body, to prepare plans and communicate with the various societies

* Tone's Life, vol. i. p. 125. † Ibid, vol. i. p. 283.

on military subjects. The Leinster directory estimated the total of the United Irishmen throughout the country at half a million; the effective strength that might be relied on to take the field, at three hundred thousand. Many of these details have been already given at some length, but it is desirable to recall them to comprehend the grounds on which the leaders relied for accomplishing their objects. The northern directory was first formed. Arthur O'Connor and Lord Edward Fitzgerald established the Leinster, and for some time were its only members. Bond, Macneven, M'Cormick, and Jackson, came in at a later period. Emmet, who had been a member of the society from 1796, became one of the directory in 1797. He had been previously solicited to join it by Arthur O'Connor, and had declined; but on O'Connor's arrest and imprisonment in the Tower, about the middle of 1797, when the interests of the union were deprived of the services of its chief leader, he took his post.

O'Connor, immediately after his liberation, having been imprisoned for nearly six months, found it necessary to quit Ireland, and did not return till after the arrests of the leaders on the 12th of March, when he was brought back a prisoner after his trial at Maidstone; so that Emmet and he were not members of the directory at the same period. Each, however, had their circle of friends among the leaders, and in the directory the views of each were more or less influenced by them. It is a matter of notoriety, and needs no concealment, that the councils of the directory were distracted and divided on the most important of all questions to their cause—namely, the question of risking an attempt on their own resources, or deferring that attempt till the assistance they had demanded had been given to them. In favour of the former proceedings Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, and Henry Jackson, not once or twice, but on several occasions, expressed their opinions strongly; while at various times Emmet, M'Cormick, and Macneven as strenuously opposed them. M'Cormick foresaw the issue of this division in their councils; he kept aloof from the society in the latter part of 1797; he fled the kingdom in March, 1798. It is an easy matter after an event to pronounce judgment on the views of those whose efforts were directed in different ways to the accomplishment of the object, and were unsuccessful. The application to France had been made by the directory before Emmet joined it. That application was determined on at a meeting called about the middle of 1796, in consequence of a letter received from Tone, who was then in Paris, stating that the French government, on representations made to it, was favourably disposed towards the objects of the society.*

* Memoirs of Emmet, O'Connor, and Macneven.

On this intimation an application for assistance was made to the directory, and a positive assurance was given that it would be granted.

Tone had no specific authority from the directory to make the representation above-mentioned, but his journals leave no doubt that the representation was made with the concurrence of persons not then prominent members of the directory; but, in point of rank and influence among the popular party, the foremost men in the country. The garden scene described by Tone in 1795 can leave no doubt of Emmet's concurrence in the views on which Tone acted. The letter of "one of the chief Catholic leaders" (John Keogh), made mention of in another part of the journal, dated 3rd September, 1795, is less explicit than the former; but the matter alluded to requires no ghost from the grave to divine its meaning.

"*Remember*, then, my dear Tone, the many hours we spent *in the garden*, in your favourite walk. That these conversations impress your mind, as they do mine, I can never doubt. . . . Once more, Tone, remember and *execute* your garden conversation."*

There can be no longer any necessity for withholding the fact that Mr. Keogh, one of "the chief Catholic leaders," was a member of the Society of United Irishmen, as well as his friend Richard M'Cormick, the secretary of the Catholic Committee, and the gentleman who preceded him in that office, Theobald Wolfe Tone. We carefully discriminate between those who were fortunate enough to escape unscathed in the struggle, and those who went down to the grave branded with the name of traitors; but while these persons who were partakers of their sentiments, associates in their cause, but not sharers in their unhappy fate, who concurred in the projects, the execution of which brought ruin on the agents employed in carrying them into effect, are held entitled to the Spartan privilege of impunity, the memories of the others might claim at least some indulgent consideration on the part of those who speculated on successful insurrection—notwithstanding they skulked when the struggle came which they had precipitated, and showed no sympathy with those who failed.†

* "Life of Tone," vol. i. p. 293.

† Mr. John Keogh, long previously to 1798, did not escape the penalty which all prominence in political agitation has to pay to jealousy, envy, or suspicion, for its notoriety and elevation. He was suspected of infidelity to the cause of the Catholics so early even as 1793, and in all probability was unjustly suspected on that occasion. A gentleman of undoubted veracity, the late Mr. William Murphy, informed me that he examined, at the desire of John Keogh, his books, while he was engaged in business, and found that in one year he had cleared £6,000, and that the landed property he had purchased, and which brought him in only £180 a-year when he bought it, was then bringing him £800 a-year. So much for his commercial gains.

Not many months before the flight of M'Cormick, John Keogh was called on to preside at a very important meeting of the United Irishmen of the higher class of Dublin leaders, at the house of Mr. Cornelius M'Laughlin on Usher's-island. Keogh, on taking the chair, called for a list of the members who were to attend. After some time a gentleman, known to be an United Irishman, but whose name was not on the list, entered the room and took part in the proceedings. Keogh became uneasy; he beckoned to M'Cormick, and desired him to inquire why persons attended the meeting who had not been invited. The latter made an inquiry, and brought back word that the gentleman was the friend of one of those who had been invited, and was a very trustworthy person. Keogh was not satisfied. Another gentleman was brought in under similar circumstances. Keogh then whispered to M'Cormick, in the hearing of William Murphy, who sat next to the latter, "Dick, men's lives are not safe with fellows who would act in this manner." And in the course of a few minutes he pleaded an engagement and quitted the meeting, and from that time never attended at one, but continued for some time known to the chief men of the society as an attached friend to their cause.

The dependence on French assistance proved fatal to the union. This was the opinion of T. A. Emmet, communicated to his brother barrister, the distinguished Charles Glidden Haines, in 1812 (both attending the supreme court at Washington), when an outline of his early career and the progress of the struggle he had embarked in was given to that gentleman. Mr. Emmet informed him that, independently of the effective force they counted on in their society, a plan had been concerted to effect the important object of bringing a considerable number of British ships, chiefly manned by Irishmen, into their ports. From the opinions he expressed on this subject, Haines concluded that had Ireland never relied at all on France her prospects of success might have been better; the French, however, having once promised, it was reasonable to place reliance on that promise, and, as it turned out, the reliance thus placed embarrassed everything. With respect to the conduct of Buonaparte towards the agents of the United Irishmen, Emmet denounced him as "the worst enemy Ireland ever had."

The government having allowed the plans of the United Irishmen to come to a sufficient degree of maturity for their purposes, availed themselves of the services of a man, whose very name sounds in one's ears like a serpent's hiss—*Reynolds the informer.*

The deputies were arrested on his information at Bond's, the 12th of March, 1798; Emmet, Macneven, Jackson, and Sweetman

were taken the same day at their several abodes, brought to the Castle, examined there, and most of them committed to Newgate.

Emmet's arrest was made by Alderman Carleton, by whom he was conducted to the Castle. He was again given in charge of Alderman Carleton, brought to his house, and remained there in surveillance for some days, and was then committed to Kilmainham.

A circumstance that ought not to be omitted has been mentioned to me by Emmet's second son Thomas, respecting the arrest of his father. He states that he remembers when his father was taken at the house in Stephen's-green. What impressed it on his memory was the circumstance of his being suddenly awoke, and his little brother also, who was sleeping with him, and seeing a number of soldiers standing near the window with fixed bayonets presented at them. These military heroes must surely have been of some yeomanry corps; the regulars would have spared the nursery.

Against Emmet there was no specific charge—no overt act of treason brought against him. From the time of O'Connor's arrest he was looked upon as the prime mover in the conspiracy—the head-piece of the union—and in that opinion there was no mistake. There were twenty of the leaders, men of the union, from various parts of the country, particularly from the north, then confined in Newgate.

The wife of Emmet at that period had an opportunity afforded of displaying that heroic devotion to her husband which she was destined to be called on to exhibit for upwards of four years, in the several prisons he was immured in. Soon after his confinement she obtained permission to visit him. The cell in which he was confined was about twelve feet square. She managed to secrete herself in this wretched abode for some days, one of the turnkeys who had charge of Emmet's cell being privy to her concealment. Her husband shared his scanty allowance with her; and there a lady, bred in the lap of luxury, accustomed to all the accommodations that are possessed by one in her sphere in life, used to all the comforts of a happy home, familiarised to the affectionate care and kind attentions of an amiable family, daily blessed with the smiling faces of her dear children—"one who had slept with full content about her bed, and never waked but to a joyful morning—" shared the dungeon of her husband; its gloom, its dreary walls, its narrow limits, its dismal aspect—things and subjects for contemplation which her imagination a few weeks before would have sickened at the thought of—were now endured as if they affected her not; her husband was there, and everything else in

this world, except her fears for his safety and for separation from him, were forgotten; her acts said to him,

"Thou to me
Art all things under heaven, all places thou."

The gaoler at length discovered that Mrs. Emmet was an inmate of her husband's cell. She was immediately ordered to quit the place; but to the astonishment of the officers of the prison, who were not accustomed to have their orders disobeyed, she told them "*her mind was made up* to remain with her husband, and she would not leave the prison." The gaoler, whom Emmet speaks of as "a man of unfeeling and ruffianly deportment," stood *awe-stricken* before a feeble, helpless creature, whom he had only to order one of his myrmidons to tear from the arms of her husband, and his bidding would have been obeyed. The power of a brave-spirited woman seldom is put forth that it does not triumph; and when she exerts it on occasions of mighty moment to those who are dearer to her than life, it is difficult to understand how the display alone of the noble instincts of her nature seems to overcome the insolent energy of brute force, the sense of superior strength, and assertion of authority.

The gaoler retired; and Emmet was given to understand that orders had been given to the man by his superiors not to employ force, but the first time that Mrs. Emmet left the prison she was not to be permitted to return. No such opportunity for her exclusion was afforded by that lady. She continued to share her husband's captivity for upwards of twelve months. But once in that time she left the prison, and then only to visit her sick child, when she appealed to the wife of the gaoler, "as the mother of a family," to take pity on her wretchedness, struggling as she was between her duty to her husband and the yearnings of nature towards her sick child.

It cheers one to find that even such an appeal as this was not made in vain. At midnight this woman conducted Mrs. Emmet through the apartments of the gaoler to the street. The following night, after remaining with her child at the house of Dr. Emmet during the day, she returned to the gaol, gained admittance by the same means, and was on the point of entering her husband's cell when one of the keepers discovered her, but too late to exclude her from the prison. From that time she availed herself no more of the same facility for leaving or entering the prison. During her absence the room had been visited by one of the keepers, not an unfrequent occurrence; the curtains had been drawn round the bed, some bundles of clothing placed under the coverlid, and the keeper was requested to tread lightly, as Mrs. Emmet was suffering from headache. Shortly after this occurrence Emmet and

Macneven were removed to Kilmainham gaol, and Mrs. Emmet found means to gain access to her husband, and the authorities connived at her sojourn in his dungeon.

These details are given from the account received by the author from those most intimately connected with the family in another country, as well as one still surviving in his own.

CHAPTER V.

COMPACT OF THE STATE PRISONERS WITH GOVERNMENT—EXAMINATION OF EMMET, A. O'CONNOR, AND DR. MACNEVEN.

In the pamphlet from which the succeeding report of Emmet's examination is taken, no account is given of the compact with government; but in Macneven's "Pieces of Irish History" a statement of it is given by him at considerable length. The original draft of a paper on this subject, unpublished, drawn up chiefly by Emmet, exists in the handwriting of himself, Sweetman, and Macneven, and as it differs in the mode of treating the matter as well as in style, and in some respects is more precise and simple in its details, it is inserted in this memoir of its principal author, and however fully the subject has been gone into, the importance of it to the character of Emmet would alone be a sufficient reason for its insertion. The opponents of these men have had the full fling of their pens and tongues against the characters, private as well as public, of the men of 1798. In common fairness we are bound to hear what they have to say in their own defence, or at least in extenuation of their errors. The Musgraves, the Duigenans, the Reynoldses even, have had their hearing—justice demands one for them, and it is not for those who profess to love justice to refuse it.

The account of the compact of the state prisoners with the Irish government, taken from the original draft of that document in the handwriting of Thomas Addis Emmet, John Sweetman, and William James Macneven, was drawn up by them in France on their liberation from Fort George, and remained in the possession of John Sweetman. The following part of the statement is in the handwriting of Thomas A. Emmet:

"We, the undersigned, until this day state prisoners and in close custody, feel that the first purpose to which we should apply our liberty is to give to the world a short account of a transaction which has been grossly misrepresented and falsified, but respecting which we have been compelled to silence for nearly the last three years. The transaction alluded to is the agreement entered into

by us and other state prisoners with the Irish government, at the close of the month of July, 1798; and we take this step without hesitation, because it can in nowise injure any of our friends and former fellow-prisoners, we being among the last victims of perfidy and breach of faith.

"From the event of the battles of Antrim and Ballinahinch, early in June, it was manifest that the northern insurrection had failed in consolidating itself. The severe battle of Vinegar-hill, on the 21st of the same month, led to its termination in Leinster; and the capitulation of Ovidstown, on the 12th of July,* may be understood as the last public appearance in the field of any body capable of serving as a rallying point. In short, the insurrection, for every useful purpose that could be expected from it, *was at an end;* but blood still continued to flow—courts-martial, special commissions, and, above all, sanguinary Orangemen, now rendered doubly malevolent and revengeful from their recent terror, desolated the country, and devoted to death the most virtuous of our countrymen. These were lost to liberty, while she was gaining nothing by the sacrifice.

"Such was the situation of affairs when the idea of entering into a compact with government was conceived by one of the undersigned, and communicated to the rest of us conjointly with the other prisoners confined in the Dublin prisons, by the terms of which compact it was intended that as much might be saved and as little given up as possible. It was the more urgently pressed upon our minds, and the more quickly matured, by the impending fate of two worthy men. Accordingly, on the 24th of July, the state prisoners began a negotiation with government, and an agreement was finally concluded, by the persons named by their fellow-prisoners, at the Castle of Dublin, and was finally ratified by the lord chancellor, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Cooke, three of the king's ministers. In no part of this paper were details or perfect accuracy deemed necessary, because the ministers, and particularly Lord Castlereagh, frequently and solemnly declared that it should in every part be construed by government with the utmost liberality and good faith; and particularly the last clause was worded in this loose manner to comply with the express desire of the ministers, who insisted upon retaining to government the entire popularity of the measure; but it was clearly and expressly understood, and positively engaged, that every leading man not guilty of deliberate murder should be included in the agree-

* The event preceding the massacre of the capitulated body of the United Irishmen, on the Rath of the Curragh of Kildare, by the command of Major General Sir James Duff, executed chiefly by the yeomanry cavalry of Captain Bagot, and the *Fox-hunters' Corps*, commanded by Lord Roden.

ment who should choose to avail himself of it, in as full and ample a manner as the contracting parties themselves, and that there should be a general amnesty, with the same exceptions, for the body of the people.

"We entered into this agreement the more readily, because it appeared to us that by it the public cause lost nothing. We knew, from the different examinations of the state prisoners before the privy council, and from conversations with ministers, that government was already in possession of all the important knowledge which they could obtain from us. From whence they derived their information was not entirely known to us, but it is now manifest that *Reynolds*, M'Ginn, and Hughes—not to speak of the minor informers—had put them in possession of every material fact respecting the internal state of the union; and it was from particular circumstances well known to one of us, and entirely believed by the rest, that its external relations had been betrayed to the English cabinet, through the agency of a foreigner with whom we negotiated.

"This was even so little disguised that, on the preceding 12th of March, the contents of a memoir which had been prepared by one of the undersigned at Hamburgh, and transmitted thence to Paris, were minutely detailed to him by Mr. Cooke. Nevertheless those with whom we negotiated seemed extremely anxious for our communications. Their reasons for this anxiety may have been many, but two particularly suggested themselves to our minds: they obviously wished to give proof to the enemies of an Irish republic and of Irish independence of the facts with which they were themselves well acquainted, while, at the same time, they concealed from the world their real sources of intelligence. Nor do we believe we are uncharitable in attributing to them the hope and wish of rendering unpopular and suspected men in whom the United Irishmen had been accustomed to place an almost unbounded confidence. The injurious consequences of government succeeding in both these objects were merely personal; and as they were no more, though they were revolting and hateful to the last degree, we did not hesitate to devote ourselves that we might make terms for our country.

"What were these terms? That it should be rescued from civil and military execution; that a truce should be obtained for liberty, which she so much required. There was also another strongly impelling motive for entering into this agreement. If government, on the one hand, was desirous of rousing its dependents by a display of the vigorous and well-concerted measures that were taken for subverting its authority and shaking off the English yoke; so we, on the other hand, were not less solicitous

for the vindication of our cause in the eyes of the liberal, the enlightened, and patriotic. We perceived that in making a fair and candid development of those measures we should be enabled boldly to avow and justify the cause of Irish union, as being founded upon the purest principles of benevolence, and as aiming only at the liberation of Ireland. We felt that we could rescue our brotherhood from those foul imputations which had been industriously ascribed to it—the pursuit of the most unjust objects by means of the most flagitious crimes.

"If our country has not actually benefited to the extent of our wishes and of our stipulations, let it be remembered that this has not been owing to the *compact*, but to the *breach of the compact*—the gross and flagrant breach of it, both as to the letter and spirit, in violation of every principle of plighted faith and honour.

"Having been called upon to fulfil our part of the compact, a stop being put to all further trials and executions, a memoir was drawn up and signed by two of the undersigned, together with another of the body (they being selected by government for that purpose), and was presented to Mr. Cooke on the 4th of August. It was very hastily prepared in a prison, and of course not so complete and accurate as it might otherwise have been; but sufficiently so to draw from Mr. Cooke an acknowledgment that it was a complete fulfilment of the agreement; though he said the lord lieutenant wished to have it so altered as not to be a justification of the United Irishmen, which, he said, it manifestly was.

"Upon the refusal to alter it, government thought proper to suppress it altogether, and adopted a plan which they had already found convenient for promulgating *not the entire truth*, but so much of the truth as accorded with their views, and whatever else they wished to have passed upon mankind under colour of authority for the truth. This was no other than examination before the secret committees of parliament. By these committees several of us were examined; and, to our astonishment, we soon after saw in the newspapers, and have since seen in printed reports of these committees, misrepresented and garbled, and, as far as relates to some of us, very untrue and fallacious statements of our testimony—even in some cases the very reverse of what was given. That no suspicion may attach to this assertion from its vagueness, such of us as were examined will, without delay, state the precise substance of our evidence on that occasion.

"The Irish parliament thought fit, about the month of September in the same year, to pass an act to be founded expressly on this agreement. To the provisions of that law we do not think it worth while to allude, because their severity and injustice are lost in comparison with the enormous falsehood of its preamble. In

answer to that we most distinctly and formally deny that any of us did ever publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, *acknowledge crimes, retract opinions,* or *implore pardon,* as is therein most falsely stated. A full and explicit declaration to this effect would have been made public at the time, had it not been prevented by a message from Lord Cornwallis, delivered to one of the subscribers, on the 12th of that month. Notwithstanding we had expressly stipulated at the time of the negotiation for the entire liberty of publication, in case we should find our conduct or motives misrepresented, yet this perfidious and inhuman message threatened that such declaration would be considered as a breach of the agreement on our part, and in that case the executions in *general should go on as formerly.*

"Thus was the truth stifled at the time; and we believe firmly that to prevent its publication has been one of the principal reasons why, in violation of the most solemn engagements, we were kept in close custody ever since, and transported from our native country against our consent.

"We conceive that to ourselves, to our cause, and to our country, and to posterity, we owe this brief statement of facts, in which we have suppressed everything that is not of a nature strictly vindicatory; because our object in this publication is not to criminate but to defend. As to their truth we positively aver them, each for himself, as far as they fall within his knowledge, and we firmly believe the others to be the truth, and nothing but the truth."

The following part of the statement is in the handwriting of John Sweetman:

"On the 12th of March, 1798, the deputies from several counties having met in Dublin, to deliberate upon some general measures for the union, were arrested in a body at Mr. Bond's, as were also many other of its principal agents, and put into a state of solitary confinement. Some of those persons were examined by the privy council previous to their committal to prison; when it appeared beyond a possibility of doubt that the negotiations of the United Irishmen with France had been betrayed to the British government. On the 30th, the kingdom was officially declared in a state of rebellion, and put under martial law. A proclamation from the lord lieutenant had directed the military to use the most summary methods for repressing disturbances; and it was publicly notified by the commanders in some counties, that unless the people brought in their arms in ten days from the period of publication, large bodies of troops would be quartered on them, who should be licensed to live at free quarters, and that other severities would be exercised to enforce acquiescence. In the latter end of May, the United armed men of the county Kildare felt themselves

obliged to take the field, and hostilities commenced between them and the king's forces on the 24th. About this time the counties of Wexford and Wicklow were generally up, and those of Down, Derry, Antrim, Carlow, and Meath were preparing to rise. The appeal to arms in these counties was attended with various success on both sides, and the military were invested with further powers by a proclamation, issued by the lord lieutenant and council, directing the generals to punish all attacks upon the king's forces, according to martial law, either by death or otherwise, as to them should seem expedient. For some time the people had the advantage in the field; but the defeat at New Ross on the 5th of June, at Antrim on the 7th, that of Arklow on the 9th, of Ballinahinch on the 12th, of Vinegar-hill on the 21st, and Kilconnell on the 26th, with the evacuation of Wexford, and some unsuccessful skirmishes which afterwards took place in the county of Wicklow, removed all hope of maintaining the contest *for the present* with any probability of success. In the interim troops were arriving from England, and several regiments of English militia had volunteered their services for Ireland. About the end of June, a proclamation was issued, promising pardon and protection to all persons, except the leaders, who should return to their allegiance and deliver up their arms, which, it was said, had a very general effect. A large body of the Kildare men had already surrendered to General Dundas, and on the 21st of July another party, with its leaders, capitulated with General Wilford. The king's troops, by this time, were victorious in every quarter; and the park of artillery which had been employed in the south had returned to the capital.

"It was now upwards of two months since the war broke out, during which time no attempt had been made by the French to land a force upon the coast, nor was there any satisfactory account then received that such a design was in contemplation. The expedition of Buonaparte and the forces under his command were already ascertained to have some part of the Mediterranean for their object. No other diversion was made by the French to distract the British power during this period. Military tribunals, composed of officers, who in many instances, as it has been publicly admitted, had not exceeded the inconsiderate age of boyhood, were everywhere instituted, and a vast number of executions had been the consequence. The yeomen and soldiery, licensed to indulge their rancour and revenge, were committing those atrocious cruelties which unfortunately distinguish the character of civil warfare. The shooting of innocent peasants at their work was occasionally resorted to by them as a species of recreation—a practice so inhuman that unless we had incontestible evidence of the fact we never should have given it the slightest credibility.

During these transactions a special commission, under an act of parliament, and passed for the occasion, was sitting in the capital; and the trials having commenced, it was declared from the bench that to be proved an United Irishman was sufficient to subject the party to the penalty of death, and that any member of a baronial or other committee was accountable for every act done by the body to which he respectively belonged in its collective capacity, whether it was done without his cognizance in his absence, or even at the extremity of the land. As it was openly avowed that convictions would be sought for only through the medium of informers, the government used every influence to dignify the character of this wretched class of beings in the eyes of those who were selected to decide on the lives of the accused; and they so effectually succeeded as to secure implicit respect to whatever any of them chose to swear, from juries so appointed, so prepossessed. It was made a point by the first connexions of government to flatter those wretches, and some peers of the realm were known to have hailed the arch-apostate Reynolds with the title of 'Saviour of his country.'"

The following part of the statement is in the handwriting of William James Macneven:

"In the case of Mr. Bond, the jury, with an indecent precipitation, returned a verdict of guilty on the 23rd of July, and on the 25th he was sentenced to die. Byrne was also ordered for execution. In this situation of our affairs a negotiation was opened with government, and proceeded in through the medium of Mr. Dobbs. An agreement was in consequence concluded and signed, which among other things stipulated for the lives of Byrne and Bond; but government thought fit to annul this by the execution of Byrne. As, however, the main object, *the putting a stop to the useless effusion of blood*, was still attainable, it was deemed right to open a second negotiation. In its progress government having insisted on some dishonorable requisitions, which were rejected with indignation, occasioned the failure of this also. It was however proposed by them to renew it again, and deputies from the gaols were appointed to confer with the official servants of the crown. A meeting accordingly took place at the Castle on the 29th of July, when the final agreement was concluded and exchanged.

"In addition to *the fulfilment to the letter* of this agreement, the official servants of the crown pledged the faith of government for two things—one that the result and end of that measure should be the putting a stop to the effusion of blood, and that all executions should cease, except in cases of wilful murder; the other was that the conditions of the agreement should be liberally in-

terpreted. The agreement was, in the course of a day or two, generally signed by the prisoners.

"Having thus stated the facts, we proceed to declare our reasons for entering into and ratifying this agreement: 1st. Because we had seen, with great affliction, that in the course of the appeal to arms, while four or five counties out of the thirty-two were making head against the whole of the king's forces, no effectual disposition was manifested to assist them, owing, as we believe, to the extreme difficulty of assembling, and the want of authentic information as to the real state of affairs. 2ndly. Because the concurring or quiescent spirit of the English people enabled their government to send not only a considerable additional regular force, but also many regiments of English militia into Ireland. 3rdly. Because it was evident that in many instances the want of military knowledge in the leaders had rendered the signal valour of the people fruitless. 4thly. Because, notwithstanding it was well known in France that the revolution had commenced in Ireland—an event that they were previously taught to expect—no attempt whatever was made by them to land any force during the two months which the contest had lasted, nor was any account received that it was their intention even shortly to do so. 5thly. Because that by the arrest of many of the deputies and chief agents of the union, and by the absence of others, the funds necessary for the undertaking were obstructed or uncollected, and hence arose insurmountable difficulties. 6thly. Because, from the several defeats at New Ross and Wexford, no doubt remained on our minds that farther resistance, for the present, was not only vain but nearly abandoned. 7thly. Because we were well assured that the proclamation of amnesty issued on the 29th June had caused great numbers to surrender their arms and take the oath of allegiance. 8thly. Because juries were so packed, justice so perverted, and the testimony of the basest informers so respected, that trial was but a mockery, and arraignment but the tocsin for execution. 9thly. Because we were convinced by the official servants of the crown, and by the evidence given on the trials, that government was already in possession of our external and internal transactions; the former they obtained, as we believe, through the perfidy of some agents of the French government at Hamburgh; the latter through informers who had been less or more confidential in all our affairs. 10thly, and finally. Every day accounts of the murders of our most virtuous and energetic countrymen assailed our ears; many were perishing on the scaffold, under pretext of martial or other law, but many more the victims of individual Orange hatred and revenge. To stop this torrent of calamity, to preserve to Ireland her best blood . . .

we determined to make a sacrifice of no trivial value—we agreed to abandon our country, our families, and our friends.

"And now we feel ourselves further called upon to declare that an Act, passed in Ireland during the autumn of 1798, reciting our names and asserting that we had 'retracted our opinions, acknowledged our crimes, and implored pardon,' is founded upon a gross and flagrant calumny—neither we, the undersigned, nor any of our fellow-prisoners, so far as we know or believe, having ever done either the one or the other; and we solemnly assert that we never were consulted about that Act, its provisions, or preamble, and that no copy of it was ever sent to us by any servant of the crown, though repeatedly promised by the under-secretary, or by any other person. On the contrary it had, unknown to us, passed the House of Commons, when one of us (Samuel Neilson), having seen by mere accident an abstract of it in an English newspaper, remonstrated with the servants of the crown on the falsity of the preamble, and was silenced only by a message from the lord lieutenant, that it was his positive determination to annul the agreement and *proceed with the executions*, &c., if any further notice whatever was taken of the preamble, or if one word was published on the subject. We did not conceive ourselves warranted, situated as things then were, in being instrumental to a renewal of bloodshed. We have ever since been constrained to silence, for, in violation of a solemn agreement, we have been kept *close prisoners*.

"To our country and to posterity we felt that we owed this declaration; and to their judgment upon our conduct and motives we bow with respectful submission."

In the month of July, 1798, the negotiations were entered into with the government, of which principal details have been given in the preceding memoir. On the 10th of August, T. A. Emmet was examined before the secret committee of the House of Lords. A very small portion of this examination was given in the parliamentary report purporting to contain the examinations of the state prisoners. On their liberation from Fort George, Emmet, O'Connor, and Macneven published in London a pamphlet containing the memoir of the origin and progress of the union they had delivered to the Irish government, and an account of their examinations in which the suppressed portions of their evidence were given.* The pamphlet is now rarely to be met with, and from it the following account of the examination of T. A. Emmet is taken, after having compared it with the original document in the possession of the son of one of the parties to the compact.

* "Memoirs of the Irish Union," &c. London: Robinson, 1802.

SUBSTANCE OF THOMAS ADDIS EMMET'S EXAMINATION BEFORE THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS, ON FRIDAY, 10TH AUGUST, 1798.

Committee.—Were you an United Irishmen?

Emmet.—My lords, I am one.

Com.—Were you a member of the executive?

Emmet.—I was of the executive from the month of January to the month of May, 1797, and afterwards from December, 1797, till I was arrested.

[I was then asked as to the military organization, which I detailed. They then asked when the returns included fire-arms and ammunition.]

Emmet.—After the Insurrection and Indemnity Acts had been passed, when the people were led to think on resistance, and after 4,000 persons had been driven from the county of Armagh by the Orangemen.

Com.—Was not the name of Orangemen used to terrify the people into the United system?

Emmet.—I do not know what groundless fears may have been propagated by ignorant people; but I am sure no unfair advantage was taken by the executive. The Orange principles were fairly discussed, as far as they were known, and we always found that wherever it was attempted to establish a lodge the United Irish increased very much.

Lord Dillon.—Why, where was it endeavoured to introduce them, except in the north and the city of Dublin?

Emmet.—My lord, I cannot tell you all the places in which it was endeavoured, but I will name one in the county of Roscommon, where I am told it made many United Irishmen.

Lord Dillon.—Well, that was but very lately, and I endeavoured to resist it.

Com.—When were the first communications with France?

Emmet.—The first I heard of were after the Insurrection and Indemnity Acts had been carried; the first I knew of was after the French fleet had left Bantry Bay, and after it was manifest the effort for reform would not succeed; and permit me to add, on my oath, it was my intention to propose to, and from conversations I had with some of the executive directory, I am sure it would have been carried there, that if there had been any reasonable hope of reform being adopted, to send one more messenger to France, and he should have told them the difference between the people and the government was adjusted, and not to attempt a second invasion. [They then took me into detail through the whole of the negotiations and messages—stated that the demand on our part was from

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

in 1798.

From an original drawing by Herbert

five to ten thousand men, and 40,000 stand of arms by the first agent; that the instructions to the second agent differed by requesting more arms in consequence of the disarming of the north which had intervened; and that the French had promised we should be at perfect liberty to choose our own form of government. It was expressly stipulated with them that they should conduct themselves so.]

Lord Chancellor.—As they did in Holland?

Emmet.—As Rochambeau did in America, my lords.

[They then entered on the subject of the separation.]

Lord Chancellor.—How is it possible, Mr. Emmet—just look on the map, and tell me how you can suppose that Ireland could exist independent of England or France?

Emmet.—My lords, if I had any doubt on that subject, I should have never attempted to effect a separation; but I have given it as much consideration as my faculties would permit, and I have not a shadow of doubt that if Ireland was once independent she might defy the combined efforts of France and England.

Archbishop of Cashel.—My God! her trade would be destroyed.

Emmet.—Pardon me, my lord, her trade would be infinitely increased: 150 years ago, when Ireland contained not more than one million and a half of men, and America was nothing, the connexion might be said to be necessary to Ireland; but now that she contains five millions, and America is the best market in the world, and Ireland the best situated country in Europe to trade with that market, she has outgrown the connexion.

Lord Chancellor.—Yes; I remember talking to a gentleman of your acquaintance, and I believe one of your body and way of thinking, who told me that Ireland had nothing to complain of from England, but that she was strong enough to set up for herself.

Emmet.—I beg, my lords, that may not be considered as my opinion: I think Ireland has a great many things to complain of against England; I am sure she is strong enough to set up for herself; and give me leave to tell you, my lords, that if the government of this country be not regulated so as that the control may be wholly Irish, and that the commercial arrangements between the two countries be not put on the footing of perfect equality, the connexion cannot last.

Lord Chancellor.—What would you do for coals?

Emmet.—In every revolution, and in every war, the people must submit to some privations; but I must observe to your lordships, that there is a reciprocity between the buyer and seller, and that England would suffer as much as Ireland if we did not buy her coals. However, I will grant our fuel would become dearer for

a time, but by paying a higher price we could have a full and sufficient abundance from our own coal mines, and from bogs, by means of our canals.

Archbishop of Cashel.—Why, twelve frigates would stop up all our ports.

Emmet.—My lord, you must have taken a very imperfect survey of the ports on the western coasts of this kingdom, if you suppose that twelve frigates would block them up; and I must observe to you, that if Ireland was for three months separated from England the latter would cease to be such a formidable naval power.

Lord Chancellor.—Well, I cannot conceive the separation could last twelve hours.

Emmet.—I declare it to God, I think that if Ireland were separated from England she would be the happiest spot on the face of the globe.

At which they all seemed astonished.

Lord Chancellor.—But how could you rely on France that she would keep her promise of not interfering with your government?

Emmet.—My reliance, my lords, was more on Irish power than on French promises, for I was convinced that, though she could not easily set up the standard herself, yet, when it was once raised, a very powerful army would flock to it, which, organized under its own officers, would have no reason to dread 100,000 Frenchmen; and we only stipulated for a tenth part of that number.

Lord Kilwarden.—You seem averse to insurrection; I suppose it was because you thought it impolitic?

Emmet.—Unquestionably; for if I imagined an insurrection could have succeeded without a great waste of blood and time, I should have preferred it to invasion, as it would not have exposed us to the chance of contributions being required by a foreign force; but as I did not think so, and as I was certain an invasion would succeed speedily, and without much struggle, I preferred it even at the hazard of that inconvenience, which we took every pains to prevent.

Lord Dillon.—Mr. Emmet, you have stated the views of the executive to be very liberal and very enlightened, and I believe yours were so; but let me ask you whether it was not intended to cut off, in the beginning of the contest, the leaders of the opposition party by a summary mode, such as assassination? my reason for asking you is, John Sheares's proclamation, the most terrible paper that ever appeared in any country: it says, that "many of your tyrants have bled, and others must bleed," &c.

Emmet.—My lords, as to Mr. Sheares's proclamation, he was not of the executive when I was.

Lord Chancellor.—He was of the new executive.

Emmet.—I do not know he was of any executive, except from what your lordship says; but I believe he was joined with some others in framing a particular plan of insurrection for Dublin and its neighbourhood; neither do I know what value he annexed to those words in his proclamation: but I can answer that while I was of the executive there was no such design, but the contrary, for we conceived when one of you lost your lives we lost a hostage. Our intention was to seize you all, and keep you as hostages for the conduct of England, and after the revolution was over, if you could not live under the new government, to send you out of the country. I will add one thing more, which, though it is not an answer to your question, you may have a curiosity to hear. In such a struggle, it was natural to expect confiscations; our intention was, that every wife who had not instigated her husband to resistance should be provided for out of the property, notwithstanding confiscations, and every child who was too young to be his own master, or form his own opinion, was to have a child's portion. Your lordships will now judge how far we intended to be cruel.

Lord Chancellor.—Pray, Mr. Emmet, what caused the late insurrection.

Emmet.—The free quarters, the house burnings, the tortures, and the military executions in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow.

Lord Chancellor.—Don't you think the arrests of the 12th of March caused it?

Emmet.—No; but I believe if it had not been for these arrests it would not have taken place; for the people, irritated by what they suffered, had been long pressing the executive to consent to an insurrection, but they had resisted or eluded it, and even determined to persevere in the same line; after these arrests, however, other persons came forward, who were irritated, and thought differently, who consented to let that partial insurrection take place.

Lord Chancellor.—Were all the executive arrested or put to flight by the arrests of the 12th of March?

Emmet.—Your lordships will excuse my answering to that question, as it would point out individuals.

Lord Chancellor.—Did you not think the government very foolish to let you proceed so long as they did?

Emmet.—No, my lord; whatever I imputed to government, I did not accuse them of folly. I knew we were very attentively watched, but I thought they were right in letting us proceed. I have often said, laughing, among ourselves, that if they did right they would pay us for conducting the revolution; conceiving, as I

then did, and still do, that a revolution is inevitable, unless speedily prevented by very large measures of conciliation. It seemed to me an object with them that it should be conducted by moderate men, of good moral characters, liberal education, and some talents, rather than by intemperate men, of bad characters, ignorant and foolish; and into the hands of one or other of those classes it undoubtedly will fall. I also imagined the members of government might be sensible of the difference between the change of their situation being affected by a sudden and violent convulsion, or by the more gradual measures of a well conducted revolution, if it were effected suddenly by an insurrection; and I need not tell your lordships that had there been a general plan of acting, and the north had co-operated with Leinster, the last insurrection would have infallibly and rapidly succeeded: in such case you would be tumbled at once from your pinnacle; but if a revolution were gradually accomplished, you would have had time to accommodate and habituate yourself to your situation. For these reasons I imagined government did not wish to irritate and push things forward.

Lord Chancellor.—Pray, do you think Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform any objects with the common people?

Emmet.—As to Catholic emancipation, I do not think it matters a feather, or that the poor think of it. As to parliamentary reform, I do not think the common people ever thought of it, until it was inculcated into them that a reform would cause a removal of those grievances which they actually do feel. From that time I believe they have become very much attached to the measure.

Lord Chancellor.—And do you think that idea has been successfully inculcated into the common people?

Emmet.—It has not been my fortune to communicate much with them on that subject, so that I cannot undertake to say how far it has been successfully inculcated into them; but of this I am certain, that since the establishment of the United Irish system it has been inculcated into all the middling classes, and much more among the common people than ever it was before.

Lord Chancellor.—And what grievances would such a reformed legislature remove?

Emmet.—In the first place it would cause a complete abolition of tithes; in the next, by giving the common people an increased value in the democracy, it would better their situation, and make them more respected by their superiors; the condition of the poor would be ameliorated; and what is perhaps of more consequence than all the rest, a system of national education would be established.

Lord Dillon.—The abolition of tithes would be a very good

thing; but do not you think it would be more beneficial to the landlords than the tenants?

Archbishop of Cashel.—Ay, it is they would benefit by it.

Emmet.—My lords, I am ready to grant that if tithes were now abolished without a reform, there are landlords who would raise the rent on their tenants, when they were making new leases, the full value of the tithes, and if they could more; but if a reform succeeded the abolition of tithes, such a reformed legislature would very badly know or very badly perform its duty, if it did not establish such a system of landed leases as would prevent landlords from doing so; and let me tell your lordships, that if a revolution ever takes place, a very different system of political economy will be established from what has hitherto prevailed here.

Lord Glentworth.—Then your intention was to destroy the Church?

Emmet.—Pardon me, my lord, my intention never was to destroy the Church. My wish decidedly was to overturn the Establishment.

Lord Dillon.—I understand you—and have it as it is in France?

Emmet.—As it is in many parts of America, my lords.

Lord Kilwarden.—Pray, Mr. Emmet, do you know of any communications with France since your arrest?

Emmet.—I do, my lord; Mr. Cooke told me of one.

Lord Kilwarden.—But do not you in any other way know whether communications are still going on between this country and France?

Emmet.—No; but I have no doubt that even after we shall have left this country there will remain, among the 500,000 and upwards which compose the union, many persons of sufficient talents, enterprise, enthusiasm, and opportunity, who will continue the old, or open a new communication with France, if it shall be necessary; and in looking over, in my own mind, the persons whom I know of most talents and enterprise, I cannot help suggesting to myself persons I think most likely to do so; but I must be excused pointing at them.

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

N.B.—I have only noted down such questions and answers as I imagine will not be inserted in the reports of the secret committee.

SECOND EXAMINATION OF THOMAS ADDIS EMMET: BEFORE THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 14TH AUGUST, 1798.

Lord Castlereagh mentioned that the minutes of my examination before the lords had been transmitted to them, and that they only wanted to ask me a few questions in explanation of those minutes. The general turn of the examination was therefore the same as that before the upper house; but I could observe much more manifestly this time than before a design, out of my answers to draw the conclusion that nothing would content the people but such changes as would be a departure from what they chose to call the English constitution and the English system; and therefore I presume they meant to infer that the popular claims must be resisted at all hazards. The Speaker seemed to me to take the lead in conducting the investigation of this point.

Lord Castlereagh.—Mr. Emmet, you said in your examination before the lords that the French had not made known the place where they intended landing; how then will you explain an address which we have here, stating that the French were shortly expected in Bantry Bay?

Emmet.—My lord, I know nothing at present of that address, but I suppose on farther inquiry it will be found to be some mistake, as I am positive they never mentioned Bantry Bay in any communication. I knew, on the contrary, Galway Bay was looked on as the probable place of their landing.

N.B.—I find, upon inquiry, that address is without a date, and was written after the French had disappeared from Bantry Bay, and were generally expected to return.

Mr. Alexander.—I have here some resolutions [which he read, and which among other things spoke of the extent of the confiscations that would be made in the event of a revolution, and how they should be applied], do you know anything of them?

Emmet.—I have a recollection of having read them before; and if that recollection be right, they are resolutions that have been passed by an individual society at Belfast, and were seized at the arrests of Barrett, Burnside, and others.

Mr. Alexander.—They are the same.

Emmet.—Then I hope the committee will draw no inference from them as to the views of the executive, or of the whole body. You know the north well, and that every man there turns his mind more or less on speculative politics; but certainly the opinion of a few of the least informed among them cannot be considered as influencing the whole.

Mr. J. C. Beresford.—Ay, but would you be able to make such people give up their own opinion to follow yours?

Emmet.—I am convinced we should; because I know we have done it before on points where their opinions and wishes were very strong.

Mr. Alexander.—How did you hope to hold the people in order and good conduct when the reins of government were loosened?

Emmet.—By other equally powerful reins. It was for this purpose I considered the promoting of organization to be a moral duty. Having no doubt that a revolution would and will take place, unless prevented by removing the national grievances, I saw in the organization the only way of preventing its being such as would give the nation lasting causes of grief and shame. Whether there be organization or not, the revolution will take place; but if the people be classed and arranged for the purpose, the control which heads of their own appointment will have over them, by means of the different degrees of representation and organs of communication, will, I hope, prevent them from committing those acts of outrage and cruelty which may be expected from a justly irritated but ignorant and uncontrolled populace.

Mr. Alexander.—But do you think there were in the union such organs of communication as had an influence over the lower orders, and were at the same time fit to communicate and do business with persons of a better condition?

Emmet.—I am sure there were multitudes of extremely shrewd and sensible men, whose habits of living were with the lower orders, but who were perfectly well qualified for doing business with persons of any condition.

Speaker.—You say the number of United Irishmen is five hundred thousand—do you look upon them all as fighting men?

Emmet.—There are undoubtedly some old men and some young lads among them; but I am sure I speak within bounds when I say the number of fighting men in the union cannot be less than three hundred thousand.

Speaker.—I understand, according to you, the views of the United Irish went to a republic and separation from England, but that they would probably have compounded for a reform in parliament. Am I not right, however, to understand that the object next their hearts was a separation and a republic?

Emmet.—Pardon me, the object next their hearts was a redress of their grievances. Two modes of accomplishing that object presented themselves to their view; one was a reform by peaceable means, the other was a revolution and republic. I have no doubt that if they could flatter themselves that the object next their hearts would be accomplished peaceably, by a reform, they would prefer it infinitely to a revolution and republic, which must

be more bloody in their operation; but I am also convinced, when they saw they could not accomplish the object next their hearts, a redress of their grievances, by a reform, they determined in despair to procure it by a revolution, which I am persuaded is inevitable, unless a reform be granted.

Speaker.—You say that a revolution is inevitable unless a reform be granted; what would be the consequence of such a reform in redressing what you call the grievances of the people?

Emmet.—In the first place I look to the abolition of tithes. I think such a reformed legislature would also produce an amelioration of the state of the poor and a diminution of the rents of lands, would establish a system of national education, and would regulate the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland on the footing of perfect equality, and correct the bloody nature of your criminal code.

Speaker.—You speak of the abolition of tithes; do you include in that the destruction of the Establishment?

Emmet.—I have myself no doubt of the Establishment's being injurious, and I look to its destruction; but I cannot undertake to say how far the whole of that measure is contemplated by the body of the people, because I have frequently heard an acreable tax proposed as a substitute, which necessarily supposes the preservation of the Establishment.

Speaker.—Don't you think the Catholics peculiarly object to tithes?

Emmet.—They certainly have the best reason to complain, but I rather think they object as tenants more than as Catholics, and in common with the rest of the tenantry of the kingdom; and if any other way of paying even a Protestant Establishment, which did not bear so sensibly on their industry were to take place, I believe it would go a great way to content them, though I confess it would not content me; but I must add that I would (and I am sure so would many others who think of establishments like me) consent to give the present incumbents equivalent pensions.

Lord Castlereagh.—Don't you think the Catholics look to the accomplishing the destruction of the Establishment?

Emmet.—From the declaration they made in 1792 or 1793 I am sure they did not then. I cannot say how far their opinions may have altered since; but from many among them proposing a substitute for tithes I am led to believe they are not yet gone so far.

Lord Castlereagh.—But don't you think they will look to its destruction?

Emmet.—I cannot pay so bad a compliment to the reasons which have convinced myself, as not to suppose they will convince

others. As the human mind grows *philosophic*, it will I think wish for the destruction of all religious establishments; and therefore, in proportion as the Catholic mind becomes *philosophic*, it will of course entertain the same wishes; but I consider that as the result of its *philosophy* and not of its religion.

Lord Castlereagh.—Don't you think the Catholics would wish to set up a Catholic Establishment in lieu of the Protestant one?

Emmet.—Indeed I don't, even at the present day; perhaps some old priests, who have long groaned under the penal laws, might wish for a retribution to themselves, but I don't think the young priests would wish for it, and I am convinced the laity would not submit to it, and that the objections to it will be every day gaining strength.

Speaker.—You also mention that a reform would diminish the rents of lands; how do you think that would be done?

Emmet.—I am convinced rack rents can only take place in a country otherwise essentially oppressed. If the value of the people was raised in the state, their importance would induce the landlords to consult their interests, and therefore to better their condition. Thus I think it would take place, even without any law bearing upon the matter.

Mr. Alexander.—Mr. Emmet, you have gone circuit for many years; now have you not observed that the condition of the people has been gradually bettering?

Emmet.—Admitting that the face of the country has assumed a better appearance—if you attribute it to the operation of any laws you have passed, I must only declare my opinion, it is *post hoc sed non ex hoc*. As far as the situation of the lower orders may have been bettered in Ireland, it results from the increased knowledge, commerce, and intercourse of the different states of Europe with one another, and is enjoyed in this country only in common with the rest of civilized Europe and America. I believe the lower orders in all those countries have been improved in their condition within these twenty years, but I doubt whether the poor of this kingdom have been bettered in a greater proportion than the poor in the despotic states of Germany.

Speaker.—You mention an improved system of national education; are there not as many schools in Ireland as in England?

Emmet.—I believe there are, and that there is in proportion as great a fund in Ireland as in England, if it were fairly applied; but there is this great difference—the schools are Protestant schools, which answer very well in England, but do little good among the Catholic peasantry of Ireland. Another thing to be considered is, that stronger measures are immediately necessary for educating the Irish people than are necessary in England. In

the latter country no steps were taken to counteract the progress of knowledge—it had fair play, and was gradually advancing; but in Ireland you have brutalized the vulgar mind by long-continued operation of the Popery laws, which, though they are repealed, have left an effect that will not cease these fifty years. It is incumbent then on you to counteract that effect by measures which are not equally necessary in England.

Speaker.—You mentioned the criminal code; in what does that differ from the English?

Emmet.—It seems to me that it would be more advisable, in reviewing our criminal law, to compare the crime with the punishment, than the Irish code with the English; there is, however, one difference that occurs to me on the instant—administering unlawful oaths is in Ireland punished with death.

Lord Castlereagh.—That is a law connected with the security of the state.

Emmet.—If it is intended to keep up the ferment of the public mind such laws may be necessary; but if it be intended to allay that ferment, they are perfectly useless.

Speaker.—Would putting the commercial intercourse on the footing of equality satisfy the people?

Emmet.—I think that equality of situations would go nearer satisfying the people than any of the other equalities that have been alluded to.

Speaker.—Then your opinion is, that we cannot avoid a revolution unless we abandon the English constitution and the English system in our Establishment, education, and criminal laws?

Emmet.—I have already touched on the latter subjects: as to the English constitution, I cannot conceive how a reform in parliament can be said to destroy that.

Speaker.—Why, in what does the representation differ in Ireland from that in England? are there not in England close boroughs, and is not the right of suffrage there confined to forty-shilling freeholders?

Emmet.—If I were an Englishman I should be discontented, and therefore cannot suppose that putting Ireland on a footing with England would content the people of this country; if, however, you have a mind to try a partial experiment, for the success of which I would not answer, you must consider how many are the close boroughs and large towns which contribute to the appointment of 558, and diminish in the same proportion the number of the close boroughs and towns which contribute to the appointment of our 300; even that would be a gain to Ireland. But that there should be no mistake or confusion of terms, let us drop the equivocal words *English constitution*, and then I answer, I would

not be understood to say that the government of king, lords, and commons would be destroyed by a reform of the lower house.

Lord Castlereagh.—And don't you think that such a house could not co-exist with the government of king and lords?

Emmet.—If it would not, my lord, the eulogies that have been passed on the British constitution are very much misplaced; but I think they could all exist together if the king and lords meant fairly by the people; if they should persist in designs hostile to the people, I do believe they would be overthrown.

[It was then intimated that they had got into a theoretical discussion, and that what they wished to inquire into was facts.]

Sir J. Parnel.—Mr. Emmet, while you and the executive were philosophizing, Lord Edward Fitzgerald was arming and disciplining the people?

Emmet.—Lord Edward was a military man, and if he was doing so he probably thought that was the way in which he could be most useful to his country; but I am sure that if those with whom he acted were convinced that the grievances of the people were redressed, and that force was become unnecessary, he would have been persuaded to drop all arming and disciplining.

Mr. J. C. Beresford.—I knew Lord Edward well, and always found him very obstinate.

Emmet.—I knew Lord Edward right well, and have done a great deal of business with him, and have always found, when he had a reliance on the integrity and talents of the person he acted with, he was one of the most persuadable men alive; but if he thought a man meant dishonestly or unfairly by him, he was as obstinate as a mule.

[Many questions were then put to me relative to different papers and proceedings of the United Irish; among the rest, John Sheares's proclamation was mentioned with considerable severity. I took that opportunity of declaring that neither the execution of John Sheares, nor the obloquy that was endeavoured to be cast on his memory, should prevent my declaring that I considered John Sheares a very honourable and humane man.]

Mr. French.—Mr. Emmet, can you point out any way of inducing the people to give up their arms?

Emmet.—Redressing their grievances, and no other.

Lord Castlereagh.—Mr. Emmet, we are unwillingly obliged to close this examination by the sitting of the House.

Emmet.—My lord, if it be the wish of the committee, I will attend it any other time.

Lord Castlereagh.—If we want you, then, we shall send for you.

After the regular examination was closed, I was asked by many of the members whether there were many persons of property in

the union. I answered that there was immense property in it. They acknowledged there was great personal property in it, but wished to know was there much landed property in it. I answered there was. They asked me was it fee-simple. To that I could give no answer. The attorney-general said there was in it many landlords who had large tracts of land, and felt *their* landlords to be great grievances. I admitted that to be the fact. They asked me had we provided any form of government. I told them we had a provisional government for the instant, which we retained in memory; but as to any permanent form of government, we thought that, and many other matters relating to the changes which would become necessary, were not proper objects for our discussion, but should be referred to a committee chosen by the people.

They did not ask me what the provisional government was.

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

We now come to a transaction which involves the character of a great Whig lawyer, namely, William Conyngham Plunket; and it behoves us in dealing with it to steer clear of angry commentaries and criticisms on his conduct in regard to T. A. Emmet, and to cite official authorities for any accounts given of this transaction and its results. I allude to his conduct in parliament during Emmet's imprisonment in August, 1790, in relation to an advertisement which appeared in two of the morning newspapers, complaining of the garbled reports that had been published in the government newspapers, of the evidence of Messrs. Emmet, O'Connor, and Macneven before the secret committees.

The only reports that exist of the proceedings in parliament in 1798 are those which are given in the newspapers of the day, except in the case of the Union debates, when important speeches are found separately published. I prefer taking the report of the proceedings in the Irish House of Commons, on the 27th of August, from a government paper of that time, and therefore I make use of *The Freeman's Journal* of the 28th August, 1798:

The Hon. Francis Hutchinson called attention to an advertisement of three of the state prisoners (Emmet, O'Connor, and Macneven), in *The Hibernian Journal* and *Saunders's News Letter*. He said: "That advertisement, whether considered as a libel on that house of parliament, or as a manifesto exciting rebellion, was one of the most daring and insolent compositions he had ever read." He moved that the printers of the two papers be ordered to attend at the bar of the House the following day.

Mr. Barrington seconded the motion. He said it had his fullest concurrence. The insolence of the publication could not be described, nor the extent of its mischievous tendency calculated.

Lord Castlereagh admitted fully the flagitious nature of the advertisement, but trusted parliament would leave with the executive the conduct of this business, and the vindication of its authority.

Mr. Plunket said: "*He reprobated in the strongest terms the publication which had been read to the House by the honourable gentleman who had proposed the motion then before the House,*" and described it to be "*a species of proclamation or manifesto couched in the most libellous and insolent language, and proceeding from three men who were signal instances of the royal mercy to all the open and concealed traitors of the country; urging to rebellion and to the aid of a French invasion, calling upon their friends to cast from them all fear of having been detected in their treasons, and to prosecute anew those machinations which had been suspended. He felt strongly the obligation of government to observe good faith towards those men in any conditions made with them; but he also conceived it to be incumbent on the executive power to adopt such precautions as should effectually prevent the state prisoners from corrupting the public mind.*"

[The report of Mr. Plunket's speech on this occasion is given without any curtailment.]

Mr. Ormsby supported the motion, for the sake "of putting the business of investigation and punishment in a train to be effected."

Sir Hercules Langarish recommended the withdrawal of the motion.

Mr. Egan expressed his strongest indignation at the publication.

Mr. St. George Daly said the advertisement was of a nature to call for the notice of, and punishment by the government.

Sir H. Cavendish said the three state prisoners had violated the terms into which they had entered, and had forfeited their right to the lenity of government.

Sir J. Blaquiere, Mr. George Ogle, and Mr. Vandaleur supported the motion.

Mr. M'Naghten was of opinion that, as martial law had not ceased, the persons in question, Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and Dr. Macneven, should be immediately brought to trial and executed.

The attorney-general said he was of opinion the motion could not be withdrawn. "One of the persons signing that advertisement was certainly a very able lawyer. That person was Mr. Emmet, and he should have known—if indeed he participated in the publication of the advertisement, and had signed it—that he had thereby owned enough to disentitle himself to mercy, by refusing to disclose all which he knew of the conspiracy."

Mr. Hutchinson having re-urged his motion, the printers of

the two papers in which the advertisement appeared were ordered to appear the next day at the bar.

The following day the printers were brought to the bar, and examined. They declared the document complained of had been brought to them by Mr. Cornelius M'Loughlin, an eminent merchant of the city, and a Mr. Lyons, a schoolmaster. Major Sirr was examined. Said he had gone to Kilmainham gaol to communicate with the three state prisoners respecting the authenticity of their signatures to the advertisement; that he had at first seen Mr. A. O'Connor, and the latter declined to answer whether he signed the paper or not, till he had gone up stairs to consult some papers he had there. Then he (Major Sirr) went up alone to Messrs. Emmet and O'Connor, who immediately admitted they had authorized the publication.

The following day Messrs. M'Loughlin and Lyons were examined at the bar of the House. Lord Castlereagh on this occasion made a temperate and a judicious speech, calling on the House to leave the matter in the hands of the executive; and stating that the state prisoners had complained of reports made in the press, and not in parliament, which did misrepresent them in some respects, and justified them to some extent in the course they had taken.

The late Lord Plunket had been the early friend and fellow-student at the university of T. A. Emmet. Of that fact there can be no doubt. All the members of the family, and intimate friends and early associates of T. A. Emmet, in America and Ireland, with whom I have been in communication, are agreed on that point. The sons of T. A. Emmet, Mr. John Patten, his brother-in-law, Mr. St. John Mason, his bosom friend, Dr. Macneven—all concur in the statement, that *the late Lord Plunket and T. A. Emmet had been very intimate friends in early life.* Lord Plunket, in his lengthy and verbose affidavit, filed in 1811, in the Court of King's Bench, in the case of the Right Hon. W. C. Plunket *versus* Gilbert and Hodges—which will be found in the memoir of Robert Emmet—admits that he had been "intimate" with T. A. Emmet in the university of Dublin, and during the time he (W. C. Plunket) was a student at the Inns of Court in England; that he had dined once, as far as he could recollect, with T. A. Emmet at the house of his father, Dr. Emmet; but that their intercourse "and all intimacy had ceased between him and deponent," from a short time after T. A. Emmet had been called to the bar, in 1790, in consequence of the difference of their political opinions. But Lord Plunket evidently felt this averment was too strong, as it stood in this sworn declaration, without some qualification, and

accordingly we find it modified thus in the concluding part of the sentence, with this addition in reference to the origin of the opposition of their political opinions "within a very short time after the said T. A. Emmet had been called to the Irish bar" (some time in May, 1790): "For some years before the arrest and imprisonment of the said T. A. Emmet, in the year 1798, there subsisted no sort of intercourse between this deponent and the said Thomas Addis Emmet, *save what arose from occasionally meeting in the streets or in the Four Courts*, although this deponent was not fully apprized of the danger in which the said Thomas Addis Emmet was implicated with the party who were engaged in the political pursuits, in this country, which ended in so much public disaster."

The deponent swore, moreover, that he was personally an utter stranger to Robert Emmet, and that "*he never had received the slightest or remotest obligation from Robert Emmet, or from the father, or from any one individual of the family of the said Robert Emmet.*"

My inquiries on the subject of the nature and degree of the alleged intimacy between the late Lord Plunket and T. A. Emmet, and his brother Robert, and of the alleged obligations of W. C. Plunket to the father and family of the younger Emmet, I am bound to say, lead me to a different conclusion to that which one who had no other information on the subject in question would be likely to arrive at from the perusal of the affidavit of Lord Plunket: *I believe that the late Lord Plunket and Thomas Addis Emmet were not only "intimate," as Lord Plunket stated, but very intimately acquainted, and on terms of the most intimate friendship, when they were fellow-students at the university of Dublin, and at the Inns of Court in England.* And, be it observed, there was a long interval between the two periods above indicated. T. A. Emmet entered college in 1778, and he was not called to the bar till the month of May, 1790. And Lord Plunket admits in his affidavit that it was after T. A. Emmet had been called to the bar "that all intimacy ceased between him and deponent." So, here we have an admission of an intimacy that had subsisted twelve years and upwards, between two young men of the same pursuits, of similar gifts and kindred talents, of congenial literary tastes, being suddenly broken off on account of a difference in their political opinions, and at a time, too, when neither of them had ever taken any prominent part in political affairs or controversies. I say to that statement, the estrangement referred to is highly improbable, and that the friends of T. A. Emmet are not conscious of it.

When young men who have been fellow-students and intimate friends in college enter on their several professional pursuits, and

engage in the business of life and the great struggle in it, they are necessarily separated or isolated; but they are not estranged—their friendship does not suddenly cool down into the coldness of actual indifference; their former kindly feelings do not die out in a few years, or turn to sentiments of rancorous animosity, on account of some theoretical difference in their opinions on public affairs, and their speculations on forms of government, ancient or modern.

T. A. Emmet, I have reason to believe, considered that Mr. W. C. Plunket was his friend up to the time of his arrest and imprisonment in March, 1798. But when the lives of the state prisoners were placed in some jeopardy, by the proceedings in parliament consequent on a publication in *The Hibernian Journal* on the 27th of August, 1798, on the part of T. A. Emmet, Macneven, and O'Connor, in vindication of their characters from the newspaper versions of the report which government had published, purporting to be a true and faithful version of the revelations made by them to the privy council and the authorities, in virtue of the compact entered into between them and the government—when Mr. W. C. Plunket, in his place in the Irish House of Commons, lent his voice and the virulent advocacy of his new opinions to the assailants of those state prisoners—then, indeed, T. A. Emmet knew he had been deceived in thinking that Mr. W. C. Plunket was his friend.

Mr. St. John Mason, the nephew of Dr. Emmet's wife, in reference to the part taken in parliament by Mr. Plunket in relation to Thomas Addis Emmet, makes use of these words in his written statement to me of his reminiscences of the Emmet family, "*I have heard Dr. Emmet say that he* (Plunket) *was an ungrateful man.*" That Dr. Emmet believed Mr. W. C. Plunket had been under obligations of friendship to his son, T. A. Emmet, I have no doubt. That T. A. Emmet was shocked and disgusted when he heard of the part taken by Mr. W. C. Plunket, in his place in the House of Commons, on the occasion of the proceedings in relation to the advertisement of the state prisoners, I can have no doubt.

Dr. W. J. Macneven, conjointly with T. A. Emmet, published in New York, in 1807, a work entitled "Pieces of Irish History"—the first piece is called, "Part of an Essay towards a History of Ireland, by T. A. Emmet"—the second is a Digest of the Popery Laws, by the Hon. Simon Butler; the third piece is an Account of the Compact entered into with the Irish Government by the State Prisoners, by Dr. W. J. Macneven. In the latter treatise, at page 162, Dr. Macneven, in reference to the advertisement, signed by T. A. Emmet, A. O'Connor, and Macneven, of the 27th of August, says: "A tempest of folly and fury was immediately

excited in the House of Commons. Blinded by their rage, the members of that honourable assembly neglected the obvious distinction between the newspapers and their report. They took to themselves the falsehoods that had been repelled. Mr. M'Naghten, and two virulent barristers, Francis Hutchinson and Conyngham Plunket, were even clamorous for having the persons who signed the refutation disposed of by a summary execution. Plunket had been the bosom intimate of Emmet—the companion of his childhood and the friend of his youth."

Is it to be imagined that T. A. Emmet would have allowed this statement to go forth in a work that was a joint publication of his and his associate and confidential friend Macneven, if he believed the main facts with regard to his relations with Plunket were misstated—however more sober and less exaggerated the terms of it might have been, had that account of his former friendship with Mr. Plunket been written by himself?

Plunket certainly was not "the companion of the childhood," but of the boyhood of T. A. Emmet. And on the occasion referred to by Macneven, he did not, in so many words, or in similar words to those employed by Macneven, call on the government to dispose of his former friend and his two associates "by summary execution;" but he lent his services to exasperate the government against them, and to furnish arguments to justify the proposal of another member to hang Messrs. Emmet, O'Connor, and Macneven. He denounced their advertisement, and he falsified wilfully and deliberately the objects and intention of that advertisement, and he magnified the imprudence of it.

But with the precision which characterized everything written or said by T. A. Emmet, we find in a letter of his to Rufus King, dated the 9th of April, 1807, that when he speaks of this transaction he does not implicate Plunket in the atrocity he imputes to another member of the House of Commons; he merely says: "A proposal was made in the Irish House of Commons by Mr. M'Naghten, an Orangeman, to take us out and hang us without trial."

No doubt Emmet's disgust and indignation at the treacherous conduct of Mr. W. C. Plunket in his regard—namely, in hounding on the government to measures of severity against him and the other two state prisoners—prevented his recurring to the ungenerous conduct of that man, or so much as even making mention of the name of W. C. Plunket. And this was the line of conduct that any one acquainted with the character of T. A. Emmet would have a right to expect at his hands.

Of Mr. Plunket's conduct in relation to Robert Emmet, this is not the place to speak; ample details in regard to it will be

found in the memoir of Robert Emmet. I commend the little I have said of the conduct of the late Lord Plunket, in relation to the violation of the ties of friendship on his part in his proceedings with respect to T. A. Emmet, to the attention of an eminent and highly gifted Tory barrister, an attorney-general of a later period, on the occasion of a proposal to erect a statue to the memory of Lord Plunket. That eminent Tory barrister said for his part he would lend no hand to the accomplishment of the proposed object, if he believed there was a foundation for those reports which had been spread abroad, to the effect that he, Lord Plunket, when he was solicitor-general, had taken a course which involved violations of private friendship. The little I have said I commend likewise to the notice of the eminent Whig barristers who have subscribed their money towards the erection of this monument. Those, however, who take an interest in the completion of this object, in all probability will feel that my observations will only have the effect of giving an additional impetus to the proposal, and an additional claim to consideration to the memory of this great political lawyer, William Conyngham Plunket.

I have now to refer to Mr. Emmet's letter, in 1807, to Rufus King, the late resident minister of the United States in London. This performance may be considered as a fair specimen of Emmet's political writing. It was mentioned before that the state prisoners, of whom this gentleman was one, were negotiating with the government for a discharge on a condition of departing for that country, and that leave was refused in consequence of the interference of that public functionary. In 1807, Mr. King was nominated as a candidate for a seat in the assembly of the state legislature. Mr. Emmet considered Mr. King as being the author of so much injury to him, that he felt a strong desire to defeat Mr. King's election. Accordingly, Emmet wrote a letter to Mr. King asking an explanation of his interference with the British government respecting the Irish state prisoners in 1798. To this no answer was given; on which Mr. Emmet wrote a second letter to that gentleman, which was intended for public consideration. It was printed in the newspapers, and was the subject of much notice at the time. It discloses various events and occurrences relative to the sufferings of himself and his friends, well worthy of perusal by the historian; and it is replete with the indignant feeling which a person of sensibility might be expected to express, who had by those events been forced to waste four of the best years of his life in prison.

Emmet's correspondence with Mr. Rufus King, in 1807, in which the characteristics of his mind are exhibited in a clearer

light than any other of his letters which have fallen under the author's observations, will be found well deserving of attention.

Two remarkable letters of T. A. Emmet, dated the 4th and 9th April, 1807, were addressed to Mr. Rufus King, in reference to the communication of that gentleman, when American minister at the court in London, to one of the Irish state prisoners, of which the following is a copy:

TO HENRY JACKSON, ESQ.

Brighton, 23rd August, 1799.

"SIR—I ought to inform you *that I really have no authority* to give or refuse permission to you or any other foreigner to go to the United States, the admission and residence of strangers in that country being a matter that, by a late law,* exclusively belongs to the president. It is true that the government of this country, in the course of the last year, *in consequence of my interference*, gave me assurance that a particular description of persons in Ireland, who it was understood were going to the United States, should *not* be allowed to proceed without *our* consent: this restraint would doubtless be withdrawn in favour of individuals against whose emigration *I should not object;* and I conclude that it is upon this supposition that you have taken the trouble to communicate to me your desire to go and reside in the United States. Without presuming to form an opinion on the subject of the late disturbances in Ireland, I entertain a distinct one in relation to the political situation of my own country. In common with others, we have felt the influence of the changes that have successively taken place in France, and unfortunately a portion of our inhabitants has erroneously supposed that our civil and political institutions, as well as our national policy, might be improved by a close imitation of France. This opinion, the propagation of which was made the duty and became the chief employment of the French agents residing among us, created a more considerable division among our people, and required a greater watchfulness and activity from the government, than could beforehand have been apprehended.

"I am sorry to make the remark, and shall stand in need of your candour in doing so, that a large proportion of the emigrants from Ireland, and especially in the middle states, has upon this occasion arranged themselves on the side of the *malcontents*. I ought to except from this remark most of the enlightened and well-educated Irishmen who reside among us, and with a few exceptions I might confine it to the indigent and illiterate, who, entertaining an attachment to freedom, are unable to appreciate those salutary restraints without which it degenerates into anarchy.

* The Alien Law.

It would be injustice to say that the Irish emigrants are more national than those of other countries, yet, being a numerous though very minor portion of our population, they are capable, from causes it is needless now to explain, of being generally brought to act in concert, and under artful leaders may be, as they have been, enlisted in mischievous combinations against our government. This view leads me to state to you without reserve the hesitation that I have felt in your case; on the one hand we cannot object to the acquisition of inhabitants from abroad, possessing capital and skill in a branch of business that, with due caution, may without risk or difficulty, and with public as well as private advantage be established among us; but, on the other hand, if the opinions of such inhabitants are likely to throw them into the class of malcontents, their fortune, skill, and consequent influence, would make them tenfold more dangerous, and they might become a disadvantage instead of a benefit to our country. You must be sensible that I possess no sufficient means of forming an opinion respecting your sentiments, but the motives which lead me to interfere with your government to restrain the emigration of the persons above alluded to, oblige me to observe a due caution on the present occasion; at the same time, I desire not to act with illiberality, and should be unwilling to bring upon my country the slightest imputation of inhospitality. What Mr. Wilson* has written, so far as it goes, is satisfactory; and on the whole I have concluded after this unreserved communication, which I hope will be received with the same candour as it is made, to inform you, authorising you to make use of the information, that I withdraw every objection that may be supposed to stand in the way of your being permitted to go to the United States, adding only, that you may carry with you an unbiassed mind, may find the state of the country, as I believe you will, favourable to your views of business, and its government deserving your attachment.

"I must beg your excuse for the great delay which has occurred in sending you this answer, which, I assure you, has risen from other causes than the want of due respect to your letters.

"With great consideration, I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"RUFUS KING."

LETTER OF THOMAS ADDIS EMMET TO RUFUS KING, ESQ.

"New York, 4th April, 1807."

"SIR—From certain paragraphs in *The Evening Post*, I apprehend that it may become necessary for me to obtrude myself on

* The American consul in Dublin.

the public. As in that event I should wish to derive some credit from the character of my adversary, I request to be informed whether you purpose submitting to the world any explanation of your interference with the British government, respecting the Irish state prisoners in the year 1798.

"I put the question in this way, because I have not the honour of any personal acquaintance with you, because I intend that everything which may pass between you and me on this subject shall be public, and because I have been informed that private applications for an explanation of that transaction have been heretofore made to you by some of my fellow-sufferers from your conduct, and that you did not think fit to favour them with a reply.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

"THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

LETTER OF THOMAS ADDIS EMMET TO RUFUS KING, ESQ.

"New York, 9th April, 1807.

"SIR—From your silence on the subject of my letter of the 4th inst., I presume that I am not to be honoured with a reply. Perhaps this may be owing to my temerity in addressing him whom Mr. Coleman calls 'the first man in the country.' Of the height to which your friends exalt, or wish to exalt you, I confess I was not aware when I rashly ventured to question the propriety of some part of your past conduct. I thought that in this country you had many equals, and I protest I imagined that Mr. Jefferson, for instance, was your superior. You will, sir, however, I hope, excuse my ignorance in this respect, and attribute it to the circumstance of my being an alien, and of course not yet sufficiently acquainted with the local politics of this country.

"Though you, sir, have not honoured me with your notice, I have been abundantly honoured by your friends; and yet, extraordinary as it may appear, I mean to pay little attention to their assiduities, but to envelope myself in dignity like your own. As far as they have attempted to attack my character, I shall leave it to be defended by others, or rather to defend itself. Not that I affect to be insensible of the value of public opinion—but in truth, sir, in the present pressure of professional business, I have not time to do justice both to you and to myself, and I think it of infinitely more importance to the community, in the existing crisis, to make known what you are than what I am. You are the candidate for public favour, and your conduct is the proper subject of public inquiry. Permit me, however, sir, before I enter upon that interesting topic, to make a few general observations touching myself. Mr. Coleman has brought forward some extracts from

the reports of the secret committee in Ireland; I think it more than probable that he was not himself in possession of these documents—from whom then did he receive them? There is no person in this country more likely to have them than the gentleman who was at the time the resident minister at London. When you handed them to him, perhaps your memory might have served you to state, that as soon as those reports appeared in the public prints, Dr. Macneven, Mr. O'Connor, and myself, at that time state prisoners, by an advertisement to which we subscribed our names, protested against the falsehood and inaccuracy of those reports; for which act we were remitted to close custody in our rooms for upwards of three months, and a proposal was made in the Irish House of Commons by Mr. M'Naghten, an Orangeman, to take us out and hang us without trial! You might also, perhaps, have recollected (for it has been published) that, while we were in this situation, other state calumnies accidentally reached the ears of one of our fellow-sufferers in another prison, who wrote a letter to the editor of *The Courier* in London, for the purpose of contradicting them, and enclosed a copy of his letter to Lord Castlereagh. Upon this Mr. Secretary Cooke was sent to inform him that if he published the contradiction he should be hanged; to that he replied he was ready to meet the event; upon which Mr. Cooke told him, that since he was indifferent about his own life, he must know that if he persevered the whole system of courts-martial, massacre, and horror, should be renewed throughout the country. By that menace he was effectually restrained.

"Had you thought of mentioning those things, you might have jocularly added that though these statements might serve some present party purposes, it was rather more unfair to judge of us by the calumnies of the Irish government than it would be to judge of Mr. Jefferson and his friends by the editorial articles in *The Evening Post*. The weapons you are using have been tried in Ireland among my friends and my enemies, where everything was minutely known, and they failed of effect. If I had ever done anything mean or dishonourable—if I had abandoned or compromised my character, my country, or my cause—I should not be esteemed and beloved in Ireland, as I am proud to know I am; I should not enjoy the affection and respect of my republican countrymen in America, as you, sir, and your friends confess I do.

"It would not be in the power of one who had departed from the line of his duty in their and his common country, by simply expressing to them his sentiments of you, to do you such an essential injury as I am accused of having committed.

"Another charge made against me is, that I am an alien,

interfering in the politics of this country. Be it so for a moment, and let me ask why is it that I am an alien in this my adopted country at this day? Because, in consequence of your interference, I was prevented from coming to it in 1798, and from being naturalized upwards of three years ago. Supposing, then, that I should refrain from intermeddling with politics in every other case, where you are concerned I feel myself authorized to exercise the rights of a citizen as far as by law I may; for you know it is an established rule of equity and good sense that no man shall be benefited by his own wrong. But how do I come forward? Not as a citizen, but as a witness. Allow me to ask you, if I possessed a knowledge of facts which could prove Mr. Jefferson guilty of a robbery or a cheat, and unfit to be trusted with power, would you think me culpable if, notwithstanding my alienage, I made them known to the public, to prevent their being deceived and misled? And shall I not be permitted, because in consequence of your very misconduct I am not a citizen, to testify to facts which will prove you unfit to be entrusted in this country with any kind of delegated power? Whether Peter Porcupine or Mr. Carpenter ever went through the forms of naturalization, I know not; but perhaps they might both be safely considered as aliens—and yet I have never heard any of your friends censure their interference in the politics of America. I do not mention those gentlemen as my models, nor propose their example as my vindication, but I wish to show the pliability of those principles which are to be erected into a barrier against me.

"As a witness then, sir, I come forward to testify, not to my countrymen, but to the electors of this city, to the whole of the United States, if you should ever aspire to govern them, and I now present you with my evidence.

"In the summer of 1798, after the attempt of the people of Ireland for their emancipation had been completely defeated—after every armed body had been dispersed or had surrendered, except a few men that had taken refuge in the mountains of Wicklow—while military tribunals, house-burnings, shootings, torture, and every kind of devastation were desolating and overwhelming the defenceless inhabitants, some of the state prisoners then in confinement entered into a negotiation with the Irish ministers for effecting a general amnesty; and as an inducement offered, among other things not necessary to the examination of your conduct, to emigrate to such country as might be agreed upon between them and the government. When I consented to this offer, for one (and it was the case with the great majority), I solemnly declare that I was perfectly apprised that there were no legal grounds discovered upon which to proceed against me. I further knew

that the crown-solicitor had, in answer to the inquiries of my friends, informed them that there was no intention of preferring a bill of indictment against me. So much for the personal considerations by which I might have been actuated; and now, sir, to return.

"The offer was accepted; the bloody system was stopped for a time, and was not renewed until after your interference, and after the British ministry had resolved openly to break its faith with us. On our part we performed our stipulations with the most punctilious fidelity, but in such a manner as to preserve to us the warmest approbation of our friends, and to excite the greatest dissatisfaction in our enemies. Government soon perceived that on the score of interest it had calculated badly, and had gained nothing by the contract. It was afraid of letting us go at large to develop and detect the misrepresentations and calumnies that were studiously set afloat, and had therefore, I am convinced, determined to violate its engagements, by keeping us prisoners as long as possible. How was this to be done? In the commencement of our negotiation Lord Castlereagh declared, as a reason for our acceding to government's possessing a negative on our choice, that it had no worse place in view for our emigration than the United States of America. We had made our election to go there, and called upon him to have our agreement carried into execution. In that difficulty, you, sir, afforded very effectual assistance to the faithlessness of the British cabinet. On the 16th of September, Mr. Marsden, then under-secretary, came to inform us that Mr. King had remonstrated against our being permitted to emigrate to America. This astonished us all, and Dr. Macneven very plainly said that he considered this as a mere trick between Mr. King and the British government. This Mr. Marsden denied, and on being pressed to know what reason Mr. King could have for preventing us, who were avowed republicans, from emigrating to America, he significantly answered, 'Perhaps Mr. King does not desire to have republicans in America.' Your interference was then, sir, made the pretext of detaining us for four years in custody, by which very extensive and useful plans of settlement within these states were broken up. The misfortunes which you brought upon the objects of your persecution were incalculable. Almost all of us wasted four of the best years of our lives in prison. As to me, I should have brought along with me my father and his family, including a brother, whose name perhaps you even will not read without emotions of sympathy and respect. Others nearly connected with me would have come partners in my emigration. But all of them have been torn from me. I have been prevented from saving a brother, from receiving the dying bless-

ings of a father, mother, and sister, and from soothing their last agonies by my cares—and this, sir, by your unwarrantable and unfeeling interference.

"Your friends, when they accuse me of want of moderation in my conduct towards you, are wonderfully mistaken. They do not reflect, or know, that I have never spoken of you without suppressing (as I do now) personal feelings that rise up within me, and swell my heart with indignation and resentment. But I mean to confine myself to an examination of your conduct as far as it is of public importance.

"The step you took was unauthorized by your own government. Our agreement with that of Ireland was entered into on the 29th of July; your prohibition was notified to us on the 16th of September. Deduct seven days for the two communications between Dublin and London, and you had precisely forty-two days, in the calms of summer, for transmitting your intelligence to America and receiving an answer. As you had no order, then, what was the motive of your unauthorized act? I cannot positively say, but I will tell you my conviction. The British ministry had resolved to detain us prisoners contrary to their plighted honour; and you, sir, I fear, lent your ministerial character to enable them to commit an act of perfidy, which they would not otherwise have dared to perpetrate. Whether our conduct in Ireland was right or wrong—you have no justification for yours. The constitution and laws of this country gave you no power to require of the British government that it should violate its faith, and withdraw from us its consent to the place we had fixed upon for our voluntary emigration. Neither the president nor you were warranted to prevent our touching these shores; though the former might, under the Alien Act, have afterwards sent us away if he had reason to think we were plotting anything against the United States. I have heard something about the law of nations; but you are too well acquainted with that law not to know that it has no bearing on this subject. Our emigration was voluntary, and the English government had, in point of justice, no more to do with it than to signify that there was no objection to the place of residence we had chosen.

"Another circumstance which compels me to believe a collusive league between you, in your capacity of resident minister from America, and the cabinet of St. James's, is the very extravagant and unwarrantable nature of your remonstrance, which, had the ministry been sincere towards us, they could not possibly have overlooked. If they had intended to observe their compact, you, sir, would have been very quickly made to feel the futility of your ill-timed application. You would have been taught that it was a

matter of mere private arrangement between government and us, with which you had no more to do than the minister of Denmark, Sweden, Portugal, or any other neutral power. What inference ought fairly to be made from the facts I have stated, every man must decide for himself. On me they have forced a conviction, which, if you can shake it, I shall much more gladly forego than I state it here, that in the instance alluded to you degraded the dignity and independence of the country you represented, you abandoned the principles of its government and its policy, and you became the tool of a foreign state, to give it a colourable pretext for the commission of a crime. If so, is it fit that you should hereafter be intrusted with any kind of delegated authority? What motives you may have had for that conduct, if in truth it was yours, I cannot undertake to say. Mr. Marsden seemed to doubt whether you wished for republicans in America; and I shrewdly suspect he spoke what the British ministry thought of your politics.

"Perhaps it may be said that you were yourself deceived by those very calumnies of which I have complained. I sincerely wish I could believe that such were the fact—but observe this argument. We contradicted the misstatements of the committees of the lords and commons of Ireland, by an advertisement written in prison, signed by our names, and published on the 27th of August. It must have reached London on the 1st or 2nd of September; your remonstrance must have been made on or before the 12th, for it was communicated to us on the 16th. The effect produced by our advertisement was electrical, and the debate which it caused on the very evening of its appearance, in the Irish House of Commons, was remarkable. As you doubtless read the newspapers of the day these facts could not have been unknown to you. Why then should you be deceived by representations which we had recently contradicted under circumstances so extraordinary? Mr. King, did you enter so deeply into the revolution of your country as to implicate your life in the issue of its fortunes? From the strong attachment of your political friends, I presume you were a distinguished leader in those eventful times—if not, you had certainly read their history. Did you remember the calumnies which had been thrown out by British agents against the most upright and venerable patriots of America? Did you call to mind the treatment which had been given, in South Carolina, to Governor Gabsden, to General Rutherford, Colonel Isaacs, and a number of others who had surrendered to that very Lord Cornwallis with whom, through his ministers, we negotiated; and that those distinguished characters were, in violation of their capitulation and the rights of parole, sent to St.

Augustine, as we were afterwards to Fort George? How then is it possible that you could have been a dupe to the misrepresentations of the British government?

"These remarks I address, with all becoming respect, to 'the first man in the country;' yet in fact, sir, I do not clearly see in what consists your superiority over myself. It is true you have been a resident minister at the court of St. James's, and if what I have read in the public prints be true, and if you be apprized of my near relationship and family connexion with the late Sir John Temple, you must acknowledge that your interference, as resident minister at the court of St. James's, against my being permitted to emigrate to America, is a very curious instance of the caprice of fortune. But let that pass. To what extent I ought to yield to you for talents and information is not for me to decide. In no other respect, however, do I feel your excessive superiority. My private character and conduct are, I hope, as fair as yours; and even in those matters which I consider as trivial, but upon which aristocratic pride is accustomed to stamp a value, I should not be inclined to shrink from competition. My birth certainly will not humble me by the comparison; my paternal fortune was probably much greater than yours; the consideration in which the name I bear was held in my native country was as great as yours is ever likely to be, before I had an opportunity of contributing to its celebrity. As to the amount of what private fortune I have been able to save from the wreck of calamity, it is unknown to you or to your friends; but two things I will tell you—I never was indebted, either in the country from which I came nor in any other in which I have lived, to any man, further than the necessary credit for the current expenses of a family; and am not so circumstanced that I should tremble '*for my subsistence*' at the threatened displeasure of your friends. So much for the past and the present—now for the future. Circumstances which cannot be controlled have decided that my name must be embodied into history. From the manner in which even my political adversaries, and some of my cotemporary historians, unequivocally hostile to my principles, already speak of me, I have the consolation of reflecting, that when the falsehoods of the day are withered and rotten I shall be respected and esteemed. You, sir, will probably be forgotten when I shall be remembered with honour; or if, peradventure, your name should descend to posterity, perhaps you will be known only as the recorded instrument of part of *my* persecution, sufferings, and misfortunes.

"I am, Sir, &c.,

"Thomas Addis Emmet."*

* "Pieces of Irish History," p. 235.

Mr. Rufus King, by one of those strange freaks and accidents of fortune which are of such frequent occurrence in American political life and strife, suddenly emerged from the obscurity naturally suited to mediocrity of talent, slenderness of intellectual provision, smallness of views, and dearth of enlarged ideas, liberal sentiments, and generous impulses, and became minister of the United States at the court of St. James's, bringing nothing with him to his great post but his regal name, and some ridiculous pretensions to affinity with nobility and royalty of Norman origin, to contribute to its dignity. The poor, vain, new man, of the young republic growing up a giant, forgot himself, or rather forgot what was due to his position, and to the interests and character of the institutions of his country; and, carried away by the predominant influences of surrounding aristocratic tastes and feelings, delivered himself up to the Toryism in which he lived and moved in London, affecting even a preference for monarchical institutions over those of his own land; and turned the little, brief authority with which he was invested to the account of that old *regime* of English Toryism against the people of Ireland, who had been oppressed and driven into rebellion by it. He remonstrated with the British government against men suspected of republican principles being sent to the republican land which he represented at the court of St. James's. A grievous wrong—a prolonged imprisonment of upwards of three years—was the result of this uncalled-for interference of Mr. Rufus King to the state prisoners confined in Ireland. Little did Mr. Rufus King imagine then, in the plenitude of his power and authority as minister to the court of St. James's, that one of those Irish rebels "vehemently suspected" of holding republican opinions—a broken-down man—a mere Irish rebel, but still a person of some talents and commendable qualities, of the name of Emmet—at the distance of eight years from the date of that act of Mr. Rufus King—should be found able and ready to drag that gentleman before the bar of public opinion in America—should be found rising up in power, influence, respect, and honour to repay the gratuitous injury that had been inflicted on him and his associates. T. A. Emmet indeed repaid the wrong done him by Mr. Rufus King with a vengeance. He drove back the ex-minister to obscurity, brought the candidate for a new office of great dignity into disrepute, banished him from public life, and consigned him to obloquy for the remainder of his days. For eight years the remembrance of the wrongs done by Mr. Rufus King to the state prisoners of Fort George was treasured up in the mind of T. A. Emmet, and at last found expression, and a fitting opportunity for it, in those letters I have just quoted of T. A. Emmet.

CHAPTER VI.

CAPTIVITY IN FORT GEORGE—CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GOVERNOR OF THE FORT, AND WITH THE GOVERNMENT—QUARREL BETWEEN EMMET AND O'CONNOR—EXPLANATION DEMANDED—ARRANGEMENT OF THE DIFFICULTIES CONNECTED WITH IT—MR. SWEETMAN'S IMPORTANT ORIGINAL PAPERS ON THIS SUBJECT.

On the 18th of March, 1799, after a year's imprisonment, Emmet received notice to prepare for embarkation the following morning. The place of his destination was kept a profound secret; and this circumstance caused the most serious apprehensions to his relatives. His sister, at a late hour the same evening, on hearing of the order that had been given, proceeded immediately to the Castle, and demanded an interview with the viceroy, for the purpose of ascertaining the fate that was destined for her brother. She presented herself to the viceroy with the spirit that seemed to be the characteristic of her race. Lord Cornwallis was moved even to tears at the earnestness of her supplication, the anxiety exhibited in her looks, the strength of feeling, the energy of character displayed in the effort she had made. He treated her with kindness, and assured her that "no harm should occur to her brother;" that the apprehension of a meditated descent on Ireland had rendered it necessary to remove the state prisoners to a place of security—that place he was not then at liberty to name—but that the treatment of her brother and his companions should be all his friends or theirs could desire. Miss Emmet returned to her family, and the intelligence she brought, little as it was, relieved the minds of her parents of much of their alarm.

At daybreak the following morning, Thomas Addis Emmet bid a last farewell to his country. He never more set his foot upon its soil. The evening before his departure he was visited by his sister—he parted with her for the last time. Father, mother, sister, and brother, in the brief space of four or five years, were laid in the grave, within which period the last but one of the race of Emmet that was left in the land of his birth perished on the scaffold.

On the 9th of April, 1799, Emmet and his associates arrived at Fort George. In Neilson's correspondence this part of the history of their confinement is so fully detailed, that it is unnecessary to enter on it, except in reference to the subject of this memoir, and the conduct of the lieutenant-governor, especially in regard to Emmet and his wife. Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, a brother of the Earl of Murray, descended from a royal race, then far advanced in years, filled the office of lieutenant-governor of

Fort George. His name and memory will always be remembered in Ireland with respect and honour, for his humane and generous conduct to her, Emmet, and his companions.

It seemed to be, from the beginning of their confinement at Fort George, the object of the Irish government, of which Lord Castlereagh was virtually the head, to render their situation as painful to them as possible, by the representations made of their conduct and designs to the English minister; while that of the Duke of Portland was to act towards the prisoners as little as possible in the spirit of those representations; and the study of the officer, in whose charge they were placed, to mitigate the rigour of every order he received in relation to them, so far as a due regard to duty allowed him to do. That officer told Emmet, at the commencement of their acquaintance, "he looked upon him and the other state prisoners as gentlemen, and as such he was disposed to treat them." He kept his word. During the first year of their confinement, several orders, very absurd, and, had they been acted on, of very unnecessary severity, had been wrung from the Duke of Portland by the malignity of the representations made by the Irish minister. The prisoners were forbidden the use of pen and ink, except "in the presence of a keeper," for the purpose of writing to their friends on account "of the gross abuse of that privilege by the Dublin prisoners."* "The reason assigned for the last restriction (he says) makes it plain that the brain from which it originated was that of the Irish minister or of his clerk, and the source his heart; and that when he could not poison the air of Fort George by his deleterious breath, he embittered it by transfusing a portion of his gall through the secretarial pen of the Duke of Portland." Verbal communication was prohibited, except in presence of a sentinel; the time allowed for exercise was restricted to about an hour in the day for each individual; their allowance was reduced; and their correspondence with their friends encumbered with formalities which could serve no useful purpose. All these severities were gradually mitigated by the lieutenant-governor, and at length the restrictions existed only in name.

The *Aston Smith* transport, in which the Dublin state prisoners who had entered into a compact with the government had embarked, was sent to Belfast, to receive the northern state prisoners who were destined for Fort George.

On the 26th of March, 1799, she sailed for Greenock in a heavy gale of wind, which soon became a violent storm. The gale continued till the 29th, and prevented the intended disembarkation at Greenock. The prisoners were landed at Gooroch on the 30th of March, where a Colonel Hay and three king's messengers

* Rev. Dr. Dixon's Narrative, p. 136.

from London were in waiting, to take charge of the prisoners, nineteen in number.

The following were their names:

Thomas Addis Emmet,	Thomas Russell,
Arthur O'Connor,	Robert Simms,
Roger O'Connor,	William Tennent,
William James Macneven,	Robert Hunter,
John Sweetman,	Hugh Wilson,
Matthew Dowling,	John Sweeny,
John Chambers,	Joseph Cuthbert,
Edward Hudson,	William Steele Dixon.
George Cumming,	Joseph Cormick.
Samuel Neilson,	

"We were selected," says Dr. Steele Dixon in his narrative, "from the three provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, but principally from the city of Dublin and town of Belfast; we comprehended in our body three magistrates, three barristers, two physicians, one attorney, one apothecary, one printer and bookseller, one printer and proprietor of a newspaper, one dentist, one military captain, one runner to a bank, one merchant tailor, and one Presbyterian minister, with an eminent porter brewer, two wholesale merchants, one broker, and two young gentlemen without profession, trade, or calling. . . . I should have added, a clergyman of the Church of England, as Arthur O'Connor was ordained as such previous to his being called to the bar; and as episcopal ordination impresses an indelible character, he not only then was, and now is, but ever must be a *clergyman*. Of our circumstances I shall only say, that we *had* all been *independent*, most of us *respectable* in our professions, some possessed of large capitals in trade, and others of considerable landed property. Perhaps it may not be amiss to mention here that, as we were selected from the three principal provinces of Ireland, we were respectively members of the three principal Churches in the kingdom, and which alone government has yet acknowledged *as Churches*. Nor is it unworthy of notice that the number of Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians in our little colony, was in an *inverse ratio* of the number of each denomination in Ireland at large. Perhaps the proportion may be stated as follows, though not correctly:

Catholics (two-thirds of the people), prisoners, - -	4
Presbyterians (more than one-fifth of the people), prisoners, -	6
Protestants (less than one-seventh of the people), do., -	10

"From this statement—a fact truly anomalous—the presumption arises: As a majority of the prisoners were deemed prin-

cipal authors and promoters of the Irish insurrection, and as only one-fifth of said prisoners were Catholics, the representation of that insurrection as 'a Popish rebellion' cannot be confided in as *the very truth.*"

Dixon was mistaken as to the number of state prisoners—there were nineteen, not twenty in Fort George.

The following garrison orders and correspondence with the lieutenant-governor will suffice to give a correct idea of the nature of the restraint which was imposed on them, and of the treatment they received at Fort George:

"Fort George, 9th April, 1799.

"GARRISON ORDERS.

"Lieutenant-Governor Stuart desires that the troops and inhabitants of the garrison may attend to the following orders:

Government having thought proper to send to this Fort certain persons charged with the heinous crime of high treason, to be here kept in sure custody, it is the lieutenant-governor's orders that no communication whatever be held with the said prisoners, excepting by the persons appointed to keep them and attend them, or by any persons furnished with a written order for that purpose from the lieutenant-governor.

"Any letters directed to them, or attempted to be sent from them, to be stopped, and immediately brought to the lieutenant-governor or officer commanding.

"The sentinels on duty are to hold no conversation themselves, nor permit any other person (except as aforesaid) to hold any conversation or have any intercourse with them.

"The lieutenant-governor has no doubt of the troops doing their duty correctly, and he cautions all other persons to attend strictly to those orders, as they shall answer it at their peril.

"J. H. BAILLIE,

"*Major and Fort Major.*"

"Fort George, 10th May, 1799.

"The prisoners are to be locked up at all times, except when at meals or airing. They will be permitted to air as follows: at ten in the morning ten prisoners will go out in two divisions, as usual, and may remain until one o'clock, when the other ten may go out, and remain till four o'clock, after which the prisoners are not to be permitted to go out. This allows three hours for air and exercise to each man. They must mess in two divisions, as formerly directed; and it being impossible to serve each prisoner in his own apartment, one choosing one thing and one another, they will please to agree among themselves whether they will have

tea, or bread and cheese, &c.; and they will be permitted to assemble in two divisions, as at dinner, from seven to half-past eight, when they must retire to their apartments.

"STUART, *Lieutenant-Governor.*"

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR STUART.

"Whitehall, 31st October, 1799.

"SIR—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to desire that you will acquaint the state prisoners under your care, that it will be proper for them to inform their correspondents in Ireland that all letters addressed to them should be sent open, under cover to the secretary for the civil department in Dublin, who will forward them to this office, from whence they will be sent to you to be returned to the prisoners. In the meantime, and until you shall receive such letters from the office, you will be pleased to transmit to his grace such letters as shall arrive at Fort George for the said prisoners, before they are given to them.

(Signed) "J. KING."

LETTERS FROM LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR STUART TO THE STATE PRISONERS.

"Fort George, 5th November, 1799.

"Lieutenant-Governor Stuart is somewhat at a loss to account for the cause of the enclosed order, as he is positive no improper letters have been attempted to be sent to the state prisoners since in his custody. But that as little delay as possible may arise to their letters, the lieutenant-governor desires the gentlemen may write *immediately* to their correspondents in terms of secretary of state's order, and their letters will be forwarded to the office directly."

"Fort George, 31st May, 1802.

"GENTLEMEN—As it may be of consequence to your private concerns, I lose no time in informing you (although I cannot do so officially) that I have very good grounds for saying, that I believe a pardon is now making out by government, upon the condition specified in the Irish Act of Pardon and Banishment, and that as soon as it is completed a king's ship will be sent to some convenient port to conduct the gentlemen *to Hamburg*. Although I am not warranted to give this information *officially*, I am very

certain of the fact, and the gentlemen will make what use they judge proper of the communication.

"I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

"STUART, *D.-Gov.*

"To the State Prisoners at Fort George."

"28th June, 1802.

"Governor Stuart's compliments to Mr. Sweetman: he was gratified by the inspection of the enamelled painting, which is a most capital performance. Hans Holbein's engravings are a very great curiosity; many of the plates have great force of expression, and the antiquity itself of the book (upwards of 255 years) renders it of much value. The lieutenant-governor is much obliged to Mr. Sweetman for the sentiments expressed in the conclusion of his letter, and he hopes the remembrance of his captivity will be soon blotted out by happier days.

"John Sweetman, Esq."

LETTER OF MR. HUNTER TO LIEUT.-GOVERNOR STUART.

"Mr. R. Hunter feels extremely distressed that his having sent a letter by one of the attendants, on Tuesday last, directed to his wife in Belfast, should have been the cause of the poor man's confinement. Mr. H. assures Governor Stuart, though he acknowledges his irregularity, his motives for sending the letter in this manner were solely to avoid the delay attending the present circuitous mode, and as the letter was merely on domestic and private family concerns, without any allusion of a political or suspicious nature whatever, and as such he gave it to the poor man, Mr. H. trusts the lieut.-governor will be good enough to excuse the offence Campbell has been guilty of through his means—and to allow him to send to Belfast for the letter in question. He also assures the governor he never offered Campbell any bribe whatever.

(Signed) "R. HUNTER."

LIEUT.-GOVERNOR STUART'S ANSWER TO MR. HUNTER'S LETTER.

"SIR—I do not question the veracity of your statement with regard to the letter you allude to—that it was to your wife and entirely on domestic concerns; but it might have been to a very different person, and of a very different complexion, and the public would not be apt to judge the more favourably from the clandestine mode of your sending it away. Were I to act up to the rigour of my duty I would put it out of your power to make any such attempt in future—but I trust you will, for your own sake and that of your fellow-prisoners, be more prudent in time to come.

With regard to Campbell, it is a duty I owe to the public as a military officer to make an example of a fellow, who has been not only guilty of the most flagrant disobedience of orders, but also of a breach of trust. On account of his age I shall pass from corporal punishment, but I will drum him out of the garrison to-morrow.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"STUART, *Lt.-Governor.*"

Mr. J. St. J. Mason, in his notes referring to his visit to Fort George, in 1800, says:

"There were nineteen state prisoners at Fort George, of whom one only, Roger O'Connor, had the liberty of the garrison accompanied by a serjeant, and occasionally rode in a carriage to Inverness. J. S. M. frequently met him on the ramparts, so accompanied. The other state prisoners were in two divisions, nine in each, and severally each division walked daily for three hours, from ten to one and from one to four o'clock, on an enclosed bastion, level with the apartments which they occupied, on a second floor, from which there was an approach to the bastion by a gallery.

"The Messrs. O'Connor were not in T. A. Emmet's division.

"They all spoke highly of the conduct of the governor towards them, and J. S. M. has a letter in the handwriting of the governor concerning J. S. M.'s wish for an interview with T. A. E., which fully proves the kindness of disposition which the governor possessed.

"They had an excellent table, and a pint of wine daily. The governor was, J. S. M. believes, allowed by government one pound a-day for each."

In 1800, John Patten, accompanied by Mrs. Emmet and her three boys—Robert, Thomas, and John—proceeded from Dublin to Fort George.

When T. A. Emmet embarked for America, in October, 1804, three of his children accompanied him.

His three other children, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Marianne, remained in Dublin with his parents till the month of March, 1805, when they left Ireland for New York.

MEMORANDUM FOUND AMONG DR. MACNEVEN'S PAPERS RESPECTING THE STATE PRISONERS AT FORT GEORGE.

"The several prisoners in Fort George had embraced some particular course of reading and study, to which they applied with far more assiduity than if they only read for amusement. Emmet applied himself chiefly to mathematics, or, more properly, to algebra, in which he made signal proficiency, and to which he was so devoted, that for whole months he employed the greater

portion of his nights in the study of this science. He had little or no acquaintance with it when he arrived at Fort George, but it chanced Euler's Algebra came among the books we received there; this opened the subject to him, and he afterwards prosecuted it with the greatest assiduity, until the arrival of Mrs. Emmet and three of his children divided his attention. After this period Shakspeare was his favourite reading; he never touched a law book while at Fort George, and had made up his mind to purchase land and turn farmer in America. Having embraced this project, he never disturbed his mind with any other schemes, but waited tranquilly for his release, and the opportunity it would afford.—He was remarkable for great equanimity and good temper through the whole of his confinement; he was also exempt from any disease during that time; his stomach was never out of order, and his palate so undistinguishing, that, provided he got sufficient food, he was careless of the kind and almost of the quality; he was, however, moderate in the quantity, and very abstemious as to drink, so that repletion never injured his health or his faculties."

Mrs. Emmet, who was not permitted to accompany her husband to Fort George, had made repeated applications to Lord Castlereagh, from the time of the removal of Emmet, to be allowed to visit him. The answers returned to the poor lady were couched in terms of frigid courtesy, refusing her application. Mrs. Emmet informed her husband, in a letter which he received the 19th of November, 1800, that after making applications at the Castle during nine months, Lord Castlereagh at length had consented to her visiting her husband, but under conditions which amounted to a prohibition, and that she was then about to apply in person to the Duke of Portland.

Previously, however, to her making this personal application, she had applied to his grace by letter. The influence that was exerted to defeat her object may be gathered from the conditions on which the British minister was willing to comply with her request. There is no transaction of those times, with which Lord Castlereagh was connected, which exhibits more unmanliness of character than the representation made by him to the British ministers, against a lady of exalted worth—a wife devoted to her husband—the mother of five children—a lady, in fine, in the unfortunate circumstances of Mrs. Emmet as a person undeserving of the merciful consideration of government, being "suspected of having imbibed the principles" of her husband, and on that account to be debarred from *his* society, except under restrictions that were an outrage on her feelings.

The following is a copy of the Duke of Portland's order, in consequence of the application then made by her:

"Sir—Mrs. Emmet, wife of Mr. Emmet, one of the prisoners at Fort George, has obtained my permission to see her husband; but, as she is suspected of having imbibed his principles, you will take particular care that she shall not be the means of communication between him and the disaffected in Ireland. She is only to see him in the presence of a proper person, and you are to take such steps as that she may not carry any letters or papers in or out of the Fort.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"The Hon. Lieutenant-Governor Stuart." "Portland.

In the month of July following she proceeded to London, obtained a personal interview with the Duke of Portland, and the result of it was such as might be expected. Permission was granted to her not only to visit her husband, but to take her children and reside with him, and she attributed the indulgence, in a great measure, to the favourable representation of her husband's character and conduct which had been made by Lieutenant-Governor Stuart.*

From the time of Mrs. Emmet's arrival at Fort George till the liberation of the prisoners, the conduct of the good old governor to Mrs. Emmet was more like that of a father than a guardian of a prison (for such the fortress under his command had been made). His kindness to her children was unceasing, and his respectful attention to her husband plainly showed in what light "the rebel leader" was regarded by him.

On one occasion a fire broke out at night in the fortress. The governor was called up, and on ascertaining that no danger was to be apprehended, he instantly ran to Emmet's apartment to remove his apprehension for himself and family; and the next day the following note was addressed to Emmet:

"The lieutenant-governor's compliments to Mr. Emmet. He hopes Mrs. Emmet suffered no inconvenience from the alarm of fire which was given last night. As the idea of being locked in may occasion a disagreeable sensation to a lady's mind, in case of any sudden occurrence (though the lieutenant-governor flatters himself that none in future will arise), he will give directions that the passage door leading to Mr. Emmet's apartments shall not in future be locked, being convinced Mr. Emmet would make no improper use of all the doors being left open.

"To Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq."

What a singular contrast between the conduct to Emmet of the Lieutenant-Governor of Fort George, grounded on the conviction

* Dixon's Narrative, p. 157.

that "Mr. Emmet would make no improper use of all the doors (of his prison) being left open," and that of Lord Castlereagh, based on the suspicion of his wife being so contaminated by his principles that the safety of the state required he should not be suffered to enjoy her society, except in the presence of a sentinel. So long as the conduct of the brave Scotch officer is remembered by Irishmen—ay, and by Englishmen—with honour, so long shall that of the unfeeling, cold-hearted political apostate—the minion of Mr. Pitt, be remembered with loathing and contempt by right-thinking men of all parties.

In November, 1800, Emmet received a letter from his fellow-student, Home, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, informing him that "all his applications were fruitless and his expectations vain, notwithstanding his most earnest interference in his favour."

Mrs. Emmet, in the meantime, was permitted to make excursions in the neighbourhood when she thought proper; she was visited by some of the families residing in the vicinity of the Fort, and visited them in turn. The lieutenant-governor sent a message to her husband, informing the latter that he might accompany his wife whenever he thought proper to escort her. Emmet returned a written reply, expressing his gratitude for the governor's kindness on all occasions, but begging respectfully to decline the indulgence offered in the event of its coming from the British government; but if it came from the lieutenant-governor he would most willingly and thankfully accept his offer. Stuart wrote in reply that the offer had been his own spontaneous act, and as such it was accepted.

During Mrs. Emmet's residence at Fort George she was confined. The child was called Jane Erin Emmet.

After a confinement of three years in Fort George and of one year in the Dublin prisons, in violation of a solemn engagement, the government determined on the liberation of the prisoners. But when the list of pardoned persons came to the lieutenant-governor from the Home Office, it was ascertained that Emmet's name was not among those of the prisoners whose liberation was specified. The lieutenant-governor sent for Emmet, and with visible emotion told him there was no order for his liberation or removal. The cause of the omission of his name, and of making him an exception to the lenity of government—as the liberation of the prisoners was then absurdly called—could not be imagined. The worthy old man, turning to him as he was about to leave the room, said: "Mr. Emmet, you shall go; I will take all hazards and all responsibility. You shall go to-morrow with the rest of the prisoners, and I will stand between you and the government." The Emmets parted with the good old man, who had acted towards

them with so much kindness, as an old friend. They embarked with the other state prisoners for Cuxhaven, on the 30th of June, 1802, and landed in Holland on the 4th of July.

Circumstances of a painful nature occurred during the detention of the state prisoners at Fort George, which, as long as silence could be maintained respecting their origin and results, it would have been improper to have broken. I allude to very serious differences that occurred between Thomas Addis Emmet and Arthur O'Connor.

In an evil hour for O'Connor's reputation, since the publication of the former edition of this work in 1843, T. A. Emmet has been stigmatized, in a work of O'Connor's, as a coward and a man of bad faith.

To a proud, passionate, egotistical mind, contact with heroic virtue is an intolerable nuisance: "*Invidus invidia comburitur intus et extra.*"

Cowardice or faithlessness were the last defects that any prudent seeming friend or associate, who had become an enemy, would have thought of laying to the account of T. A. Emmet. Though he looked before and after every plan or project that was proposed to him, and differed with some of his associates, with respect to the resolution of hazarding a rising of the people without the aid they expected and had applied for; though he strenuously and conscientiously opposed (whether fortunately or otherwise for the interests of his cause is not now the question) the unassisted attempt being made—and eventually the difference of opinion led to entire estrangement between him and Arthur O'Connor, who had been a member of the directory at an earlier period, and one of its most energetic, able, and influential members—a braver or a better man than T. A. Emmet never lived. *No good can arise from entering into a detailed account of this disagreement, but it may not be amiss to add that documents of Emmet's are in the possession of the author, which leave not the shadow of a doubt of the purity of Emmet's motives—of the uprightness of his conduct towards his cause and his companions, and, if the necessity should arise for their publication, the author undertakes they shall be forthcoming.* The words in italics were written seventeen years ago, and published in the second series of the first edition, vol. ii. p. 28, in 1843.

Unfortunately the necessity has arisen, and the conduct of the late General O'Connor has made it incumbent on me to publish those documents to which I have referred in the memoir of General O'Connor. These documents were placed in my hands by the son of John Sweetman, to whose care they were committed by Thomas Addis Emmet, when he was about to embark for America. And the condition was imposed on me, that in the event only of

injustice being done to the memory of T. A. Emmet by General O'Connor, they should be published by me. I need only refer to the latest published work of General O'Connor, entitled "Monopoly, the Root of all Evil," published in 1848, to show that the necessity has arisen for the vindication of Emmet's memory from the foul slander of General O'Connor.

From the notes given to me by Mr. John St. John Mason (a first-cousin of T. Addis Emmet) I extract the following important memorandum in the handwriting of Mr. Mason:

"1800. John St. John Mason went from London to Fort George to see T. A. Emmet. He (J. St. John Mason), during his stay there, lodged at the canteen in that garrison. During ten days he corresponded with T. A. Emmet, through the Lieutenant-Governor Stuart, brother of Lord Moray. Has several letters in his possession in Dublin from T. A. Emmet. He was not permitted to hold personal interview with T. A. Emmet. He (J. St. John Mason), when leaving Fort George, requested T. A. Emmet to let him know if he could execute any commission in Ireland for any of the gentlemen at Fort George, and happened to name the Messrs. O'Connor, and he (J. St. John Mason) has a letter from T. A. Emmet in reply, to this effect—'That he had public and private, personal and political reasons for not having anything to do with, or to put himself in the way of owing any obligation to either of the Messrs. O'Connor.'"

Robert Holmes, I am informed by J. St. John Mason, in 1800 drew up an admirable notice of the character of T. A. Emmet, which Mrs. Holmes (Emmet's sister) told Mason was equally honourable to the writer and the subject of that notice. There was one passage which Mason said was no less truthfully than forcibly expressed: "T. A. Emmet would not have committed a dishonourable act, though secure of everlasting concealment."

Men of this stamp do not quarrel on slight grounds with their associates. One "whom nothing could move or cause to swerve from his integrity" could hardly be quarrelled with by a person of his own character.

A man in whom the elements were so kindly mixed, "that anger and animosity seemed foreign to his nature"—who is described by a kinsman as "at all times most careful not to utter a word that could hurt the feelings of any human being"—who had "nothing in his bearing approaching to arrogance or self-sufficiency"—it may be taken for granted was not slightly wronged, outraged, or provoked, when he wrote these words, that were not only to be read by the person to whom they were addressed, Mr. St. John Mason, but had to be submitted to the lieutenant-governor of the fort where he was a prisoner at the time he wrote them:

"He had public and private, personal and political reasons for not having anything to do with, or to put himself in the way of any obligation to the Messrs. O'Connor."

The documents which follow will show that T. A. Emmet had a very serious quarrel with one of those gentlemen. But that quarrel was not the first or principal one between them. One of a private nature had taken place at Fort George, on which occasion the resentment of Emmet was excited to a pitch that Arthur O'Connor had reason to think could not proceed much farther, with all due respect to the garrison orders and regulations of their place of confinement. That was the state of things when a new cause of quarrel gave rise to angry discussions, a demand for explanation, and ultimately became the subject of the communications which are embodied in these documents, and were left by Emmet in the hands of his friend Sweetman, when he was about to leave France for the United States. These documents are now published for the first time.

STATEMENT IN THE HANDWRITING OF MR. JOHN PATTEN.*

"O'Connor stated that Emmet, from nearly the first of their acquaintance, acted towards him with the utmost duplicity; that he made a party against him in Kilmainham; and that he gave information of the letter which O'Connor was writing, through which means government became acquainted with the circumstance; that after O'Connor went to Newgate, Emmet endeavoured to make a party against him, and that O'Connor could at that time have proved Emmet's conduct to have been both base and treacherous—which several would have wished him to do, had not a dislike to blast the character of a person concerned in the union prevented O'Connor from so doing; that at a time when the people were ready to rise Emmet said it would be necessary to give information at the Castle to prevent it; that Emmet said to Roger O'Connor he wished for a revolution on his own account, and not on that of the people."

STATEMENT OF MATTHEW DOWLING.

"On Sunday, the 4th July instant, some time previous to the *Ariadne* frigate having anchored near Cuxhaven, at the desire of Thomas Addis Emmet, I called Arthur O'Connor aside, and told him that 'my friend Emmet, expecting now immediately to be at liberty, had desired me to inform him that he (Emmet) intended to go direct to Hamburgh, where he would remain for some time.'

* The original of this paper is endorsed, "2nd September, 1800. Received this paper from T. A. Emmet to keep safe for him.—M. D." (Matthew Dowling). This document I showed Mr. Patten, the 3rd February, 1843. He says he thinks it is in his handwriting.—R. R. M.

After some conversation and my repeating the above intimation, Mr. O'Connor, in answer, requested I would let Mr. Emmet know, that he should take his own time and place for calling on Mr. Emmet for further explanation with respect to the relative situation they then stood in; which answer I immediately communicated to Mr. Emmet.

"MATTHEW DOWLING.

"Hamburgh, Tuesday morning, 6th July, 1802."

"A fair copy of this handed over to Tom Emmet, drawn, &c., signed by me, 6th July, 1802.—M. D."

STATEMENT OF JOHN CHAMBERS.

"Hamburgh, 8th July, 1802.

"The fatigue and lassitude which follow sea-sickness prevented me, till this morning, from communicating to paper an affair in which I was an actor, and which, concerning the characters of others, I am the more desirous of preserving a memorandum of.

"On the 5th instant, whilst in the passage-boat, going up the Elbe from Cuxhaven, I took an opportunity of addressing Mr. Sweetman on the differences which unhappily subsisted, and had proceeded to great extremities, amongst several of our fellow-prisoners; and observing that our superior age, and other considerations attached to our characters—as well with our friends here as with those in Ireland—rendered us, perhaps, particularly qualified for setting about the desirable work of reconciliation. I therefore proposed to him to proceed immediately in the business. After some discussion on the difficulties which seemed to be opposed to our success, it was agreed that we should begin with an endeavour to settle a difference which had subsisted for near two years between Messrs. Emmet and O'Connor, and that if we were able to effect it, I suggested we might perhaps get the united efforts of these gentlemen in aid of our own, towards an amicable understanding amongst all the rest.

"Mr. Sweetman and I then went into a very full, calm, and dispassionate consideration of what we conceived to be incumbent on these two gentlemen as a foundation of their reconciliation; when it was agreed that Mr. O'Connor should withdraw a challenge which he had sent to Mr. Emmet; that on his doing so, Mr. Emmet should declare he had never done, or intended to do him (Mr. O'Connor) any injury; and that then Mr. O'Connor should declare, that in the conversation he had with Mr. Patten he never intended to impeach his (Mr. Emmet's) moral or political character.

"These terms I communicated to Mr. O'Connor, and Mr. Sweetman did the like to Mr. Emmet; after which Mr. Sweetman

and I had another interview, and imparted to each other the mutual disposition of the parties to conform to our suggestions; but Mr. Sweetman requested that, in order to prevent any misunderstanding, I should again see Mr. O'Connor, and repeat to him, for his concurrence, the terms which had been before agreed upon. I complied, and again mentioned them to Mr. O'Connor, who said he not only concurred in them, but that, sincerely desirous of fully composing the feelings of Mr. Emmet, he would not confine himself to the precise words which had been stipulated. I returned to Mr. Sweetman and mentioned this, and it was then determined that the parties should meet on the foredeck.

"Mr. O'Connor addressed himself to Mr. Emmet, and having spoken of his never harbouring any rancour in his breast towards him, said 'that he withdrew his challenge.' Mr. Emmet then said, 'You are right in withdrawing your challenge. I never did you any injury; I never intended you any.' Mr. O'Connor then expressed the purity of the motives that had led him to take that step, but Mr. Emmet said, he had come there for the purpose of giving Mr. O'Connor an opportunity to explain a business which took place between him and Mr. Patten, and to be satisfied about that business. Mr. Sweetman said that Mr. Chambers had assured him that Mr. O'Connor would do so. I observed that Mr. O'Connor had so promised. Mr. O'Connor then said, that in what he had spoken to Mr. Patten, nothing was more distant from his mind than to disparage him (Mr. Emmet) in the esteem of Mr. Patten. Mr. Emmet upon this said: 'Mr. O'Connor, that is impossible; but I was led to expect you would express yourself satisfactorily on the subject of the conversation with Mr. Patten.' Mr. O'Connor then declared, that in anything which had fallen from him in the conversation alluded to, he never had the most distant intention to impeach his (Mr. Emmet's) moral or political character, or to hurt his or Mr. Patten's feelings; and that as to Mr. Hudson's difference with Mr. Emmet, he disavowed any knowledge of it—some days had elapsed before he had even heard of it.

"Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Emmet then shook hands. Mr. O'Connor then, addressing us generally, said he hoped that this would be followed by exertions to remove whatever remaining differences subsisted amongst us, that our enemies might not have the satisfaction to find that the first use we made of our liberty was to exercise acts of hostility against each other; to which I added a few words, signifying that I was led to originate the work of pacification between those gentlemen in the hope that I would have their added assistance to effect so desirable an end. Mr. Emmet said he must be excused from any interference of that

kind, and would confine himself solely to what related to himself. I then said: 'We will undertake it ourselves.'

"Mr. Emmet in conclusion said: 'Mr. O'Connor, I am happy that everything of a hostile nature has been done away between you and me; but I desire to be understood as not bound to any renewal of intimacy in consequence of what has taken place.'

"We then bowed to each other and parted.

(Signed) "JOHN CHAMBERS."

"Copied from original, 13th July, 1802, Hamburgh.—M.D."

STATEMENT OF JOHN SWEETMAN.

"Passage Boat going up the Elbe, 5th July, 1802.

"Mr. Chambers, having signified to me his earnest desire that some exertion should be made to effect a reconciliation between Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Emmet, proposed that I should lend my assistance in the affair. I replied that I could have no objection, except what arose from my inability, and the nature of the relation in which I stood with one of the parties, Mr. O'Connor, with whom, for a long time, I had ceased to have any intimacy or connexion, save what might be termed a gentlemanly distance; that, however, knowing the just and honourable dispositions of my friend Mr. Emmet, I did not hesitate to say that if I was enabled to propose to him any measure which would be consistent with the principles of honour, and reconcilable to his feelings, it would insure to the attempt a favourable issue. Mr. Chambers and I then conversed upon the business at much length, during which I stated to him what I thought should be done, and which he observed on as he thought fit. Mr. Chambers had occasional interviews with Mr. O'Connor, and I withdrew to obtain Mr. Emmet's sentiments. At length Mr. Chambers authorised me to tell Mr. Emmet that Mr. O'Connor would withdraw the challenge he had sent to Mr. Emmet, and would declare that in the conversation with Mr. Patten he never intended to impeach Mr. Emmet's moral or political character, provided Mr. Emmet would declare that he never did O'Connor any injury, or intended any such. I answered on the part of my friend, Emmet, that he would freely make such a declaration, and that I was certain that an accommodation on the terms stated would be satisfactory. Before, however, that I would communicate finally with my friend on the subject, I requested that Mr. Chambers would again repeat over the terms to Mr. O'Connor, in order to prevent even the shadow of mistake or misconception. Mr. Chambers was obliging enough to do so. He returned, told me he had complied with my request, repeated the terms to me again, and said that he would be on the foredeck with his friend, Mr. O'Connor. I therefore informed Mr. Emmet

of what had been done, and delivered him the result of it—namely, that I was authorised by Mr. Chambers, on the part of Mr. O'Connor, to tell him that Mr. O'Connor would withdraw his challenge provided he (Mr. Emmet) would declare that he never did him (Mr. O'Connor) any injury, or intended any such, and that Mr. O'Connor would declare that in the conversation he had with Mr. Patten he never intended to impeach Mr. Emmet's moral or political character. Mr. Emmet and I then proceeded to the foredeck, where Mr. Chambers and Mr. O'Connor were. As soon as we came up, Mr. O'Connor addressed himself to Mr. Emmet, and having spoken of his never harbouring any rancour in his breast towards him, said that he withdrew his challenge. Mr. Emmet then said: 'Mr. O'Connor, you are right in withdrawing your challenge; I never did you an injury; I never intended you any.' Mr. O'Connor then entered into a discourse expressive of the purity of the motives that led him to take that step, but Mr. Emmet interposed, and said he had come there for the purpose of giving Mr. O'Connor an opportunity to explain a business which had taken place between him and Mr. Patten, and to be satisfied about that business. I then said that Mr. Chambers had assured me that Mr. O'Connor would do so. Mr. Chambers replied, 'I did.' Mr. O'Connor then said, that in what he had spoken to Mr. Patten nothing was more distant from his mind than to disparage him (Mr. Emmet) in the esteem of Mr. Patten. Mr. Emmet again interposed and said: 'Mr. O'Connor, that is impossible; but, Mr. O'Connor, I was led to expect you would explain yourself satisfactorily on the subject of the conversation with Mr. Patten.' Mr. O'Connor then declared that in anything which had fallen from him in the conversation alluded to, he never had the most distant intention to impeach his (Mr. Emmet's) moral or political character. He also disavowed any intention to hurt his feelings or Mr. Patten's, and that as to Mr. Hudson's difference with Mr. Emmet, he disavowed any knowledge of it; some days had elapsed, he said, before he had heard of it.

"Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Emmet then shook hands. Mr. O'Connor, addressing us generally, said he hoped that this would be followed by exertions to remove whatever remaining differences subsisted amongst us, that our enemies might not have the satisfaction to find that the first use we made of our liberty, was to exercise acts of hostility against each other. Mr. Emmet said that he must be excused from any interference of that kind, and would confine himself solely to what related to himself. Mr. Chambers then said: 'We will undertake it ourselves.' Mr. Emmet then mentioned to Mr. O'Connor: 'I am happy that

everything of a hostile nature has been done away between you and me; but I desire to be understood as not bound to any renewal of intimacy in consequence of what has taken place.'

"We then bowed to each other and parted.

(Signed) "JOHN SWEETMAN."

"Copied from original at Hamburgh, 6th July, 1802, by me.—M. D."

It is unnecessary for me to trouble the reader with many comments on the preceding statements. I will only observe that the several statements may be relied on as an exact account of the occurrences that came to the knowledge of the persons by whom they were made—men of high character, honour, and integrity; and that it is impossible to read those statements without feeling there is evidence in them of solid worth—of unswerving principles—of honour, truth, and sterling honesty—on the part of T. A. Emmet.

CHAPTER VII.

LETTERS TO AND FROM THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, COMMUNICATED BY ROBERT AND THOMAS EMMET, ESQRS., OF NEW YORK.

"ONLY a few letters (says Mr. Robert Emmet)—relating chiefly to domestic matters and details of family events occurring during his imprisonment—are to be found, and although deeply interesting to his family, to the world they cannot be so. I have therefore exercised some self-control, and only made extracts from such as tend to show the estimation in which my father was held by both his parents, and which may also in a slight degree afford an insight into their own respective characters."

LETTER, DATED 14TH JULY, 1800, ADDRESSED TO THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, AT FORT GEORGE, BY HIS MOTHER.

"As your patience has never yet forsaken you, I hope it will not now abandon you. We feel, my dearest Tom, very sensibly your kind solicitude about us. You have indeed filled your brother's place to us in every action of a most affectionate and kind son, but who can fill the present vacancies in our family? Mr. A. is truly amiable, and Mr. H. very worthy, but it is not in either of their powers to supply the places of those from whom we are separated. Your father's fortitude is equal to his affection, and I

trust in a merciful Being that he will be reunited even in this life. No matter in what country, so we are blessed with the presence of our children.

"I rest in an humble hope that the hand of the Almighty does not lie thus heavy upon us for our transgressions against him; and I place a confidence in his mercy, that as he does not delight in the afflictions of his creatures he will, when his wisdom sees fit, restore happiness to us and to all who sincerely trust in him."

FROM HIS FATHER.

"1st January, 1801.

"My dear Tom—The first day of the year has advanced thus far without our customary embrace and mutual expressions of heartfelt affection; but though the form has been precluded, the essence of our sentiments remains happily unimpaired, and separated as we are by lands and seas, our cordiality and attachment are still united, and for ever will remain so. Let us, however, preserve even the form as much as we can—and for this purpose, in the fullest effusion of my heart I assure you of every sentiment of parental affection which a father ought to entertain for a well-deserving son. Could I express them stronger I would. Give a kiss of cordial affection to Jane, on my part, and the same to Robert, Margaret, and Elizabeth. Tell them I love them as well as if they were at Casino,* but I should like Casino much better if they were at it. Whatever is, however, is perhaps the best; and the true wisdom of man would be, perhaps, always to think so—at least to act as if he thought so, and consequently to factor every moment of time to the comfort and pleasing enjoyment of the present. '*Carpe horam*' was Horace's advice, '*Vive la bagatelle*' that of Swift; and since what is passed cannot be recalled, and what is to come may never reach, our prudence would seem to be the cheerful enjoyment of the present. May you and yours enjoy it in its fullest, best extent.

"What a period, my dear Tom, for abstract thought and philosophic contemplation—the eighteenth century closed, but the temple of Janus not shut; on the contrary every portal thrown open, and Bellona issuing forth with redoubled rage and augmented fury! When will it end? Long had I hoped that ere this a general peace would have secured tranquillity for the commencing century, consequently that I should have had the happiness of clasping you to my heart, and closing my course of years in the same land, if not in the same house with you, as my substitute and guardian to the dear connexions I should quit; but that prospect is now over, or at least too far removed to be reasoned upon with proba-

* The name of his country residence.

bility. But no more of this. Cheerful enjoyment of the present, I have stated to you, is probably the best proof of human wisdom, and I am resolved to adopt the practice. Thanks to the Supreme Disposer of all things, I have a very competent share of health and wealth—the proper disposal of them depends on myself, and if I can, *æquum mihi animum ipse parabo*. There is not anything new or important within my sphere of information which merits being communicated to you; the vicissitudes of human life are too frequent to be a subject of news, and the objects frequently too insignificant to be of any importance—such you may perhaps consider . . . . . .

"I have made what provision I could against the worst, and rely on God's goodness with hopeful expectations of the best. That thought, my dear Tom, takes in your return and settlement at Casino, which wants but that one circumstance to make it to me a most happy residence.

"Adieu! May the Almighty take you into most special protection. May he bless you and yours with prosperity and many returns of happy years; and may the next new year, at worst, restore you to the embrace of

"Your affectionate father,

"ROBERT EMMET."

FROM HIS MOTHER.

"10th May, 1801.

"MY DEAREST TOM—Though it is not exactly the time for writing, nor my turn for holding the family pen, I could not forbear committing an usurpation upon Kitty's right, as I wished to express the very great pleasure which we have all felt at the happy recovery of our dear Jane, whose situation it was kind in you to conceal from us, as it would undoubtedly have occasioned great anxiety to us all. To you it must have given serious alarm, and I well know what you must have felt; nor am I much surprised at the agitation which caused it—her apprehensions did not exceed the reality, had you been brought over. I am assured that the intention was to make your confinement very rigorous. You would not have been allowed any intercourse from without—you would have been denied the use of pen, ink, and paper—and I apprehend that neither Jane nor the children would have been suffered to continue with you. All this, I am sure, she foresaw and felt deeply; it was therefore no wonder that she was affected in the manner that she has been. I most sincerely wish her to guard in future against such acute feelings; she is young, and, with so long a life as I hope she has before her, she must not expect (even after her present trials cease) that, as a wife and mother, she shall

not always be subject to anxieties of various kinds. You will say, and with justice, that like most advisers I recommend what I do not practice; but I am in some measure warranted by experience in what I now say. Solicitude has, through life, stuck to me like an inner garment, and I find that it exceeds even those of the children of Israel; it is a habit that, instead of wearing away by time, grows stronger by constant use. I would not, however, have you conclude from hence that I am ungrateful; be assured that I feel all my blessings with a thankful heart, and that I wish to discern and adore the healing hand which has been held out to me, in the midst of trials and distresses, and without which my natural infirmities must have sunk under the scenes I have gone through. But let me not tire you with egotism. I have still the same pleasing account as when I wrote last to give you of your father and the children. The kindness which you say you have received is indeed very gratifying to us as well as to you: instances of the kind exalt human nature, and we are thereby made to feel very sensibly our relationship to our species. Where you and Jane are known, I doubt not but you will always meet such conduct; but it is not common for persons in your situation to meet such from strangers, &c. . . . . .

"We find that all we do only excites a fond and fruitless wish that we could enjoy all our comforts in the midst of our entire family. Adieu, my dearest Tom. I have scarce left myself room to assure you that I am, with the tenderest regards to Jane and the children,

"Your truly affectionate mother,
"ELIZABETH EMMET."

FROM HIS MOTHER.

"15th October, 1801.

"MY DEAREST TOM—At this time you will not be surprised at my having superseded your other correspondents here, nor will you, I hope, be displeased that I should impart to you the various feelings of my mind, so fully occupied with what relates to you, your amiable wife, and your children.

"When I wrote last I was under the impulse of very ardent feelings (my first impulses are, I confess, much too ardent); since then I have reflected, and have been able to think of and to look at the worst, and find myself more composed since I have done so.

"Some of your friends say that, supposing you were permitted to reside in England or Wales, you ought rather to go to America, as it would tend more to the advantage of your family. Of this, however, I think you are the best judge, and your father and I

both unite in desiring you to act as if we were out of the question—consulting only what you think will be most likely to make you and them most happy. We are sure of what your inclinations would lead you to; but for my own part I declare to you that I should not feel happy even in your society, if I caused in any respect sacrifices of your interests, your peace of mind, or your security. I speak of myself as the weaker vessel—of your father's firmness you can have no doubt.

"One point, however, I must entreat that you will weigh well before you decide in favour of America, and that is the disadvantage of the climate, which, by everything I can hear, is not congenial to European constitutions. Captain Palmer mentioned to us that, independent of the yellow fever, he had perceived—and it was, he said, a general observation in America—that after the first two years Europeans generally declined in health. Do not call this a prejudice of mine. It has been mentioned to us that in America you could follow your profession; but upon this head you will recollect what Sir Grenville Temple said when he was last here—that a lawyer there would not, by the profits of his profession, pay for the expenses of his books. Add to this that a prohibotory law did exist (which may perhaps have been since repealed), that any stranger intending to profess the law must, previous to his doing so, be a resident for five years in the country. I have now said everything which I mean to say upon the subject, until you have taken your final determination. That it may tend to your happiness, and the advantage of your family, I shall never cease to wish and pray, and whatever our feelings may be, we shall have the consolation of having them unmixed with self-reproach. I mentioned in my last the great amendment in your father's health, which, I thank God, still continues, and has been in the last fortnight beyond what we could expect. Your children are all well. Your father and the entire family desire to be most cordially remembered to you, to Jane, and the dear children; they are all warmly interested in what may be the event of the present period: but we must all practice patience, that virtue so necessary to mankind in general, and particularly so to

"Your truly affectionate mother,

"Elizabeth Emmet."

FROM HIS MOTHER.

"26th October, 1801.

"My dearest Tom—I have received your last letter in due course, the contents of which did not surprise me, and you will see by my last—previous to the receipt of yours—that I am prepared

for the worst. I have long foreseen what your determination would be, and ever since Jefferson has been chosen I have expected that in America you would reside. From some hints which John's soothing disposition threw out, with a wish of administering balm to my mind, I was fondly led to hope that perhaps you would think Wales an eligible place to live in, but this vision I had dismissed even before your last letter came. My consolation I must derive from your having adopted a measure in itself right. I have never entertained a hope that you would, in the event of a peace, return to this country, and I have never cherished a wish that you should live dishonoured in this or any other. With these sentiments, you need not have any uneasiness about my feelings; be assured that they are such as will not hurt me, and they shall not cast a gloom around me. I know that however feeble my support is in itself, it is nevertheless deemed important by your father, and he shall have it to the utmost in my power; and though we are to be separated from the first prop of our age, the polar star by which I, at least (who often want direction and support), wished to steer for the remainder of my life; yet, though your light will be denied to us, I trust in the just God, whom you have so truly served, that he will cause you to shine to advantage in another hemisphere; but you cannot expect that I shall not remember that between you and us there will be a gulf over which we cannot pass. I have only to add with respect to your three dear children now under this roof—I am sure you will not, and I think you ought not, to separate them from your others; but, admitting that you would, I love them too well to withhold them from the benefit of their minds being formed and educated by you; no, not even a Temple Emmet would I wish to retain under such circumstances. I have very little doubt but leave would be given to you to come over for the purpose of seeing your father, and settling your affairs here, but I am not so sure that you will avail yourself of such a permission; this point, however, like all others, must be decided by you alone. The pleasure we should have in seeing Jane, though very great, would, I am sure, be more than overbalanced by the pain we should feel at parting with her; yet, as I am sure Mrs. Patten wished it very much, she ought to be gratified, and I hope that you will think it right that she and the dear children should come over and spend as much time here as she can before your final departure. Under this roof she will meet a warmth of affection and an admiration of her conduct very little, if at all, short of what she can receive from her mother. You know your father, and you judge rightly of him; he feels with extreme tenderness, but he bears the evils which have fallen upon him with truly practical Christian patience.

"I therefore need only say of him that the great return of health, strength, and cheerfulness which he had within this last month still continues, even under the certainty of your future destination; his affection for you I have no need to inform you of, but you are not a more careful guardian of your unsullied honour and fame than he is. The reason why we did not inform you of the real state of his health during the summer was, that we did not think it necessary to add to the gloom of a prison. I have now said all that I can say, and I shall not write for some time, lest anything should issue from my pen that might cause emotion or any kind of uneasiness to you. Your children are all very well; your friends most cordially interested and affectionate towards you, Jane, and the children.

"I am, dearest Tom, most truly
"Your affectionate mother,
"ELIZABETH EMMET.

"October 26th, 1801."

I shall conclude these extracts, exclusively relating to domestic matters, with one from a letter written by Mr. Emmet to his mother, from Brussels, upon hearing of the death of his father in 1802:

"The first comforts you can feel must spring up within yourself from your reflection and religion—from your calling to memory that my father's active and vigorous mind was always occupied in doing good to others; that his seventy-five years were unostentatiously but inestimably filled with perpetual services to his fellow-creatures; that although he was tried (and that severely) with some of those calamities from which we cannot be exempted, yet he enjoyed an uncommon portion of tranquillity and happiness; for, by his firmness and understanding, he was enabled to bear like a man the vicissitudes of external misfortune, and from within no troubled conscience or compunctions of self-reproach ever disturbed his peace."

"In his father's character," says the son of T. A. Emmet, "his own has been drawn."

I have already alluded to a letter of T. A. Emmet to his friend and fellow-student in Edinburgh, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, the subject of which is the breach of faith on the part of the government in respect to the state prisoners then confined in Fort George; and it is worthy of attention, inasmuch as that violation of faith furnished (in the opinion of the majority of those persons) a justification of the renewal of their efforts on their arrival in France, for the accomplishment of their original designs.

"The draft of the following letter," says Mr. Robert Emmet,

"written by T. A. Emmet, when at Fort George, was found among his papers. It was addressed to Lord Hope, then Lord Advocate of Scotland."

"Fort George, 14th December, 1801.

"My dear Lord—I am obliged again to trouble you, in consequence of Mrs. Emmet's uneasiness, from a paragraph which she read in a public paper, reporting that we were to be sent to Botany Bay. If you have reason to believe that the report is without foundation, you will of course take no further notice of the contents of this letter than what your kindness may lead you to do, by enabling me to set Mrs. Emmet's mind at ease. If you entertain a different opinion of that rumour, you will be so good as to read the following detail, and make such use of it as you may think called for by your sense of national honour and public faith. I will not add to these motives any claims of private friendship, but leave them entirely to your own feelings.

"After the insurrection had lasted for some time in Ireland, a negotiation was set on foot, by some of the state prisoners, with the government, to stop the further effusion of blood on the scaffold and in the field. In the course of that business, a proposal was made by government, in a letter from Mr. Secretary Cooke to Mr. Dobbs (who was the organ between both parties) that the prisoners should consent to go to such country as should be pointed out to them. This with the other parts of the proposal was rejected by the prisoners, who, however, in the hope that matters might still be adjusted, appointed deputies to communicate directly with the government: of these I was one.

"In our interview with Lord Castlereagh, the chancellor, and Mr. Cooke, we again objected to the proposal—because it gave us no negative upon the country to which we might be sent; and added that it might be construed as if government could send us to Botany Bay. At the mention of that place Lord Castlereagh expressed the utmost abhorrence of the idea; and assured us, that when government made the proposal, it had no worse place in contemplation than the United States of America. To remove, however, all such apprehensions, it consented at once to give us the negative we required.

"There was an expression used by Lord Clare, at that interview, which will never be effaced from my mind. When we were expressing some doubts about the entire execution of the agreement on the part of the government, as our part of it was to be first performed, his lordship said: 'Gentlemen, it comes to this—a government that broke its faith with you could not stand, and ought not to be allowed to stand.'

"I have now stated facts on my own authority, which, however,

I am not afraid of being contradicted in any quarter. What follows I can give you on the authority of an act of government. We entered into an agreement, of which I send you a copy, and in which the words relating to our exile are, 'To emigrate to such country as *shall be agreed on* between them and government.' This compact government fully authenticated by two acts. First—they sent Mr. Dobbs, accompanied by popular and influential United Irishmen, to whom they gave papers of protection, to the county of Wicklow, where the insurrection still continued, to make the insurgents acquainted with it, and to persuade them to come in under it. This gentleman and his companions accordingly repaired to the Marquis of Huntley's and General Moore's camp, from whence they went among the insurgents, and actually persuaded all but a few deserters, for whose security they would not pledge themselves, and a very few of their associates to submit. In the north, General Nugent, the commander of that district, published our agreement in a proclamation which he issued in August, 1798, and called upon all those who chose to take advantage of it to come in accordingly. As he published it nearly verbatim, with some of the names annexed—among which was mine—it has therefore become a document incontestibly authenticated by government. After these transactions an act of parliament indeed was passed, purporting to be pursuant to our agreement, but of which I shall not permit myself to express to you what I think of its merits: suffice it to say, it was passed when we were all kept in close custody. As far as it goes beyond the agreement, it plainly contradicts the document which was transmitted by government to General Nugent, and authenticated by his proclamation. This is also farther to be said, that those who signed the agreement have almost all (myself and my fellow-prisoners excepted) been either allowed to remain at large in Ireland, or permitted to emigrate to Germany, Portugal, or America, according to their own choice.

"This statement I hope you will not think too long; the inferences from it are obvious. I ask only for that for which I and my fellow-prisoners gave a very important consideration, and to which government stands pledged, if there be such a virtue as public faith.

"I am convinced that neither Lord Pelham, nor any of the English administration, can be acquainted with the particulars I have detailed to you, if there be any intention of acting towards us, or any of us, in a manner different from what I require.

"Believe me, &c.,

"T. A. Emmet."

FROM T. A. EMMET TO DR. MACNEVEN.

"Brussels, 8th November, 1802.

My dear Macneven—Under no circumstances must you infer from my want of punctuality a want of affection; and as on the last occasion, if you had done so, you would have been entirely mistaken, so you will be on any future one if you shall be tempted to draw that conclusion. The letter you wrote me from Munich to Amsterdam I never received; and what makes that the more extraordinary is, that I wrote long since to the director of the *poste restante* of that city, desiring all my letters to be forwarded here, and have actually received one from my sister that was lying there. Yours, however, is not the only one which I know to have miscarried; and at this very time I apprehend some such accident, as I have not heard from my family these six weeks.

"What you mention of the manner in which the impartial on the Continent are disposed to view our conduct, gives me great pleasure. That they should approve of our designs is sufficient; and it is natural that they should disapprove of our connexion with France. Perhaps, when our cause shall have ultimately succeeded, we and our friends may obtain their more unqualified applause. I feel equally anxious with you that a true account should circulate, where a perverted one had been able to make so little of an injurious impression; but I do not look upon the postponement to which we have submitted as in any respect an abandonment of our original intention in that respect; and although we may each of us engage in some other work with that view, I still think that the narrative should be published, and the enemy assaulted in as many ways as possible. But in looking over my papers, in consequence of your letter, I was very much surprised to find that the narrative was not among them. The account which I drew up in Kilmainham was there, but the one which we agreed upon in Fort George was not. You certainly imagined I had it, when you gave me in Hamburgh a paragraph to be inserted in it; but as I am certain none of the papers I packed up on our departure from Fort George are missing, you must have the copy which did not go to Ireland; and I think I have a faint recollection of your getting it from me. My history has lately languished for want of materials; but if I get them in time I hope to publish the first part before I leave Europe. I should be very glad, like you, to make a little money by my pen, but I cannot say my expectations are very sanguine, because the booksellers in England (where it would sell best) may be afraid of meddling with it on account of the pillory. However, money or not, I rejoice that you persevere in the intention of our being

neighbours, provided we leave Europe, of which the present rumours lead me to doubt. The uncertainty of peace or war, and the state of my little family here, keep me in great indecision what steps to take; but if I had any steps to the first, I would endeavour to arrange the other accordingly. Your application to Talleyrand, and your endeavour to see Buonaparte (although things under other circumstances I should be much inclined to disapprove) may perhaps give us some insight; as, if they look to war they will scarcely treat us with neglect. It is now above a month since I have seen R., and if Lawless received a letter from him, containing many commissions, &c., he can give you many particulars of him you would wish to know. From what he has told me, and what I have heard from other quarters, I believe that besides ignorance and passion in the management of our affairs, if there was not treachery, there was at least great duplicity and bad faith. Some of those whom I considered as my friends before my imprisonment have grievously disappointed me; and if I go to Paris, I shall not do it without violence to my feelings.

"Mrs. Emmet, Robert, &c., desire their loves to you, as I do to Lawless and my other friends with you.

"Ever most affectionately yours,

"T. A. Emmet."

"Direct to me, 'Chez Lerme, Madame Tapissier, No. 995, Au petit Sablon.' Beg of Lawless to send R.'s* things as soon as he can, as they are to be forwarded to him from this, with some books, &c., that are waiting for them."

"AU CITOYEN MACNEVEN.

"*No.* 298, *Demeurant dans la Rue de la Loi, vis-à-vis la porte de la Bibliotheque Nationale, à Paris.*

[No date.]

"My dear Macneven—I had yesterday the very great pleasure of receiving a few lines from you on your arrival at Paris. You are right in suspecting that I was as punctual as my promise, but Mrs. Emmet's health and my own unsettled state must form my apology. I was really incapacitated from writing to any one, until all hopes of a letter reaching you at Prague were over, and after that I did not know your address. My excuse turning upon her health, you will naturally be anxious to know its present state. She is undoubtedly much better than she was, but still liable to be overset by anxiety and uneasiness of mind; and deriving so little pleasure from her residence on the continent of Europe, that she

* The person referred to was his brother Robert, who, a short time before, had proceeded to Ireland, by way of Holland and England.—R. R. M.

is lamenting every moment as lost that must elapse before her setting off for America: if it were possible she would gladly begin her voyage in midwinter. This in a good measure answers your questions about that country. My views are more fixed on it than they were, because experience shows me how disagreeably, and I may say degradingly, I should spend my time elsewhere; and I rejoice to think you entertain the same ideas, though I apprize you Lawless will endeavour to change their current. However, as your opinions of France and America appeared by your letter to be the same as when we conversed at Hamburgh, I was a good deal surprised to find you proposing to publish our narrative immediately and in the former place. Perhaps you may have heard something in Germany that has made you change your opinion, but at present mine continues unaltered. Our first intention was to publish it as soon as we got our liberty; but, when we saw the state of the press and the country at large, we both agreed to defer it till we got to America, and then assign our reasons for the delay. In the propriety of this resolution I was more convinced by conversing with Robert, who was decided that it would be as safe to publish it in London as in France, and quoted some expressions to me from high authority, respecting the willingness of government to deliver up the United Irishmen, tied neck and heels, to England. How, then, should we stand if we published now, independent of any consideration of safety? Every one would naturally ask why we did not do it before, and could we point out any change that had made it safer or more advisable? It would look like a composition the effect of after-thought; but if we delay it till we go to a new and more congenial place, that makes a new era, and we can obviate any such questions. If it could be published now, it could as well have been done three months ago; and if it could not with propriety have been done then, no one will expect it from us till our change of situation shall have done away the objections.

"I state this independent of any real consideration of safety—but have you ascertained how that fact stands? Have you got any assurance or even reason to hope for security or protection? There is not much time now to elapse, I hope, before I shall be making my preparations for America; and I take it for granted you will not be above six months in Europe, unless some change shall take place that would, in both cases, reverse all our calculations. Even supposing then that I preceded you and published before you came out, calculating for the time of a vessel's going and returning, you would be out of the power of your enemies before they could form a wish for your arrest; or if we gave it to the world on our quitting Europe, the same would follow, and you

could take such measures as you thought fit for giving it circulation in Germany. These are the ideas which I have formed, and I thought they were yours till yesterday.

"They have prevented me hitherto re-perusing the narrative, though I should wish to do that before it went to press. As to the addresses of our friends, I suppose you know them all before this. Matthew Dowling was by the last accounts in Rotterdam. Sweetman is gone to Lyons or its neighbourhood. Russell will be able to give you more particular information as to their addresses, as well as Sweeney's and Wilson's. I was very near going to Paris, but have laid that idea aside for the present. Perhaps, as you are an unincumbered traveller, you may take it into your head some holiday season to take a place in the *diligence* for here and back again. I need not say how many would be happy to see you, nor how many things we could talk over in a short time. Mrs. Emmet and all the family desire their affectionate love to you—and believe me for ever

"Most sincerely yours,
"T. A. Emmet."

TO W. J. MACNEVEN, ESQ., M.D.

"Brussels, 25th October, 1802.

"I know nothing of either your papers or my own; though I wrote about them, and lately sent a message, they have never been mentioned to me. I presume, however, they will not be long delayed, and think it probable they may come to Antwerp.—Have you any news in Paris? We have here strong rumours of war again. If they should turn out to be well-founded, our views would be indeed changed. Have any of you in Paris heard anything of Dowdall lately, and is he still in Ireland?

"To William J. Macneven, Esq., No. 298, Rue de la Loi,
vis à-vis la porte de la Bibliotheque Nationale à Paris."

LETTERS OF T. A. EMMET TO DR. W. J. MACNEVEN, RESPECTING COMMUNICATIONS OF THE WRITER, AND OF SOME OTHER LEADERS OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN IN PARIS, WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, IN 1802 AND 1803.

[In the autumn of 1803 Thomas Addis Emmet had an interview with the First Consul. On the 13th of November he addressed a memorial to him; and, on the 13th of December following, Buonaparte replied to that communication, declaring his intention to set on foot preparations for an expedition to secure the independence of Ireland.—R. R. M.]

"In 1803, many of the United Irishmen," says Mr. Robert Emmet, "who had gone to France formed themselves into an Irish

battalion or legion, under the command of General MacSheehy, and there is no doubt most of them would have returned to Ireland with an invading expedition, which they were led to believe was then actually fitting out at Brest and elsewhere. Under these circumstances, T. A. Emmet drew up and presented the memorial referred to on behalf of the United Irishmen. No copy of this memorial is to be found among Mr. Emmet's papers, and the copy of the First Consul's answer to the memorial now sent was taken from a letter of Mr. Emmet to Dr. Macneven, found among the papers of the latter."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM T. A. EMMET, AT PARIS, DIRECTED: "A MONSIEUR MACNEVEN, OFFICIER DU BATTALION IRLANDOIS A MORLAIX," AND DATED,

"1st Pluviose, 1804, (21st Jan.)

"MY DEAR MACNEVEN—I have received Gallagher's, Sweeney's, and your letters, all which I acknowledge with very sincere love to the respective parties. But the length and nature of this letter, with my having at this moment a great press of business, will, I hope, be a sufficient excuse for my not writing to them at present. As to the conjecture you make in your letter about the time before which matters will not be ready, I am clear you are well founded; though not, perhaps, for the reasons you have assigned, as I perceive your traveller did not give you an *exact* account of what was in Brest, and none at all of what was in the neighbouring ports; but your conclusion, nevertheless, is true. At the end of that time (if any faith can be placed in assurance) it is intended to attempt something. I am not seaman enough to calculate the chances of success; but this I know, that similar things were done in August; and further, none of us know what combinations of plans may be used to facilitate the measure, even in an unfavourable time. So much for that. Now for what will perhaps surprise and please you, as it has done me. I presented the memoir I was writing at your departure on the 13th Nivose; on the 27th, I received the annexed answer.

"When Dalton delivered me this, he stated the readiness of the minister to confirm it by word of mouth whenever I pleased. As the latter paragraph afforded ample room for reflection, and for consulting my friends, I would willingly have avoided the interview for some time, and professed myself perfectly satisfied as to the authenticity of the answer; but by his eagerness in pressing the matter, I quickly perceived that the minister's 'readiness to confirm' was, in fact, a *desire* to see me on the subject. After I had read the answer through, Dalton subjoined: 'I have to add that it is the First Consul's wish that you and Mr. O'Connor should be of that committee; and I have directions to present him a copy of

this answer, leaving out the first sentence. When that committee is formed it will give the present government the means of communicating at once with all parties of United Irishmen, and give them the certainty that whatever may be offered in their behalf will not be contradictory and drawing in different directions.'

"He added a great deal more, &c. We took leave, he in a great hurry to procure me an interview with the minister, and I in none. One reason for this disposition, besides what I already stated, was, that I apprehended very strongly—as the American mediation is not yet ended—the proclamations of the committee might be an engine for terrifying England into terms; and I wished, and still wish, to waste time, until I have reason to hope that the best exertions of the committee may not be turned into a cause of mischief to our country. I therefore postponed, but was yesterday obliged to have the interview, of which I shall speak directly. You may be assured I lost no time in consulting Sweetman, M. D., and my other friends here, who all agreed that as the Consul made a point of it, it could not be avoided; and they even saw considerable advantage from it, provided it acts with caution.

"Before I saw the minister yesterday I had a long conversation with Dalton, the greatest part of which turned on the best mode of appointing the committee. The mode he contemplated, and with him the government, was, that O'C. and I should each name whom we thought fit; that government should add to us some person or persons if we should omit any it thought important. I said 'If I were of the committee, I certainly should not object to any persons of whom I thought sufficiently well, and whose presence government thought of importance; but that for myself I wished to be sanctioned by the approbation of my countrymen; which could be easily had, as they are collected at Morlaix.' Against this he remonstrated with a good deal of energy, and in truth it made the principal part of our conversation. I was free to make whatever proposal I pleased; but as a friend, and in confidence, he advised me against that. He added some observations, in no respect disreputable to our countrymen, but which I don't consider myself free to repeat; and said I at least had no occasion for any such scruples, as it was well known I had already the approbation of my countrymen for acting alone, and *a fortiori* for acting with others.

"At length I saw the minister, who confirmed, in the fullest manner, Dalton's paper, and assured me it was what the Consul intended to abide by; and asked me if I had thought of the committee, and who would be the most proper members? On my part I expressed the utmost gratitude to the Consul for his assurances and intentions. As to the committee, I said 'there was one peculiarity in the situation of most of us which was probably unknown

to the Consul, but which made the formation of that committee a matter of some difficulty—though our persons were free, the property of almost every man who might be thought eligible was in the power of the English government; and if they did anything that could be taken hold of, that property would certainly be confiscated. This was a great consideration for fathers of families; and although, under certain circumstances, when men had a full assurance that matters were come to a crisis, they might run risks, they could not feel warranted in doing so under uncertainties.' To this he answered, among other things, that we should not be required to run any risks we did not think fit.

"'Form your committee, give government the body with which it wants to communicate, and manage your own affairs as you may think fit; publish your proclamations without any names, and if you think your countrymen will give sufficient credit to them, keep your names secret; but form the committee.'

"A good deal more was said, that perhaps ought not to be repeated. Thus, however, matters stand. I will not throw any impediment in the way; but I do not intend to break my neck, in trying to bring about what I do not perfectly understand the drift of. I wish you were here, and I think it probable you may be called for; but you need not fear being left behind, as the commander-in-chief of the Irish will be here also. Sweeney was very right not to offer to go to Ireland on Augereau's invitation. Let him consider if he should be asked whether he would go on any other condition different from what he has already offered. As I know there is an anxiety of transmitting the substance of the Consul's answer to me, you will see how much discretion is necessary with respect to the foregoing parts of this letter.

"You will, no doubt, be rejoiced to hear that the First Consul himself has taken the trouble of dictating the device for your colours. They are to be green in the centre; a tri-coloured circle, with R. I. The legend on the colours is to be, 'L'independence de l'Irelande—Liberté de Conscience.' You are also aware that your uniform is somewhat changed, on the demand of MacSheehy; the amarinth is exploded, and yellow, the second national colour, substituted in its place."

"COPY OF THE FIRST CONSUL'S ANSWER TO MY MEMOIRE OF 13TH NIVOSE, DELIVERED TO ME 27TH NIVOSE (13TH DECEMBER, 1803).*

"The First Consul has read with the greatest attention the *memoire* which has been addressed to him the 13th of December.

* The answer of the First Consul in the original French will be found in the memoir of Robert Emmet. Here a literal translation of that document has been given by me.—R. R. M.

"He desires that the United Irish should be convinced that it is his intention to secure the independence of Ireland, and to give protection, entire and efficacious, to all those of their body who will take a part in the expedition, and enter the French service.

"The French government cannot issue any proclamation before the Irish territory has been reached (by the expedition). But the general who will command the expedition will be furnished with sealed letters, wherein it shall be declared by the French Consul that he will not make peace with England without stipulating for the independence of Ireland; provided, however, that the (French) army shall be joined by a considerable body of the United Irish.

"Ireland shall be treated in every respect as America has been in the late war.

"Every person who shall embark with the French army destined for the expedition shall be commissioned as French; in case of being arrested and not being treated as a prisoner of war, reprisals will be made on English prisoners.

"Each corps formed in the name of the United Irish will be considered as making part of the French army. Finally, if the expedition should not succeed, and that the Irish should be compelled to return to France, France will maintain a certain number of brigades, and will give pensions to all persons who shall have formed part of the government or of the authorities of the country.

"The pensions will be assimilated to those which are accorded in France to those of a corresponding grade or post, not on active service.

"The First Consul desires that a committee of United Irish should be formed. He sees no inconvenience in members of this committee issuing proclamations, and instructing their countrymen of the state of affairs.

"These proclamations will be inserted in *The Argus* and the different journals of Europe, in order to enlighten the Irish people on the part they have to take, and on the hopes on which they have to rest. If the committee should desire to make a relation of the acts of tyranny exercised in Ireland by the English government, it shall be inserted in *The Moniteur*."*

* In 1842 I had a copy of this important document in the handwriting of T. A. Emmet, which he had placed in the hands of his friend, John Sweetman, at the period of his departure for America, put at my disposal by the son of Sweetman. From this copy the reply of the First Consul to Mr. Emmet's memoir, which was printed in the memoir of T. A. Emmet, in the former edition, published in 1843, vol. ii. p. 123, was taken. In the fifth paragraph, however, on comparing it with the copy sent me with Mr. Emmet's papers, I find an omission of the following eight words, "*la represaille s'exercera sur les prisonnieres Anglais*," as they exist in the copy of the document sent to me by Mr. Robert Emmet. I have further to observe that, in the copy given by T. A. Emmet to John Sweetman, at the end of

The expectations which the reply of the First Consul to the memoir of T. A. Emmet gave birth to, and the full conviction that was felt by many of the leaders of the United Irishmen at that period (December, 1803), that an invasion of Ireland was intended, led to the duty being delegated to Dr. Macneven of writing the proclamation that was to be issued in the event of that invasion taking place. The following extracts are from a draft of the original document found among Dr. Macneven's papers:

PROCLAMATION DRAWN UP BY DR. MACNEVEN.

"Friends and countrymen! the hour of your emancipation is at length arrived. We announce to you allies and arms which will enable you to throw off the English yoke. An auxiliary force of —— thousand of those illustrious warriors who have repeatedly triumphed over our enemies, with arms to equip —— thousand Irishmen, as valiant as even those warriors. These are the ample means that are offered to you for redressing the wrongs and asserting the independence of your country. United brethren, who have maintained—even in servitude—the dignity of freemen by a gallant though unsuccessful struggle against the tyranny of George III., we do not at this day presume to inflame your valour. Could courage alone give independence to our country, you would long since have made it free; but, when virtue was unavailing to break its fetters, it was at least preserved, by your magnanimous daring, from dishonour. Placed in the dreadful alternative of resigning yourselves to despotism, or contending with its power, you proved to the world that the most intolerable evil to Irishmen is slavery.

"A consolatory task awaits you now; you will meet the foe with advantage equal to his own. On the ruins of what he acquired by oppression, rapine, and bloodshed, you will establish the happiness of millions, and you will rescue from provincial degradation the exalted character of your country.

"Cited to the field by your wrongs and by your sufferings, by the forlorn exile of your friends, and by the unexpiated murder of your relations; with the sword of liberty in your hands, and the spirit of independence in your hearts, what can your enemies avail

the document the following note is appended. The preceding copy, as well as the succeeding note, is in the handwriting of T. A Emmet:

"The foregoing is a correct copy of the First Consul's answer to my memoir; and in consequence of my quitting Europe for America, I leave this copy in the hands of John Sweetman.

(Signed) "Thomas Addis Emmet.

"Paris, 2nd September, 1804."

I have further to observe that in the document given by T. A. Emmet to Sweetman, after the words in the heading commencing, "Copy of the First Consul's answer to my memoire of 13th Nivose," the following words occur: "Delivered to me by Mr. Dalton, 27th Nivose, same year."—R. R. M.

against your sacred cause and ardent enthusiasm? Another effort of national energy, made in conjunction with our victorious allies, will annihilate a calamitous domination, and establish for ever the glory and welfare of Ireland.

"Countrymen of all descriptions! where has England triumphed that ye have not bled for her victory; where is she famed that you partake of her renown? The French army comes with positive orders to act as an auxiliary force to the Irish nation—its government; but, what is stronger than every other pledge, you are called on, countrymen! to embody, without delay, an Irish army, under the command of Irish officers, who shall be commissioned by the Irish government, and thus to take into your own hands your fate, your honour, and your country!"

"The sincerity of the First Consul," observes the son of T. A. Emmet, "as to this expedition seems not to have been doubted by Mr. Emmet until about the month of April following. What may have taken place I have no means of ascertaining, but from that period he seems to have given up all expectation of assistance."

Under date of 19th April, 1804, he writes as follows:

"My dear Macneven—By yours of the 6th, as well as by one of Sweeney's which came to-day, I find that my postscript to Mrs. G.'s letter has led you all into a very great mistake. I certainly never said, nor did I mean to insinuate, that any offer had been made to me. I had reason to conclude from two different quarters that something was in contemplation, and therefore I wished to anticipate the necessity of deciding by asking your advice beforehand, but, so far from any offer, if I were to draw any conclusion from continued—I must say marked and obstinate silence—I should say none was ever intended.

"You may remember I once mentioned that you would probably meet a general at Morlaix—why you did not will perhaps one day become in our own country matter of investigation—but the person to whom I alluded has since requested me to make some applications, which I have done, but without receiving an answer. I enclosed MacSheehy's memorial—on the subject of your being considered as French citizens—to the minister on Saturday last, with a very civil note, requesting an interview, in order to take his instructions; but no answer as yet.

"Under all those circumstances, I am not so foolish as to flatter myself with any very sanguine expectations. I adhere to my original plan of going to America, and do not think it probable that anything will occur to prevent me. Suppose however an offer should be made, I do not entirely agree with you. If I do not ex-

ceedingly alter my opinion, I will not accept either of the situations you have advised, and for reasons that, with your knowledge of my politics, you can be at no loss to guess. I am an Irishman, and, until necessity forces me to contract ties of allegiance elsewhere, I will hold no situation that is not Irish, or obviously directed to the emancipation of that country.

"If I am to contract a new allegiance, and to undertake civil duties not connected with my native land, let not the latter part of my political life be at variance with its beginning. What then can I accept? Nothing but what is Irish in all its objects; and if nothing of that kind can be found or created, I am too old, too poor, and too heavily laden to await the issue of reiterated procrastinations. You will judge, then, what chance there is of my wintering in Europe.

"Since I began this letter I have learned that the minister-at-war has set off for the camp at St. Omer, and will not, probably, be back for some time. As he did not answer my note that accompanied General MacSheehy's memorial, I presume I am to take no steps in that affair till his return, my instructions being that I should act under his directions." . . . .

"Saturday, 12th May, 1804.

"My dear Macneven—I yesterday received a letter from Sweeney, enclosing a half sheet from you. I mean to answer both, but I put off writing to Sweeney till I can tell him all his commissions are executed. In the meantime your half sheet would afford matter for more than one very long letter, if I could unbosom myself, and express all I think and feel on certain subjects. As to your idea, that there is no fear but that Sweeney's and the other commissions of the same date will be confirmed, I hope you are right, and my hopes are stronger than when I wrote to him; but still I am very far from having no apprehensions.

"The very day after I sent in my remonstrance against the famous paragraph in *The Argus*, I received an invitation to dinner with Augereau for the next day but one or two. As it was still undecided whether I should have any further connexion with government or not, I thought it right to accept the invitation, and went. It was a parade dinner—O'C., Truguet, Donzelot, &c. &c.—and I certainly experienced every attention and civility. In the course of the evening Donzelot, with whom I had before had some conversations on business, requested me to call on him again, before he left town, to continue the conversations. I told him of the remonstrance I had just given in, and of the intention it expressed of withdrawing from all connexion with government if I were not

satisfied on the subject, but assured him that if I were satisfied I would not fail to call, and give him every information in my power. I was never satisfied, and I never called. The same circumstances prevented me from consulting General Augereau, with whose reception of me I had every reason to be satisfied. Even the civilities necessary for keeping up a personal acquaintance might be considered as putting in for a confidence I affected to renounce, and as I knew that my personal acquaintance was solicited on political grounds, I felt that the former was rendered unnecessary by my declining to act on the latter, if ever the opportunity occurred. I own I should not be sorry Augereau knew this, that he might not attribute to ill manners a conduct that proceeded from very different motives. Now, however, my determination not to interfere further in French and Irish politics combined, whatever explanations, offers, or assurances may be given, is stronger than ever, and grows on every day's reflection.

"If you read attentively my last letter to Lawless you will divine all my reasons. I am afraid my interference, if it were to produce any effect, would be injurious to my country; I think it would be injurious to my fame; I am sure it would be repugnant to my conscience—but all this is talking to the air. No motives will be held out to me to stay, and I am much mistaken if peace will not be made without any attempt at invasion. Do you think the emperor will hazard his new title and popularity by an attempt with his fleet on one country, or his gun-boats on the other, which, if it failed, would be—either in a naval or military point of view—tremendous and irreparable, particularly as he has no opportunity of balancing the miscarriage by brilliant success in another quarter. I am determined, however, to give your proclamation as strict a scrutiny as if I thought it would be used.

"But now that I am on the subject let me say a little more. I have not heard from the minister; but if I thought it would be useful to my countrymen, that should not delay me for an instant, and I would at once address the Consul. But what should I solicit? That they might be made French citizens, and take oaths of allegiance to the government of this country?

"Have you learned what will be the rights and duties of French citizens under the new constitution, or what declaration you will be called on to make? When you went down you intended to be *Irishmen*, and as such to fight under the French banners in your own country, and for its freedom. Have you all determined now to become subjects of the French empire, and to follow a military life? If you intend only to procure an exemption from the *droit d'aubaine*, I think you are right, and I have long meditated to try and procure it for my exiled countrymen; and if my connexion

with government had continued I should have sought for it long since, and independent of the procuration; but as to being a French citizen, I should neither wish myself to be one, nor to ask it for you and some other of my friends. I only need the procuration to prevent a bad use being made of your name, and to influence and to prevent your being committed in character, by an act not sufficiently well considered by those among you who intend leaving France in the event of peace.

"If, however, you do on due reflection wish the claim to be pushed in its full extent; indeed, circumstanced as I am with government, and decided as to my own conduct, if you wish any steps at all to be taken, I shall cheerfully make over the procuration to any person of respectability that may be marked out to me; and on your desiring me I will write a suitable letter to MacSheehy. But let me call the serious attention of you and some other friends to what you are doing at the bottom of Brittany, and by no means *au fait* of what is going on here in the capital. You are getting a band, and incurring a thousand expenses, very fit for military men by profession, or who count upon following it for a considerable time. Will you follow it in the event of a peace? Mark, I tell you *there will be peace—and that soon*—unless England be actuated by the most insolent and foolish madness. This I say, not from my own reasoning merely, but from facts that have been told me *confidently* and *confidentially*, even since I began to write this letter.

"A change of ministry in England now appears certain, and this government is only waiting that change to make such proposals as no English ministers ought to reject. It will make commercial arrangements; but I mention this only to our particular friends. What then will become of your band, your regimentals, and your rights of French citizenship, &c.? . . . . Adieu."

"In the autumn of 1804, Mr. Emmet left Paris and went to Bourdeaux, for the purpose of embarking for America. The following are extracts from a letter written while at Bourdeaux to Dr. Macneven:"

"My dearest Macneven—I expect that you and my other friends at Lisneven will be extremely angry with me, for having left Paris without giving you previous information; but I did so expressly, and in order to prevent a struggle between your inclinations and your duty.

"By yours and the others' letters, I perceived the intention of eluding military regulations, and going to meet me at Nantes, if I had gone there. As my destination was changed for Bourdeaux

I saw you could not attempt coming without the utmost danger; and I determined to set your minds at ease, as to any self-reproaches for not having done so, by making the matter impossible.

"I wish most earnestly and anxiously to embrace you all again, but it must be on American ground; and if you wish to see me, come there.

"I do not blame the resolution you have taken, of waiting a little longer for the victory you are promised; but I am much mistaken if you will not be disappointed.

"I repeat it, do not let yourselves be blinded even by a temporary victory. Win it if you can; but come to America as soon as you can.

"The reception I have met with has surprised and gratified me; for it is impossible to be more civilly or cordially received, even by those who do not pretend to think as I do on politics.

"As to the time of my departure, it is not fixed, nor even the vessel, owing to the non-arrival of my baggage by the 'Roulage;' but it will not be postponed beyond six days, nor perhaps beyond three.

"American papers are not to be had; but I will take every precaution I can against the English—or, rather, that if they should think fit to seize me, they shall find nothing with me that could injure me.

"I do not bid you adieu, because I wish to bind you by every obligation to see me again; but I pray, may heaven bless and prosper you.

"Accept the sincere love of Mrs. Emmet, myself, and all the little ones, who, trust me, never will forget you.

"Ever yours,

"T. A. Emmet."

Thomas Addis Emmet embarked at Bourdeaux, the 4th of October, 1804, for America, accompanied by his wife and his three sons—his three daughters remaining in Ireland under the care of some members of his family.

So far, the correspondence of T. A. Emmet, inserted in this chapter, is that for which I am indebted to the sons of Mr. Emmet.

In the collection of original papers and correspondence of Major Sirr, which exist in Trinity College library, three letters of Thomas Addis Emmet, addressed during his imprisonment in Fort George to his sister and his niece, are to be found. They were discovered in that collection of "curiosities" of that eminent collector of private letters, of silver cups, of old pictures, and other

"unconsidered trifles" of seditious or suspected people, by my friend Dr. Gray of *The Freeman's Journal*, and to whom I am indebted for the following copies of them, which I have had subsequent opportunities of comparing with the originals.

What will the reader think of the mean, dastardly malignity displayed by this Dogberry of a town-major, in thus retaining the private letters of a respectable citizen, in the unhappy circumstances of T. A. Emmet, to his sister and another female member of his family, and thus depriving them of the only gratification they could then have—that of hearing from a beloved relative?

FROM T. A. EMMET TO HIS SISTER (MRS. HOLMES).

"Saturday, 21st November, 1801.

"My dearest Maryanne—By your letter of the 13th, which I received yesterday, it is evident that one of mine has miscarried: whether that accident was owing to any part of its contents it is impossible for me to say, but if it was, this letter may perhaps be more fortunate from the entire absence of anything that might deserve the name of contents. This style of writing it is I believe the best policy to adopt, where the only object is to transmit home regular accounts of oneself and friends, but in this instance I do not use it from prudential motives. The first ideas that occurred to me on hearing of the peace having been made known to you have lost their novelty, and no new room has been given for expectation or conjecture by a development of the intentions of government. In this state of things my letters may very well hope to escape under the protection of their insignificance. You are right in supposing that Jane has recovered her sore throat, and notwithstanding the severity of the weather, which is exceedingly tempestuous at present, she is very tolerably. No one can set a higher value than she does on your love and that of all your circle, or be more grateful for the enjoyment of it, but not even the force of that sentiment, nor the severity of this climate, could induce her to remove from Fort George while I remain here, although I proposed it to her when I hoped it might contribute to expedite our arrangements and be of service to herself. She does not, however, read with indifference, nor does she admit the truth of your expression, that her happiness is now for ever independent of your circle. That can never be so long as we are inhabitants of this earth. The spheres, indeed, in which we may hereafter move may nowhere join, but they will always be within the influence of each other's attraction. Imagination, and memory, and hope, you know, are not fettered to the spot on which we live—neither the Atlantic nor the Alleghanies could obstruct their flight, or prevent their being transported to your firesides and mingling in

your round of occupations and enjoyments; but it is not merely from their illusions that we should derive pleasure or pain. The packets from Europe would certainly not be objects of indifference, and in the domestic accounts they would convey, we should not fail to find what would most powerfully operate on our circle. . .

[Two or three concluding lines and signature of the writer, T. A. Emmet, wanting.]

"Mrs. Holmes, Dr. Emmet's, Miltown, Dublin."

FROM T. A. EMMET TO MISS KITTY EMMET.

"Fort George, 30th May, 1802.

"My dearest Kitty—I sit down to write you a few lines in acknowledgment of yours of the 13th, which I only received last Monday. Our correspondence has of late considerably slackened, in consequence of our suspense and want of subject matter; but as the fault may be in some measure my own, I feel it necessary not to let slip this post, though no better furnished with epistolary materials than heretofore, and particularly as I find that Jane's occupation as a nurse will greatly interfere with her punctuality as a correspondent. I have no doubt of the pleasure which you and my other friends felt at hearing of her safe delivery, and both she and I have to compliment and thank you for the very gallant, elegant, and if I did not know the sincerity of your affection, I should say the flattering manner in which you have spoken of her. You are not much mistaken when you suppose the new-comer to be a favourite, but both you and the other objects of our love may rest assured she will never supersede or weaken our previously formed and well-founded affection. She must be content to fall into her place at the end of the train, unless she can hereafter produce better pretensions to preference than her name.

"My mother, I find, is so much at a loss to account for our remaining here, that she thinks the delay may have been caused by waiting till Jane should be able to travel. If I thought that were the cause I should indeed be vexed at detaining so many others; but I am convinced, and so may she, that whatever may have occasioned our protracted confinement, it has no connexion with Jane's situation. Government knew perfectly well that she has been able to travel perfectly well long since. Though we are here on the borders of the highlands we are in a bad place for executing my father's commission of plaids—Stirling being the place where they are manufactured in the greatest variety. We will, however, discharge it to the best of our power whenever we have an opportunity. You will easily perceive that I have written this in a great

hurry ; the fact is, I have had scarcely time to finish it, and can assure you, and all our friends at home, of the sincere affection of this family.

"Ever yours,
"T. A. EMMET.

"Monday.—I have just heard from such authority as leaves no question that we are shortly to be sent in a king's ship to Hamburgh. I can state nothing more particularly at present, but must request an immediate remittance of £100.

"Miss Emmet (Dr. Emmet's), Miltown, Dublin."

FROM T. A. EMMET TO HIS SISTER.

"MY DEAREST MARYANNE—I can only write you a few lines at present, as I deferred doing it last night, owing to a severe cold in my head, which made stooping disagreeable, and this morning I have not time to write at any length. Indeed Robert undertook to relieve me this time by writing to Kitty."

The following letter from T. A. Emmet, at Brussels, to Archibald Hamilton Rowan, is taken from Rowan's Memoirs by Dr. Drummond.

"8th July, 1802.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—I received your kind letter yesterday, just as I was sitting down to dinner, which prevented my answering it directly. Since then I have shown it to Dowling, Chambers, and some others, with whom you were formerly connected in intimacy. They all desire me to assure you of their affection and esteem. We were in some measure apprised of your situation, and of the injury you might possibly sustain by holding intercourse with us ; we therefore voluntarily deprived ourselves of the pleasure we should enjoy in your society, and declined calling on you directly on our arrival. For my part it would give me the utmost pain if your friendship towards me were to lead you into any embarrassment, or subject you to any misrepresentation on a point of such material importance to yourself and family. I am certain that if I really stood in need of any act of kindness from you it would be instantly done ; but at present that is in no respect the case.

"My health and spirits are extremely good ; in consequence of relaxation from business, both are very much improved. As to my future destination you will, I dare say, condemn it, for I know your dislike to America. But with the views I take of Europe I have scarcely an alternative. I shall not go out big with expectation, and shall therefore perhaps escape disappointment ; but America, with all its disadvantages, opens to me the fairest field

of honourable employment. My stay here will probably be very short, as I only wish to let Mrs. Emmet recruit after a two years' imprisonment and a very fatiguing journey, and, if I can, to receive some letters. From hence I shall probably go into Holland, and perhaps, if I find it advisable, into France, to meet my three little boys, that are still in Ireland. This is in fact all I can say of my own intentions, which are far from settled.

"Wishing you and yours every prosperity and happiness,

"I remain, my dear friend, most sincerely yours,

"T. A. EMMET.

"To A. H. Rowan, Esq., Altona."

CHAPTER VIII.

T. A. EMMET'S SOJOURN ON THE CONTINENT AFTER THE PEACE OF AMIENS, AND RECOMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN 1803—HIS COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT—THEIR RESULT—HIS DEPARTURE FOR AMERICA IN OCTOBER, 1804.

WHEN the liberated state prisoners were landed at Cuxhaven, the 4th of April, 1802, the circumstances of the majority were not only embarrassed but desperate. Their long imprisonment, and the exercise of the free quarters and coercion system of government in the reign of terror to which their homes and families and places of business had been subjected, had brought ruin on their affairs. Many of the persons thus circumstanced repaired to Paris, speculating on the speedy termination of the hollow truce then existing that was called a peace. Among those who were more happily situated with regard to means were T. A. Emmet, Macneven, Sweetman, Jackson, and the O'Connors.

T. A. Emmet seemed to be in no hurry to visit Paris and the great man whose prestige was then in the beginning of its glory. Emmet and his family proceeded to Hamburgh. They spent some time there, at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and passed about three months in Brussels: there Emmet was visited by his brother Robert and received the intelligence of his father's death. In the spring of 1803, he went to France, passed the winter of that year in Paris, and remained there several months after the recommencement of hostilities. On the 4th of October, 1804, he embarked at Bourdeaux for the United States.

In the interval between his arrival on the Continent and his departure from France, all those who were nearest and dearest to him in his native land—father, mother, brother, and sister—had

been swept away. The husband of his sister had been cast into prison, and the brother of his wife had shared the same fate. It was impossible for any ruin to be more complete than that of the family of T. A. Emmet in Ireland, in the short period above referred to.

It would be well to bear in mind this fact, when an estimate is made of the views and motives of T. A. Emmet in entering into communication with the French government, in the month of November, 1803.

Of the circumstances which originally led to his connexion with the Society of the United Irishmen an account has been already given, and an observation before made in reference to it may be repeated in this place. Considering the variety and extensive course of his studies; the prominent station he had occupied in several literary and scientific societies; the enlarged views he had acquired from the study of ancient and modern history; the knowledge he had gained of the principles of two ennobling professions; the experience which travel brought with it; and the reflection for which the condition of the inhabitants of various countries afforded an ample field, we cannot be surprised that upon his return to his native land, her degraded and oppressed condition should have early claimed his attention.

In considering, moreover, the step taken by T. A. Emmet in November, 1803, we have to take into account the state of mind occasioned by the calamities of his family, and especially by that calamity which had fallen on his brother, but also the circumstances of the violation of the compact entered into between the state prisoners and the government, and the results of that violation of it on the part of the Irish administration.

It will be remembered that Mr. Rufus King, the minister of the United States at the court of St. James's, had lent his influence to the policy of the English government at the time of the proposed liberation of the prisoners, and their removal to the United States, to postpone that arrangement, by furnishing an excuse for not carrying it into effect at that period. In the letter of Thomas Addis Emmet to Mr. King on that subject already cited, the following passages occur, which may be recalled with advantage:

"Your interference was then, sir, made the pretext of detaining us for four years in custody, by which very extensive and useful plans of settlement within these states were broken up. The misfortunes which you brought upon the objects of your persecution were incalculable. Almost all of us wasted four of the best years of our lives in prison. As to me, I should have brought along with me my father and his family, including a

brother whose name perhaps you even will not read without emotions of sympathy and respect. Others nearly connected with me would have come partners in my emigration. But all of them have been torn from me. I have been prevented from saving a brother—from receiving the dying blessings of a father, mother, and sister, and from soothing their last agonies by my cares—and this, sir, by your unwarrantable and unfeeling interference."

The same knowledge of his country's history; of the miseries and oppression of its people; of the system of misrule which governed the nation for the interests of a faction, and delegated to that faction the functions of government, which originally led a humane, just, and generous-minded man, of "a bold, enterprising, active, and sanguine disposition," to connect himself with the Society of United Irishmen, left his views and principles unchanged at the period of his departure from Ireland—modified only by the prospect of success or failure for any future efforts for his country in acting on them.

The question whether T. A. Emmet was cognizant of his brother Robert's intentions to organize a conspiracy, when he proceeded to Ireland in October, 1802, is one on which many conflicting opinions have been expressed.

It has been stated to me by Dr. Macneven that when Robert Emmet left Paris, with the intention of proceeding to Ireland, it was for the purpose of arranging the affairs of his family (an arrangement rendered necessary by the failing health of his father); that no attempt at insurrection was then meditated by him, nor were any plans to effect one communicated by him to his brother; that it was after his arrival in Dublin he found a conspiracy had been already organized, and that those who were engaged counted on seventeen counties out of the thirty-two, which were expected to rise whenever things were ripe for the attempt. That part of the statement of Macneven, as to Robert Emmet not having originated the conspiracy, but, on the contrary, having found it in being when he arrived in Ireland, is confirmed by Robert Emmet's own declaration on his trial.

On the other hand, I have been informed by the late Lord Cloncurry that he met Robert Emmet on the Continent when he was about to embark for Ireland, in October, 1802, and Robert Emmet had informed him that an attempt was about to be made in Ireland, and was sanguine as to its success.

Lord Cloncurry, in his autobiography, refers to an interview with the two Emmets in Paris, *the day before Robert returned to Ireland*, in the following terms:

"When I left Ireland, in 1797, Robert Emmet was a mere boy, but full of talent, enthusiasm, and kind feeling. Both brothers

dined with me in Paris the day before Robert returned to Ireland for the last time previous to his fatal outbreak; and although that catastrophe was not then thought of, I remember the most urgent entreaties being vainly used to dissuade him from a visit which all felt to be full of danger to him, and the sad consummation of which so fully justified those gloomy apprehensions."*

Nobody who had the pleasure of knowing the late Lord Cloncurry could for a moment doubt the truthfulness of the man. He was singularly honest, true to his opinions, and steadfast in his principles. I doubt, however, the accuracy of his lordship's memory when, at the expiration of half a century, he recalled occurrences of which he had kept no written memorandum. The preceding passage—about the dinner with the Emmets in Paris, the day before Robert's departure for Ireland, previous to the fatal outbreak—I know not how to reconcile with a verbal account given to me by Lord Cloncurry, to which I have referred in the former edition of this work—of the series published in 1847—but without mentioning the name of my informant, the late Lord Cloncurry.

Lord Cloncurry told me he had an interview with Robert Emmet on the Continent, when the latter was about to embark for England, in the autumn of 1802, on his return to Ireland. At that interview his lordship gave me to understand that they were alone; that Robert Emmet confided to him the object of his return to Ireland; that a plan had been formed for a renewed effort to free the country; and that his (Robert Emmet's) return was connected with that effort; and that he (Robert Emmet) spoke in the most sanguine terms of the probability of its success. And his lordship added, I very well remember, that while he (Robert Emmet) was speaking on this subject he became so excited that his features glowed with animation—and his lordship noticed drops of perspiration glistening on his forehead during the conversation. His lordship in vain attempted to dissuade him from that attempt. Could Lord Cloncurry have had two interviews with Robert Emmet immediately previous to his departure? Could the confidential friends of Robert Emmet have been in ignorance of his intentions at the time referred to? If they were ignorant of them, why did they manifest so great a desire to dissuade him from a visit which they felt full of danger?

It is certain that Russell and Dowdall were cognizant, at the period of Robert Emmet's departure from Paris, that an attempt was likely to be made; and they were expected to take part in it. Arthur O'Connor informed me that he had been apprized by Buonaparte of an intention of Robert Emmet, and others with

* "Personal Recollections of the Life and Times of Lord Cloncurry," 1st ed. 1850, p. 138.

whom he was associated in Paris, to hazard another struggle, and that he (A. O'Connor) disapproved of it. The probability is, that communications had been made from Ireland that a conspiracy was on foot, and that representations of one in progress—whether unintentionally erroneous or exaggerated, or wilfully false—had been made to him; that his brother, T. A. Emmet, was cognizant that such representations had been made to his brother; and that the latter being about to visit Ireland for the arrangement of family affairs, he was to inquire into those representations, and ascertain the truth or falsehood of them. So that it might be truly said that Robert Emmet had not organized any plans of conspiracy in Paris or Brussels of which his brother was cognizant, and that to ascertain the actual nature and extent of the alleged existing conspiracy was all that was expected of him while in Ireland.

In October, 1802, when Dr. Macneven arrived in Paris from his tour in Germany and Switzerland, we find from his correspondence with Emmet, that he was already speculating on the chances of a speedy rupture between France and England—an event, however, which did not occur till the month of May following. It will be seen that Emmet at that time by no means concurred in Macneven's views and expectations, and that it was not till six months after war had been declared between France and England, and as many weeks after the execution of his brother Robert, that he entered into communication with the French government.

In the autumn of 1803, T. A. Emmet had an interview with the First Consul. On the 13th of November he addressed a memorial to him, and on the 13th of December following Buonaparte replied to this communication, declaring his intention to set on foot preparations for an expedition to secure the independence of Ireland.

Elsewhere will be found a copy of the answer of the First Consul to Emmet's memoir, and it must be borne in mind that the following passage, in the reply to that memoir, was as explicit as words could make it, as to the alleged intention of sending an expedition to Ireland, and forming an Irish legion to co-operate with it:

"Il desire que les Irlandais Unis soyent bien convaincus que son intention est d'assurer l'independance de l'Irlande, et de donner protection entière et efficace à tous ceux d'entre eux qui prendront part à l'expedition, ou qui se joindront aux armées Françaises."

In the latter part of 1803, many of the United Irishmen who had gone to France formed themselves into an Irish battalion or legion, under the command of General MacSheehy, and there is

no doubt most of them would have returned to Ireland with an invading expedition, which they were led to believe was then actually fitting out at Brest and elsewhere. Under these circumstances, T. A. Emmet drew up and presented the memorial referred to, on behalf of the United Irishmen.

Between December, 1803, and April, 1804, several of the leaders of the United Irishmen in Paris appear to have had sanguine expectations of the realization of Buonaparte's promises. By the month of April, however, in the latter year, it is quite evident that all expectations of it on the part of Thomas Addis Emmet were at an end.

"The sincerity," says the son of T. A. Emmet, "of the First Consul, as to this expedition, seems not to have been doubted by Mr. Emmet until about the month of April following. What may have taken place I have no means of ascertaining, but from this period Mr. Emmet seems to have lost all hope of anything being done for Ireland."

The ratifications of the treaty of Amiens were exchanged the 27th of March, 1802. Whatever projects Buonaparte had previously formed, of invasion either of England or Ireland, were then necessarily suspended, but they were not long kept in abeyance.

The British ambassador quitted Paris the 13th of May, 1803. Buonaparte was nominated First Consul for life the 2nd of August, 1802, and proclaimed Emperor of France the 10th of May, 1804. In the interval between the two events, to consolidate his power appears to have been the chief aim of his policy. With regard to his professed intentions, whether he intended to act on them or not is a question on which there is much difference of opinion. In the memoir of Augereau, in the "Biographie des Contemporaines," it is stated that "after the rupture of the treaty of Amiens (May, 1803) Augereau was named to the command of an expedition projected against *Portugal*, which did not take effect." Portugal appears to have been the scape-goat of all the expeditions which were destined for other countries. Arthur O'Connor ought to have known something of the original destination of this expedition, inasmuch as he was appointed to accompany it, and it was on the occasion of that appointment he got the rank of general of division. In reference to this expedition, he states that "Buonaparte had a true intention to invade England, and had an army of 20,000 men in readiness for it, under the command of Augereau, when the intelligence of the new designs of Austria and Russia caused that intention to be given up." The declared intention may not have been less a ruse than the demonstration of the preparations for the invasion of England carried on at all the ports, from Calais to La Somme, at various intervals, from 1801 to

1805, the real object of which was to keep the military enthusiasm of France occupied with the grandeur of his conceptions, and the novelty of such projects as the accomplishment of his meditated invasion by a flotilla of boats, which was to supersede the necessity for a fleet like that which had been destroyed at Aboukir, and had not been yet replaced. That such was the opinion of Emmet, may be inferred from his departure for America on the 4th of October, 1804.

The recollection of a few dates of occurrences or affairs connected with the renewal of communications on the part of the United Irishmen with the French government, after the liberation of T. A. Emmet, and up to the time of the death of Robert Emmet, is very essential to enable us to comprehend clearly the transactions to which T. A. Emmet refers in his letters. In these notes his name will be indicated by the initials T. A. E., and that of Robert Emmet by those of R. E.

12th March, 1798.—T. A. E. arrested.
9th April, 1799.—T. A. E. arrived at Fort George.
1st October, 1801.—Preliminary Articles of Peace between France and England, signed at London.
27th March, 1802.—Ratification of the Treaty of Peace between France and England, signed at Amiens, exchanged.
30th June, 1802.—State Prisoners liberated from Fort George and conveyed to Holland.
4th July, 1802.—T. A. E. landed at Cuxhaven.
July & Aug., 1802.—T. A. E. sojourned at Hamburgh, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam.
Winter, 1802.—T. A. E. at Brussels received news of his father's death.
August, 1802.—T. A. E. visited at Brussels by his brother Robert.
October, 1802.—T. A. E. residing in Brussels.
25th October, 1802.—T. A. E. still at Brussels; says, "We here have very strong rumours of war again; if they should turn out well founded, our views would be changed indeed."
Sept. & Oct., 1802.—R. E. in Paris.
End of Oct., 1802.—R. E. arrived in Dublin from France.
October, 1802.—Dr. Macneven arrived in Paris from a tour in Germany and Switzerland.
7th February, 1803.—Colonel Despard tried and capitally convicted, charged with high treason.

10th March, 1803.—A royal message calling attention to military preparations of France.
10th May, 1803.—Actual hostilities commenced at sea between France and England.
18th May, 1803.—War declared between France and England.
23rd July, 1803.—R. E.'s attempted insurrection and result.
August, 1803.—Expected invasion of England. U. I. M. in communication with French government.
25th August, 1803.—R. E. was arrested by Major Sirr.
19th Sept., 1803.—R. E. was tried and convicted.
20th Sept., 1803.—R. E. was executed.
End of Sept., 1803.—T. A. E. at Paris received the account of his brother's execution.
13th Dec., 1803.—T. A. E. presented a memorial to Buonaparte, with a view to invasion of Ireland.
17th Dec., 1803.—Buonaparte answered his memorial, promising an expedition.
4th October, 1804.—T. A. E. sailed from Bourdeaux for America.
11th Nov., 1804.—T. A. E. arrived in New York.

CHAPTER IX.

CAREER OF T. A. EMMET AT THE AMERICAN BAR.

Emmet's career in America has been fortunately traced by one of his professional friends in that country, Charles Glidden Haines, a gentleman distinguished at the bar, and one of the counsellors of the Supreme Court in Washington. This gentleman's eminence in his profession, his talents, and his close intimacy with Emmet, rendered him fully competent to the task undertaken by him.

In 1812, while he and Mr. Emmet were attending the Supreme Court of the United States, they lived together in the same house, and Emmet was prevailed on by his friend to give him a sketch of his career, which was committed to writing by the latter. It remained with him during his life unpublished, but after his decease it was given to the public along with a biographical memoir of himself, in 1829.

That part of it which is most valuable, the account of Emmet's career at the bar in America, falling as it did under the observation of Mr. Haines, supplies the best, most ample, and authentic account of this portion of Emmet's history. The following extracts are taken verbatim from Mr. Haines's narrative :

"In 1804, we find Thomas Addis Emmet a resident of our own country. He now moves on a new theatre, and occupies a wide space in the consideration of a people to whom he was hitherto a stranger. He is no longer embarked in the troubled scenes of Europe. He commenced his career in the service of his country, to aid in conducting a most important revolution to a successful issue, and he failed in his attempt. About six years of the most valuable part of his life had been lost by imprisonment and the calamities attendant on the part which he acted. He now commences a new career, and with what success this narrative may present some slight proof.

"When Mr. Emmet came to the United States, he was about forty years of age. His fortune had been broken, and he had a family to sustain and educate. For some time he doubted which profession he would pursue—that of medicine or the law. He was competent to undertake either. His friends advised him to go to the bar, and a great loss would have occurred to this country had he not done so. He then concluded to remove to the western country—to the state of Ohio. He had landed in New York, and had soon after made a visit to some parts of the southern country, and Walter Jones, Esq., a most eminent counsellor and advocate in the district of Columbia, had procured Mr. Emmet's admission to the bar in Alexandria. A slave population prevented his residence at the south. He had selected Ohio as a future residence for many reasons. Land was cheap and the country new; he had a rising and increasing family, which he wished to plant about him; the competition was not so closely waged at the bar as in some other places, and everything was young and new in polity and laws.

"The venerable George Clinton was then governor of the state of New York, and the most popular and powerful man in the state. He was a plain, stern, ardent republican, and of Irish blood. He sent for Mr. Emmet, with whom he had little or no acquaintance, and told him to remain in the city of New York. He said that Mr. Emmet's great talents would command patronage. General Hamilton, one of the brightest ornaments of the age in which he lived, had fallen in a private quarrel, and there was a great opening at the bar, which Mr. Emmet could occupy. As to the western country, Governor Clinton said it was a wilderness, and no place for a great lawyer. Mr. Emmet replied that he would gladly remain in New York, but he could not practise without a previous study of three years—or perhaps six—in order to become a counsellor and advocate; such were the rules of court adopted in New York, and while he was studying law his family would want bread. Governor Clinton told him in answer not to be discouraged; if the Supreme Court declined giving him a license, the legislature

would give him one by an express statute. George Clinton no doubt could have effected this offer. He was the idol of the people, and the guardian spirit which presided over the republican party. De Witt Clinton was then mayor of the city of New York, an office at that time attended with an income of twenty thousand dollars a-year. He was then a great leader in the republican ranks, a statesman of uncommon promise, and had recently resigned his seat in the senate of the United States. He also sent for Mr. Emmet, advised him to remain in New York, and tendered him his utmost services and influence. He thought with George Clinton, his uncle, as to the Supreme Court, and as to what could be done with the legislature. Under these auspices Mr. Emmet changed his plans of future life, and concluded to pursue fortune and fame in the city of New York. George and De Witt Clinton then made a formal application to the judges of the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Spencer was then on the bench as a *puisne* judge. Judge Thompson and Vice-president Tomkins were also there. Chancellor Kent was the chief-justice. Spencer, Tompkins, Thompson were found friendly; Kent peculiarly hostile. Judge Spencer was strong and decided, and Mr. Emmet always mentions the kindness, the friendship, and the effective aid of Vice-president Tompkins with many expressions of gratitude. Within two years past he argued a most important cause for the vice-president without fee or reward, and obtained a verdict of 130,000 dollars, it being a suit with the United States. He said he did it with great pleasure, in remembrance of former friendship. Chancellor Kent was a warm and, I may almost say, a violent federalist. He execrated all republican principles in Europe, and was the disciple of Edmund Burke as to the French revolution. He looked on Mr. Emmet with an unkind eye, and raised his voice against his appearing in the forums of our state. To the honour of the chancellor, however, let it now be said, that he has more than once expressed joy to Mr. Emmet that the other judges overruled his illiberal objections. Mr. Emmet was admitted to the bar of New York without a resort to the legislature. It was a violation of the rules of court that his great talents and his sufferings palliated and excused.

"Mr. Emmet now commenced that splendid career at the American bar that has not only elevated the character of the profession, but reflected back a lustre on his native land. The Irish bar have reason to be proud of the exile who has so essentially aided in giving immortality to Irish genius. Very soon after Mr. Emmet appeared at our bar, he was employed in a case peculiarly well calculated for the display of his extraordinary powers. Several slaves had escaped from a neighbouring state and found a refuge

here. Their masters seized them, and the rights of these masters became a matter of controversy. Mr. Emmet, I have been informed, was retained by the Society of Friends—the real, steady, ardent, and persevering friends of humanity and justice, and of course espoused the cause of the slaves. His effort is said to have been overwhelming. The novelty of his manner, the enthusiasm which he exhibited, his broad Irish accent, his pathos and violence of gesture, created a variety of sensations in the audience. His republican friends said that his fortune was made, and they were right.

"Mr. Emmet's strong and decided attachment to democratic principles was known even before he reached the American shores. Coming to a country where he could breathe and speak freely, he did not find it necessary to repress those bold and ardent sentiments which had animated his bosom while toiling for the emancipation of Ireland. He mingled in the ranks of the republican party. Transatlantic politics, it is well known, had extended their agitations and influence to this country. The federal party hated France, hated Ireland in her revolutionary character, and hated Charles James Fox and his Whig party in England. The line drawn in this country is still visible. Mr. Emmet was viewed by the opponents of Mr. Jefferson's administration as a fugitive jacobin. Hence he was doomed to some little persecution even in this country. The great men of the New York bar were federalists. They therefore turned their faces against Mr. Emmet. They formed a combination, and agreed to decline all professional union and consultation with him. Mr. Emmet has told me the names of this shameful league, but as they are now his warmest friends and admirers, and as I respect and esteem them, their names shall not go from me. One man's name, however, I shall mention; for, although a firm federalist, and an eminent man, he nobly denounced the combination and all its objects. I speak of Cadwallader D. Colden. He and Mrs. Colden, an amiable and excellent lady, have paid Mr. and Mrs. Emmet the highest marks of respect and civility ever since they became inhabitants of the United States. When Mr. Emmet ascertained the existence of the league he did not hesitate what to do. His native boldness and decision of character governed his conduct. He determined to carry the war into the enemy's country. He did not wait for an attack. He proved the assailant. Whenever he met any of the league at the bar he assumed the attitude of professional war, and he lost nothing by contact. If Mr. Emmet has any one extraordinary power, it is the ready talent of successful and over-awing reply. His spirit is always dauntless. Fear he never knew. Hence he generally came off victorious in the wars against the combination.

"The league was soon dissolved. Business flowed in, and Mr. Emmet assumed a standing—and was able to maintain it—that put all opposition at defiance. It was not long after his arrival and settlement in New York that his profession produced him ten thousand dollars a-year. During some years, within a more recent period, it has amounted to an annual income of fifteen thousand dollars.

"In 1807, Mr. Emmet appeared before the American public in a controversy with Rufus King. Mr. King was the federal candidate for the governor of the state of New York. Mr. Emmet, on political and personal grounds, was opposed to his election. At a meeting of the Hibernian Society he broke out in an eloquent appeal to his countrymen and brethren, and urged them to rally and embody against Mr. King. This roused the temper of Mr. King's friends, and the federal papers, especially *The New York Evening Post*, poured a torrent of invective on the head of Mr. Emmet. Severe epithets and hard names were applied to him. He had seen political war before, and was not to have his lips sealed at this time. He addressed two letters to Mr. King, and the last was long and severe. As this will probably reach posterity I will barely notice its tenor and allegations. Mr. Emmet always considered Mr. King as instrumental in preventing the emigration of the Irish patriots to the United States, previous to their imprisonment at Fort George. Mr. King belonged to the federal school in politics. Among other distinctions in this country there was what was termed the French party and the British party. The federal party generally sided with the British government in all controversies connected with continental politics. The Irish patriots had sought aid from France, and encountered the general aversion of the federalists of this country. Mr. King naturally set his countenance against the contemplated revolution in Ireland, and was not favourably disposed to the emigration of what were termed Irish rebels by the court of St. James's. How far he interfered, or how far the British government feigned his interference, I cannot say; but it was used as a pretext, if not well founded. It will be recollected that there was a treaty between the Anglo-Irish government and Mr. Emmet, Mr. O'Connor, and Dr. Macneven. Among other proffered advantages, was the liberation of the prisoners for a residence in the United States. That liberation was subsequently denied in violation of the treaty. Mr. Emmet, in his letter to Mr. King, adverts to his interference with great feeling and with no small indignation. . . . .

"I express no opinion as to the degree of reproach which should be attached to the character of Mr. King, but I will not omit what is very honourable to himself and to his sons. The

former has more than once paid the highest compliment to Mr. Emmet's talents, and, in his late argument in the great steamboat cause, left the senate for two days to witness and hear his stupendous efforts as an orator. Mr. King's sons have always paid the highest respect to Mr. Emmet, and wherever his family have appeared in private circles, been marked and particular in their civility. These are small things, but they indicate good feelings.

"Mr. Emmet's course in 1807, and his ardour and firmness as a republican, identified him with the republican party. He never courted station or public trust—his theatre was the forum. In August, 1812, the Council of Appointment conferred upon him the office of attorney-general of the state of New York. This was a post of honour, but could not add to his professional fame or emolument. He held the office but for a short time, and has never since sought or received any public appointment.

"I have now given a brief sketch of Mr. Emmet's life, or rather of its most leading incidents, so far as I have learned them from him and otherwise. I must now perform a more difficult task, and speak of him as one of the great pillars and ornaments of the American bar.

"Helvetius remarks that the sun of glory only shines upon the tomb of greatness. His observation is too often true, but facts and living proofs sometimes contradict it. Mr. Emmet walks on in life amid the eulogiums, the admiration, and the enthusiastic regard of a great and enlightened community. Without the glare and influence of public office, without titles and dignities, who fills a wider space—who commands more respect than Thomas Addis Emmet? Like a noble and simple column he stands among us proudly pre-eminent, destitute of pretensions, destitute of vanity, and destitute of envy. In a letter which I recently received from a friend who resides in the western part of the Union—a lawyer of eminence, he speaks of the New York bar. 'Thomas Addis Emmet,' says he, 'is the great luminary whose light even crosses the western mountains. His name rings down the valley of the Mississippi, and we hail his efforts with a kind of local pride.'

"If to draw the character of Homer needs the genius of the immortal bard himself—if to portray the powers of Demosthenes requires the gigantic intellect of the great Athenian orator, Mr. Emmet has nothing to expect from me. In presenting the features of his mind I shall describe them from the impressions they make on me. I paint from the original. I catch the lineaments of the subject as living nature presents them.

"The mind of Thomas Addis Emmet is of the highest order. His penetration is deep, his views comprehensive, his distinctions

remarkably nice. His powers of investigation are vigorous and irresistible. If there be anything in a subject he will go to the bottom. He probes boldly, reaches the lowest depths by his researches, analyzes everything, and embraces the whole ground. He may be said to have a mind well adapted to profound and powerful investigation. In the next place, he has great comprehension; he sees a subject in all its bearings and relations; he traces out all its various operations; he begins at the centre and diverges, until it becomes necessary again to return to the centre. As a reasoner—a bare, strict reasoner—Mr. Emmet would always be placed in an elevated rank. No matter how dry, how difficult, how repulsive the topic—no matter what may be its intricacies and perplexities, if any man can unfold and amplify it, he is equal to the task. . . . .

"I have spoken of his talent for deep and rigid investigation. I will now again recur to another feature of his mind—his talent for reasoning on whatever data or premises he relies on. All the illustrations and all the analogies which can well occur to the mind are readily and adroitly arranged in his arguments. He makes the most of his cause, and often makes too much, giving a front that is so palpably over-formidable, that men of the plainest sense perceive the fruits of a powerful mind without being at all convinced.

"Mr. Emmet is a lawyer of great and faithful legal research. He has consulted books with as much fidelity and perseverance as any man at the American bar. Perhaps he has not done this with so much system as appears in the study of many others; a constant pressure of business may have prevented study upon abstract principles, with bare views of gaining knowledge; but in his day he has spared nothing in the compass of his reading. He has gone back to the black-letter, and come down to all the modern works that weigh down the shelves of our libraries in the shape of reports and elementary treatises. In his arguments he calls up all the authorities applicable to his case; and what is of great consequence in the character of a finished lawyer, these authorities shed light on the subject matter of discussion. There are many advocates, and too many judges among us, who make a parade of their learning—who quote decisions without an accurate discrimination of what they tend to prove. Legal distinctions are not less nice and delicate than those of a moral order. Law and ethics are in fact intimately blended. A system of jurisprudence embraces rules of action for all the concerns of human life that can be interesting to the whole community—for all the business transactions of society—for the discharge of all mutual obligations incident to civilization, and which it may be necessary for consti-

tuted authorities to enforce. No rule of law can be sound and salutary unless it be consistent with justice, when carried through in all its bearings, and in its full application to all cases to which it can even pertain. This is the difference between partial and general rules. The law deals in general rules. All its axioms are general; all its maxims are intended to be universal. Hence, when a principle of law is laid down in a case of a collateral nature to the one under a particular discussion, it needs some judgment to ascertain its strict applicability to a given case. Mr. Emmet cites with accuracy, and courts very much rely on his discernment—a character, by the way, of immense importance to an advocate. Courts soon measure a lawyer's understanding. If he wants perspicuity and clearness—if he mingles and confuses—he is sure to mislead, if he command respect and credence: hence he will not long find countenance in legal tribunals. Mr. Emmet is not fond of resorting to the civil law—the *corpus juris civilis*. He occasionally draws from this fountain, but reposes generally on the common law. The text of the civil law is in his library, and the works of most of the commentators on this text; but my apprehension is, that he has only consulted this grand body of jurisprudence in extraordinary cases.

"The subject of this memoir is not less distinguished for his knowledge of the theory of the law, than he is of the practice. As a special pleader he has great experience and precision; and whoever looks through the decisions of cases in the New York reports, and those argued in the Supreme Court at Washington where he has been concerned, will be convinced of the fact here asserted. It has been said that while Erskine dazzled, charmed, and astonished all who heard him in Westminster Hall, the hard head and watchful skill of the *nisi prius* lawyer was always perceptible. Mr. Emmet, while he displays wonderful powers of eloquence, and indulges in bursts of lofty and noble sentiment, and appeals to the great moral maxims that must govern men in this world while we have laws, morals, and obedience to order, never forgets the landmarks of professional watchfulness—he is still the well-disciplined lawyer contending for his client.

"I must now mention another advantage that distinguishes Mr. Emmet in his professional career. His historical illustrations are numerous, pertinent, and happy. In this he excels any man whom I have ever heard. He was educated in Europe, and was for many years not only a political man, but associated on intimate terms with the first men of the age. He not only read, but he heard and saw. In addition to what we find in the volumes of history he collected many things which floated in the atmosphere of the times, well calculated to give a clue to the character of men

and of transactions lost to the ordinary historian. Besides this, he collected a vast fund of anecdote from personal intercourse with great and knowing men. In the various changes of the British ministry, and during a great number of party conflicts, many interesting circumstances transpired, worthy to be treasured up by the moralist, or to be lashed by the satirist. In arguing and in trying great causes I have heard Mr. Emmet draw on his memory with great effect, calling up parallels and presenting striking contrasts. I can at this moment call two instances to mind where his recollection and historical knowledge afforded him much aid. When the Honourable William W. Van Ness was facing that torrent of political persecution that swept him to the grave, Mr. Emmet was his leading counsel. There was instituted a legislative inquiry into his connexion with the incorporation of the Bank of America, with an intention to find matter on which an impeachment could be sustained, he being a judge of the Supreme Court of the state of New York. The case was peculiar, and will be memorable in the history of our state. It terminated in a vote that there was no ground to impeach Judge Van Ness, or to prefer articles of impeachment; and in this vote of the house of assembly there was but one dissenting voice. His name, it is hoped, for the honour of free principles and the character of justice, will never be mentioned. But to the point. Judge Van Ness had been a warm federalist, and constant to his principles. He was now a friend and supporter of De Witt Clinton. Some of his old federal friends—who had completely faced about and joined what were called the bucktail party—commenced against him a violent and implacable system of hostility. These men had been his bosom friends for years after the incorporation of the Bank of America. They had at one time anxiously sought his nomination for governor. Some of them who were his immediate accusers had flourished under the auspices of his friendship. But political rancour and personal ambition sealed the heart to feelings that are honourable to our nature, and Judge Van Ness was marked out as a victim of unprovoked vengeance. In the course of the investigation there was an argument at the bar of the house of assembly. Here was a fine field for Mr. Emmet's transcendent powers, and he made one of his most fortunate efforts. I heard his argument, and I shall never forget it. I shall here only allude to his introduction. He first spoke of the nature of the inquiry instituted against his client. He was not assailed by foes who had been arrayed against him for years—whose hostility had been rendered keen and inveterate by long, constant, and bitter conflicts. He was not assailed by men whose happiness he had blasted, whose fortunes he had wrecked, whose hopes he had disappointed, whose paths he had

crossed; he was a persecuted man, and persecuted by those in whose bosoms gratitude, sympathy, and respect for his client should find a genial and a lasting refuge. He then struck off into English history. He spoke of the great and illustrious men who had fallen martyrs to the cause of their country, or victims to political and party violence. The scaffold had streamed with their blood, and their country had blushed in later ages for their fall; but in all these dark and disgraceful scenes, how many noble instances of friendship, regard, and personal fidelity had appeared! He particularly alluded to the case of Lord Wentworth, and repeated his words as he uttered them on his trial. While these lights were brought from history, the attention of the assembly and the spectators was perfectly chained to the words of the advocate. Every sentence was heard, and the blood ran cold in every man's veins.

"The other instances appeared in a case of less note. It was a libel. A suit had been commenced against the editor of a newspaper, and in the course of the trial certain charges made by the plaintiff on the defendant were brought under examination. The editor was charged with having made offers to sell himself to a political party hostile to the one with which he was identified. Certain witnesses proved that he had proposed that for a certain loan of money he would cease from his political labours, and be silent. This was said by his counsel to amount to nothing like a proposition to sell himself. Throughout the trial, Mr. Emmet displayed an elevated idea of moral rectitude, and indicated his views of political honour. Some of his remarks would rank with the beautiful sketches of Johnson in his *Rambler* and *Idler*. When he came to the proposition alluded to, he presented the case of the Earl of Bath. 'He had been a distinguished leader of the Whig party in England. On the floor of the House of Commons he was viewed as an intrepid and incorruptible patriot. He almost arrested the ministry in its course of measures. Sir Robert Walpole at length made him Earl of Bath, and from that moment no more was heard from the great Whig and commoner, Mr. Pulteney.* Did he not sell himself?' said Mr. Emmet. 'The British nation thought so, and the execrations of the whole empire gathered round his head and followed his daily walks.' . . . .

"As a classical scholar, but few men can stand before Mr. Emmet in point of attainments. He is familiar with the great writers of antiquity—the master spirits who have infused their genius and their sentiments into the popular feelings of ages which have rolled on long after the poet and the orator, the statesman

* *Vide* Smollet's History of England, p. 268, Jones' University edition, 1826.

and the historian have ceased to glow, to speak, to guide, or to write. He has closely consulted those oracles of wisdom—those disciples of philosophy—those sons of the muses, whose opinions, sentiments, and effusions, lighten the sorrows of human existence, inspire the mind with noble ideas, and cheer the ardent and persevering devotions of the student. The man of whom I speak was more intimately acquainted with the poets of Greece and Rome than with the prose writers—at least such is the fact evinced in his speeches and conversation. Virgil and Horace are always on his tongue, and Juvenal is sometimes called to his aid. There is a reason for this kind of learning in Mr. Emmet. His early education was in the schools of Europe. He had all the discipline and all the primitive advantages peculiar to those schools. The Latin and the Greek tongues were introduced to his notice when yet a child, and for years they were his daily companions. The writings of the British classics he has also consulted with a delight and advantage which often appear in his arguments. Shakspeare, in particular, he often quotes.

"One of the greatest charms of Mr. Emmet's eloquence is the fancy which he continually displays. He possesses an imagination boundless as the world of light in its grandeur and beauty. Its flights are bold; its pictures soft, magnificent, or awful, as the subject may require. This power is greater in Mr. Emmet than in any other lawyer whom I have ever heard. It enables him to shed a charm over every subject which he touches. To the most dry and meagre topic he can impart interest and attraction. All his figures indicate taste and propriety. They are often bold and daring, and frequently show very great accuracy and precision of language. It falls to his province to impress on the mind of every hearer a recollection as lasting as life. No man who ever heard him for an hour can forget his figure, his face, his manner, and a great part of his very language. Some of his peculiar figures of speech would be well remembered.

"I have already spoken of Mr. Emmet's readiness at retort. Whoever rouses his energies by a rude assault, or a stroke of satire, is sure to hear of it again, and generally has good reason to regret the ill-timed provocation. In 1815, he made his first appearance at the Supreme Court of the United States in Washington. He and Mr. Pinckney were brought in contact. The latter closed the argument in a very important cause in which they were both engaged, and with his characteristic arrogance alluded to the fact of Mr. Emmet's migration to the United States. When he had concluded his argument, Mr. Emmet, being for the respondent in error, had no right to reply, but he nevertheless rose, and after correcting a trifling error in some of Mr. Pinckney's statements,

he took up the mode and manner in which his opponent had treated him. He said he was Mr. Pinckney's equal in birth, in rank, in his connexions, and he was not his enemy. It was true that he was an Irishman; it was true that in attempting to rescue an oppressed, brave, and generous-hearted people, he had been driven from the forum in his own land; it was true that he had come to America for refuge, and sought protection beneath her constitution and her laws; and it was also true that his learned antagonist would never gather a fresh wreath of laurel, or add lustre to his well-earned fame, by alluding to these facts in a tone of malicious triumph. He knew not by what name arrogance and presumption might be called on this side of the ocean, but sure he was that Mr. Pinckney never acquired these manners in the polite circles of Europe, which he had long frequented as a public minister. Mr. Pinckney was not ready at retort, and he made no reply; but a few days afterwards it so happened that he and Mr. Emmet were again opposed to each other in a cause of magnitude, and it fell to Mr. Emmet's part to close the argument, who was determined that his antagonist should be put in mind of his former deportment and expressions. Mr. Pinckney was aware of the thunderbolt in store, and took the opportunity of paying to Mr. Emmet's genius, fame, and private worth, the highest tribute of respect. This respect was never afterwards violated. When Mr. Emmet rose out of his place as before stated, Chief Justice Marshall indicated great uneasiness, thinking that something unpleasant might be the result. Mr. Justice Livingston reached forward his head and remarked in a whisper, 'Let him go on; I will answer that he says nothing rude or improper.' With this, as well as with the result, the chief justice was satisfied.

"Some years previous to this, Mr. Emmet repaired to the county of Chenango, to try an indictment for an attempt to procure the vote of a member of the legislature by bribery and corruption. He was then attorney-general, and the proceedings excited strong party feelings. Elisha Williams and Mr. Foot, formerly an eminent counsellor and advocate residing in Albany, were opposed to him. The latter had his task assigned him—he was to browbeat Mr. Emmet. In the discharge of this duty he stated, among other things, that Mr. Emmet's promotion to the office of attorney-general was the reward of party efforts, and that in conducting this prosecution he was doing homage for that office. He gained nothing by his assaults. When Mr. Emmet came to this part of his speech he stated the accusation as it had been made by his opponent, and replied, 'It is false, and he knew it. The office which I have the honour to hold is the reward of useful days and sleepless nights, devoted to the acquisition and

exercise of my profession, and of a life of unspotted integrity—claims and qualifications which that gentleman can never put forth for any office, humble or exalted.'

"In 1822, Mr. Emmet was employed in a very interesting case in the Court of Errors in the state of New York. A man had died leaving a large estate, and a pretended wife claimed it by virtue of a nuncupative will. The estate was claimed by Irish heirs, and the legality of the will was disputed. Mr. Emmet appeared for the heirs, and it occurred that most or all of the witnesses who sustained the illegality of the instrument in question were Irishmen. Mr. Henry of Albany, an able and sagacious advocate, attempted to invalidate the testimony of these witnesses, and indulged many rude hits on account of their national character. Mr. Henry being himself of Irish descent, and having made almost a direct attack on Mr. Emmet, roused all his fire. The arguments of the different counsel consumed several days, and when the great Irish orator drew to the close of his extraordinary efforts, which had consumed two entire days of the court, he broke forth into one of his master exertions. The nature of the testimony alluded to he had already examined. He now took up the reflection on Irish character. He carried the eye of the court over the land of his birth—the graves of her illustrious men—the monuments of her heroes, her orators, her statesmen, her poets, her philosophers. He then pictured her green fields, her beautiful shores, the genius of her people, the simplicity of her peasantry, and the dark and horrid gulf in which her liberties and her happiness were buried. He came down to himself—the scenes through which he had passed, and the honesty, the zeal, and the integrity which he had found among his countrymen; and lastly, he pointed to Mr. Henry. If he had a good drop of blood in his veins it was Irish blood. When he beheld the successful efforts in that forum on the part of his learned antagonist, he felt that he was an Irishman! The whole scene was one of the most interesting that I ever witnessed.

"Mr. Emmet's deportment at the bar is mild, urbane, dignified, and conciliating. To the junior members of the profession, in particular, he is a model of obliging civility, always speaking favourably of their efforts and kindly of their exertions, however meagre and discouraging. To me he has given many sound lessons of advice. '*Let me see you do that again,*' has been his language of reprehension when condemning some particular habit or fault.

"Mr. Emmet's appearance and manners are plain and simple in the extreme. His dress is wholly unstudied. Everything, however, shows the most perfect delicacy of feeling. Modest,

unassuming, unobtrusive, and perfectly polite, he would alone attract the attention of a stranger by that amiable temper and obliging disposition that manifested themselves on all occasions. I do not consider him an eloquent or a powerful man in ordinary conversation. His remarks are generally appropriate, and well adapted to passing colloquial scenes. He speaks with sense and intelligence; but he discovers nothing of the man he is, unless called out by an occasion sufficient to awaken his mind and create excitement. In the circles of Washington—with Robert Goodloe Harper, John Randolph, William Wirt, and others of an equal rank in talent—I have heard him converse with uncommon interest on English history and the policy of European governments. I once heard him contrast and describe the characters of the most distinguished British statesmen who had shared in the confidence of the government, from the days of Robert Walpole to those of Lord Castlereagh, a man whose heart he abhorred and detested. But how much more powerful and interesting would he have appeared on the same topics in the senate house!

"Having never heard the speeches and arguments of Erskine and Curran, I am incompetent to compare Mr. Emmet with those great orators. Manner is one of the principal attributes of a great speaker, and Mr. Emmet's is excellent, and in many respects unrivalled. But if I might be permitted to compare Mr. Emmet's speeches—as I know they would read if written out—with Erskine's and Curran's as they are reported, he would not fall behind his illustrious competitors. To Mr. Curran I think Mr. Emmet superior—superior as a mere lawyer, and superior as a logician; and, exquisitely beautiful and truly eloquent as Curran really was in the defence of Rowan, I think Emmet would have made a more powerful and overwhelming speech in that great case.* As a lawyer and an orator, I am not to say that he is superior to what Erskine was in the days of his glory, for I view that orator with a veneration that is never invaded or diminished. Mr. Emmet would not have excelled him in the case of Stockdale, in the case of the publisher of "The Rights of Man," nor in any of the splendid efforts that marked the unrivalled career of the prince of English orators in the forum; but he would have been the competitor of Erskine in such cases, had he met him on equal terms at the English bar; and I might safely challenge the whole list of Irish orators for the superior of Thomas Addis Emmet.

"In his private character, the object of this memoir is without a blemish. Generous, humane, obliging, and strictly honest; a heart open, frank, and ardent—upright in all his dealings—rigid

* The author differs from Mr. Haines in the opinion above-mentioned.—R. R. M.

and austere in his habits—temperate and rational in all his enjoyments—liberal and free from prejudice upon every subject—kind and affectionate as a husband, a father, and a friend—anxious to do good and diminish evil—such a man is Mr. Emmet."*

Dr. Mitchill, in his discourse on the life and character of Emmet, says :

"A fair sample of his forensic eloquence is contained in the reported trial of William S. Smith, for an alleged misdemeanour, in 1806, before the circuit court of the United States for the New York district. The stenographer was Thomas Lloyd, and as the publication was made and no contradiction of its correctness offered by Mr. Emmet, the words may be presumed to have been correctly stated.

"The transaction referred to is briefly this. There was a man named Francisco Miranda, a native of Caraccas, who had acquired the title of general, and for several years indulged the hope of rendering the colony of Venezuela independent of the Spanish monarchy. He went to Europe, and solicited from court to court the means of effecting his object. Being in France at the time when a peace was concluded with Spain, a demand was made for his person ; but the French authority determined to permit his escape. He fled to England, and was supposed to have obtained by some means funds for the expedition. He thence repaired to New York, completed his outfit, and sailed with his armament to join the friends and patriots who had invited him to South America. William S. Smith was indicted as an accomplice, under the act of congress declaring it penal for a citizen to set on foot military enterprises against a nation with which ours was at peace. Mr. Emmet was one of his counsel; and his speech on summing up the evidence, occupying more than sixteen pages, affords probably a just view of his talents as an advocate. I might easily extract from it, as the book is now lying before us ; but these would lengthen a communication growing, I fear, too prolix already. I may venture, however, to say, that in consequence of the excellence of this speech, the more important portions of it have been transferred to the pages of the fourth volume of that interesting compilation entitled 'American Eloquence.'"

* Sketch of the career of T. A. Emmet at the American bar, by Charles Glidden Haines.

CHAPTER X.

LETTERS OF T. A. EMMET, WRITTEN DURING HIS RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Emmet had little correspondence with his friends in Ireland from the time of his departure from Fort George. His communications were confined to three or four individuals, and had very little reference to political matters. The following extracts from some of these, and from a letter of Mrs. Emmet, will be read with interest. It is only to be regretted that so few documents or papers of his own are in existence, or available for the purpose of drawing up a memoir of this kind. The late Mr. Sampson, from this circumstance, was deterred from undertaking the task which had been assigned to him by some of Emmet's associates, namely, of writing his life. Whether the author has done ill or well in not suffering such records of the career and character of Emmet, as were in existence when the task was undertaken by him, to perish, remains to be determined. One thing he is certain of—that those with whom he was in communication on this subject, of all men then living, were best qualified to speak of the early career of Emmet—of his conduct not only in private life, but in that body of which he was one of the executive leaders. One of the most distinguished of these persons, Dr. Macneven, has followed Emmet to the grave in America since the period of these communications with him; others elsewhere, with whom the author was acquainted, have dropped off, one by one, in quick succession during the last twenty-five years.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM T. A. EMMET TO PETER BURROWES.

"New York, 19th November, 1806.

"I sincerely rejoice, my good friend, that promotion has fallen on your head,* and those of some others, where, I think, it is well bestowed. However, there are in the list of promotions men of whom I never wish to think, because I cannot think of them without the strongest emotions of aversion and disgust—strong and warm as was my former friendship.†

"In the conclusion of your letter you ask a question which, if I did not know the occasional absence of your thoughts, would have caused me much speculation.

* He was appointed first counsel to the commissioners of revenue, under Mr. Fox's administration, in 1806—not a permanent situation, but at that time a lucrative one.

† There can be no doubt that the late Lord Plunket was one of the persons referred to in the above paragraph.—R. R. M.

"'Do you ever mean to visit us?' says an influential officer of the government of Ireland to a proscribed exile, whose return would be death by law, 'or to send over any of your children?' A man who was very anxious to return would catch at this offer; but that is not my case. I am settled here with the fairest prospects for myself and my children. My principles and my sufferings were my first passport and introduction here, and they procured me the effective friendship of the leading characters in this state and in the Union at large. In proportion as I cherish those principles I am respected, and every day's reflection and observation makes them dearer to me. Ought I to go where they are treasonable and sufficient ground for perpetual proscription? Besides, my good friend, I am too proud, when vanquished, to assist by my presence in gracing the triumph of the victor; and with what feelings should I tread on Irish ground? As if I were walking over graves—and those the graves of my nearest relations and dearest friends. No; I can never wish to be in Ireland, except in such a way as none of my old friends connected with the government could wish to see me placed in. As to my children, I hope they will love liberty too much ever to fix a voluntary residence in an enslaved country. Nothing in their future prospects gives me greater pain than the fear that my eldest boy will be obliged, when he comes of age, to go to Ireland to dispose of some settled property, which, if I were worth a few thousand dollars more, I should wish rather in the hands of my greatest enemy than his. There is not now in Ireland an individual that bears the name of Emmet. I do not wish that there ever should while it is connected with England, and yet it will perhaps be remembered in its history.

"With the very sincerest and warmest esteem, believe me,

"Ever yours,

"T. A. Emmet."*

FROM T. A. EMMET TO JOHN PATTEN.

"New York, 11th July, 1807.

"My dear John—Though our correspondence has never gone to any length, it is not for want of the sincerest affection on both sides; but I have devolved my duties on Jane, and you on your mother. . . . .

"The first wish you and your mother can have is to know how we all are. Extremely well. Jane and I blessed with ten as fine and lovely children as are to be found in the state of New York. Parental prejudice and affection aside, I know of no such family anywhere. Those you have never seen are at least equal to those

* "Life and Times of Henry Grattan," vol. iv.

with whom you are acquainted, and the latter very much improved. As to my business, you may probably have apprehended that the extraordinary commotion respecting me excited on the last election, and of which Jane wrote some account in her last, would have injured me professionally; but the reverse has been the fact, and I have enjoyed as much pleasure as I could derive from overthrowing Mr. Rufus King in his country, for his conduct to me and my fellow-prisoners in our own; and with that I have had the infinitely higher gratification of having most essentially contributed to the complete and, I hope, conclusive triumph of principle here, and that the importance of my services are known and appreciated. Accompanying this letter you will receive a book which has been just published by Macneven, and originated in the wish of refuting the calumnies to which that election gave rise. It will scarcely find a printer hardy enough to republish it in the British dominions; but if there should be one, I should be very glad if it were first carefully perused, as it is very incorrectly printed, and not half the errata noticed. . . . . I have been making purchases, part of the price of which is payable by instalments yearly. I have laid out all that I drew from Ireland, and more, and have 2,500 dollars a-year to pay for the next three years. . . . .

"Believe me, my dear John, with the sincerest truth,

"Ever yours,

"T. A. EMMET."

EXTRACTS OF A LETTER FROM T. A. EMMET TO JOHN PATTEN.

"New York, 23rd May, 1808.

"Having got out of the habit of letter-writing (my only correspondents, except on business, being yourself and Holmes), I hardly know how to resume it. . . . .

"In point of success, neither the flattery of my friends nor my own personal vanity ever led me to anticipate my good fortune here. It is true, a lawyer's means here for accumulating a fortune by his profession are not such as in England or Ireland; neither does he feel entirely the same necessity of making one for the establishment of his children, to whom, with a good education and good dispositions, so many pursuits are open; but such as is the field, many would tell you I am at the head of it. That is, however, not the fact. Several make much more than I do, or could do with their quantity of business; but my reputation is as high, and my employment very sufficient. Jane and the children are extremely well, and we shall shortly remove into the country for the summer. . . . . .

"This letter will go under the care of my old friend, Henry Jackson, who has obtained permission to return, and means to use it, as he says, for the purpose of winding up his and Mrs. Bond's affairs, and bringing her out with him in the course of a year. This, I am sure, is his wish; but he carries with him a daughter, who will thwart him in that respect to the utmost of her power, and, I apprehend, may succeed in causing him to spend the remainder of his days pitifully and uncomfortably in Ireland. He will answer as many of your questions about me as he can; but he is only just come on here from Baltimore for the purpose of taking his passage. . . . . .

FROM T. A. EMMET TO JOHN PATTEN.

"New York, 29th July, 1820.

"My dear John—It is so long since you have heard from me, and so very long since you have written to me, that you will probably be somewhat surprised at the receipt of this letter; but I am extremely unwilling that any indolence or punctilios should stop our intercourse. Your sister cannot but be very desirous to hear of you and from you, although she has for many years totally given up all letter-writing; and if you can judge me rightly, you will be convinced that no one can take a warmer interest in your welfare than I do. I then commence a new score with you, in the hope that if you will not pay off your old epistolary arrears, you will at least not contract new debts of that nature. . . .

"Do, then, write us all you can about yourself, and as much as you please about the other members of the family. As to my own affairs in Ireland, I confess I am very anxious to see the state of them clearly. The practice of my profession has enabled me to live genteelly and respectably, and to educate my children, so far; but as to accumulating property for them, every effort of that kind on my part has been, I fear, frustrated for ever by the dreadful depreciation of land in the neighbourhood of this city; and I tremble to think of the situation in which they would be placed if any accident were to happen to me, of which, thank God, there is no present appearance. But this unfortunate change in the value of what I hoped would have contributed something not inconsiderable to their support hereafter, makes me more desirous to ascertain exactly what is the situation of whatever I might look to in Ireland, and of whatever might come against it. I owe a large sum to the people in Wexford, which has given me great uneasiness, and it is one of the things nearest my heart to have it paid off with the least possible delay; and I also am indebted to Kitty some interest money, of which, I am sure, she must want

at least a part. If you could let her have something out of the rents it would gratify me exceedingly. . . . . Furnish me a statement both of the rents and of your sister's fortune—if any of it remains. . . . . .

"You will be desirous of knowing something of our family and fireside. Your sister has had many years of delicate health and of nervous spells and anxious hours; but I am happy to think she is not getting worse, and on the whole is, I think, improving. Robert is married, lives in the house with us, and has two lovely boys. He is settled in the law, and would have very good practice if the profession could at present be said to afford any. Tom also is a lawyer, and living with me, though his office is different. As he is a bachelor, and with few expenses, he pays his way, and will, I hope, do better. Elizabeth is married to Mr. Le Roy, and in every sense of the word *well*. She has got a fine fellow in mind and disposition—one of the handsomest young men in the city, and perhaps the most respectable connexion in it, with every prospect of wealth and happiness—but she is going to settle nearly 400 miles from us. Temple is on the ocean in the U. S. ship *Columbus*, and at present in the Mediterranean. From his roving life you may one day see him, and unless he should materially change, I am sure you will like him. The rest of the family are still on my hands. John, after spending a year in Italy for his health, is returned home, and with a constitution I hope improved and confirmed; he is studying physic, and has made no inconsiderable progress in chemistry. He is very highly thought of by those who know him, and from the nature of his pursuits and occupations, and his manner of following them, very frequently reminds his mother of you. The others are fine, valuable, and good children, but neither settled nor as far as I can see on the high road to it. The girls are accomplished and well informed, and as they would adorn, so I hope they will be happy in any situation. Your sister joins in warmest love to you,

"Believe me, dear John, most affectionately yours,

"THOMAS ADDIS EMMET."

FROM MRS. EMMET TO JOHN PATTEN.

"New York (no date).

"After the hopes I had indulged in of seeing you, I commence my letter with feelings of regret not easily shaken off. The prospect of your being an inmate in our family has long been cherished as an event that, of all others, could afford us the greatest happiness. We now feel the disappointment doubly. In urging you to come to America our own gratification is not the first

object, as that would be defeated if you were not happy here; but I am well convinced the exchange would every way add to your comfort. . . . I know the effect that painful recollections produce upon the mind, and I often think that were I obliged to remain in Ireland my life would be miserable. A day cannot pass that some event—some object—is not likely to renew a train of unpleasant ideas. Are you then to look for cheerfulness there? does not health almost depend upon ease of mind? Indeed, my dear John, you can enjoy neither where you are. A change of scene, not among strangers, but into the midst of a large and affectionate family, so nearly related and tenderly attached to you, what different feelings would it not excite! Of Mr. Emmet I need say but little. You know his disposition; it remains unchanged—always diffusing happiness among his family and friends. In his society you could seldom feel weary. Thank God, his health is now invariably good, and his reputation such as to leave no wish ungratified. The young people I know you would like. I can answer for their hearts and their feelings towards you. It would be the first object of their lives to contribute to your happiness. . . . . .

"When you write, mention is Mrs. Riall still living. What is become of all the Jacob family? Do not wonder at my asking these questions. The people I knew in early life oftener recur to my mind than any others. Write to me soon, my dear John, and write to me without reserve. Next to having you here, that will be the highest gratification to your truly affectionate sister,

"JANE EMMET."

FROM T. A. EMMET TO JOHN PATTEN.

"New York, 3rd August, 1809.

"DEAR JOHN—I have just drawn on you at 30 days sight for £250 British, in favour of John Chambers or order. The situation of our affairs is such, that I do not know how soon the intercourse between this country and Ireland may become again embarrassed, and have therefore made my draft larger than I had originally intended. It is some time since we have heard from you, and Jane is beginning to grow jealous. She and all the family are extremely well, and (as it may tend to quiet your minds in case of your hearing rumours of sickness here, I say it) we are all removed to a beautful spot, above four miles from all possibility of infection, should sickness arrive, which it has not yet done. Remember me to all my friends.

"Believe me, very sincerely, yours affectionately,

"THOMAS ADDIS EMMET."

One of the latest letters, in all probability the last letter of T. A. Emmet received in Ireland, was addressed to his old friend and early political associate, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, in the early part of 1827, just ten months before his decease.

This letter is one of deep interest, remarkable for the simplicity of style and solidity of judgment of the writer, and in all respects worthy of him:

"New York, 8th January, 1827.

"My dear old Friend—For, as I am feeling the advances of age, I presume you have not remained *in statu quo* for the last five-and-twenty years—I received your letter by Mr. Macready, and thank you for it. Many circumstances prevented my answering it until now, which it is impossible to detail on paper; but, be assured, no indifference or coldness of feeling towards you had any share in causing the delay. Mr. Macready is a gentleman whose talents and worth have gained him very high consideration here, and who has entirely justified the warm recommendations he was the bearer of from Europe.

"I dare not write to you about Ireland, though probably if we were together we should talk of little else. I remember the day when I fancied letters might be intercepted. If such a thing could happen now, a letter from T. A. E. to A. H. R., filled with Irish politics, would be a *bonne bouche* for a secretary. America is not what you saw it, nor what even your sanguine mind could anticipate. It has shot up in strength and prosperity beyond the most visionary calculation. It has great destinies, and I have no doubt will ameliorate the condition of man throughout the world. When you were here party raged with a fiend-like violence, which may lead you to misjudge of what you may occasionally meet with in an American newspaper, should you ever look into one. Whether the demon be absolutely and for ever laid, I cannot undertake to say; but there is at present no more party controversy than ought to be expected, and perhaps ought to exist in so free a country; and sure I am it does not interfere with the general welfare and happiness; indeed I think it never can—their roots are struck so deep. Of myself and family I need only say we are all extremely well. I have succeeded better than I thought possible when I set foot on this shore. I still enjoy my health and faculties. The companion of my youth and of my sufferings does the same. We are surrounded by eight children and twelve grandchildren, with the prospect of steady and progressive increase in the American ratio. I pray God you have had your share in the happiness of this life.

"Your sincere and affectionate friend,

"Thomas Addis Emmet.

"To Archibald H. Rowan, Esq."

CHAPTER XI.

CLOSE OF THE CAREER OF THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

THE task which Haines undertook in 1812, but did not live to complete, has been finished by another hand. Shortly after the death of Emmet, the following account of the close of his life was drawn up and published in the volume containing the account of the lives of Haines and Emmet. In this account we will find some details respecting Emmet's mode of life in his profession as well as in his private relations of much value.

"Early in November, 1827, Emmet had been much engaged in the defence of Lieutenant Percival on a charge of extortion, and also in a cause of unusual importance, generally called the great Astor case, involving the right of Mr. Astor to lands in Putnam county, to the amount of perhaps eight hundred thousand dollars. In the former case he defended his client with all his accustomed vigour and ability, and the result was a verdict of acquittal. In the latter, on Monday, the 12th, he addressed the jury in a style of animated eloquence, of prompt and overwhelming retort, and of powerful argument, which was said by many of his audience to have even surpassed his earlier efforts. On Wednesday, the 14th, while attending the trial of another cause of importance (the case of the Sailors' Snug Harbour) in which he was counsel, in the United States' Circuit Court, he was seized with an apoplectic fit; and on being carried home he expired in the course of the following night, being in the 63rd year of his age. He had made no exertion in particular that day, but had taken notes of the testimony through the morning; and on examination these notes were found to be a full and accurate transcript of what occurred up to the very moment when the pen fell from his hand on his being seized with the fit. The scene in the court-room was in the highest degree impressive. Every individual present—the court, the bar, the audience, all were absorbed in the most anxious interest for the fate of this eminent man. The court was instantly adjourned. When his death was known the expression of sorrow and respect was universal. His funeral was attended by the members of the bar, the students at law, and a crowd of other citizens; all desirous to pay their tribute of respect to the memory of the great deceased. A neat monument of white marble has since been placed in the wall of the apartment where Mr. Emmet was seized with the fatal illness. It is surmounted with his bust, and bears the following inscription :

THOMÆ . ADDIS . EMMET
VIRO
DOCTRINA . IURE . SCIENTIA . ELOQUENTIA
PRÆSTANTISSIMO
INTER . HÆC . SUBSELLIA . ET . OFICII . MUNERA
SUBITA . MORTE . CORREPTO
SOCII . FORENSES . POSUERANT.

"Mr. Emmet was a diligent student. He confined himself to study and business more than twelve hours a-day. After returning home in the evening he would retire to his own apartment, and continue the investigation of any subject in which he was engaged till twelve or one at night. His constitution was vigorous, and his habits uniformly temperate, so that his devotion to study never seemed to injure his health. It was one consequence of this intense application that he was remarkable among his brethren at the bar for his perfect knowledge of the cases in which he was concerned. When Mr. Emmet came into court he was sure to be familiar with every point of the testimony, and could not be taken by surprise. When not employed in solving some legal question his reading was often discursive. He would sometimes amuse himself with mathematical calculations. He found leisure to make himself acquainted with all the current news of the day. Yet he spared no time for the diversions of society, went little into company, and rarely appeared at public dinners. At home he was always gay and cheerful. He was utterly devoid of ceremony. His dress was good, but he was very careless of it; if it rained he was as likely to be seen without as with an umbrella. The furniture of his office was plain and ordinary. But while he was totally neglectful of these trifles, he was never inattentive to the feelings of others. High and low were sure of meeting from him a kind and courteous reception. Yet his was no studied politeness; it was the natural offspring of a good heart; and the full energies of his mind were devoted to the great and interesting topics which agitated individuals and nations. His appropriate sphere was active life; and he may well be pronounced fortunate, since he filled the station for which nature and education peculiarly qualified him. Although the prime of his life was darkened by misfortune—although he was severely disciplined by the hardships of imprisonment and the bitterness of exile—yet he was trusted and revered in the land where he was persecuted as a rebel; and in the country of his adoption, where he arrived in the vigour of his manly strength, and held the erect attitude of an unbroken and unbending spirit, he readily obtained the confidence of all those who became acquainted with him—mingled largely in the transaction of impor-

tant affairs—placed himself at the head of his profession without leaving one blot on his escutcheon for envy to point its finger at, and acquired a brilliant reputation as a lawyer and an orator. That nothing might be wanting to complete the happy fortune which Providence seemed to bestow upon his mature life, in some sort as a compensation for the sufferings of his early manhood, he did not waste away in the gradual decay of imbecile old age, but died in the fulness of his years, cut off in the very field of his honourable triumphs. His remains were consigned to the dust by affectionate children, whom he had been permitted to see already filling a space in the public eye; and the community in which he had lived paid a willing tribute of love and honour to his memory."*

Men of the stamp of T. A. Emmet—whose modesty in all their intercourse with their fellows in the ordinary affairs of life is a characteristic distinction of theirs, when occasions do come either of great wrong and grievous injury, or ill-requited services, or of contumely which patient merit has suffered at the hands of the unworthy—stand forth in conscious dignity, and assert the high prerogatives of their noble nature and exalted characters.

We find Emmet taking this course in his correspondence with Mr. Rufus King, a former American minister at the court of St. James's. The passage will not be forgotten in one of his memorable letters in 1807 to that man who had been "dressed in a little brief authority," and had abused it, to the great hurt and misfortune of T. A. Emmet in the days of his adversity:

"Circumstances which cannot be controlled have decided that my name must be embodied into history. From the manner in which even my political adversaries, and some of my cotemporary historians, unequivocally hostile to my principles, already speak of me, I have the consolation of reflecting, that when the falsehoods of the day are withered and rotten, I shall be respected and esteemed. You, sir, will probably be forgotten when I shall be remembered with honour; or if, peradventure, your name should descend to posterity, perhaps you will be known only as the recorded instrument of part of *my* persecutions, sufferings, and misfortunes."

When the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland—the celebrated Lord Clare—went to the other world, the 28th of January, 1802 (within less than one year and a month of the achievement of the Union—of that measure to which all his efforts had been devoted for many years), no such honour was paid to his memory. We read indeed, on the day of his funeral, of seven hundred lawyers and legal functionaries, and seventy lords and other notabilities of

* Memoir of Haines and Emmet.

the country, walking after his hearse to the graveyard of St. Peter's church; and in the face of the seven hundred lawyers and legal functionaries, we are informed, no sooner was the coffin of the late lord high chancellor deposited in the place prepared for it, than the grave was desecrated, and dead cats were thrown on the coffin by the assembled populace.

When Lord Castlereagh paid the debt to nature, in August, 1822, the state indeed and its functionaries did honour to his memory. His remains were buried in Westminster Abbey. Great personages walked after his coffin, in procession, holding the pall; but the people shouted at the porch. A witness of that terrible manifestation of popular feeling, I can answer for it there was no expression of sorrow or respect in that shout. Most assuredly the feelings it indicated were in unison with those of the great mass of the people of England and Scotland, as well as of those of Ireland, on that occasion.

When George IV., the sovereign of the largest dominions of any empire in Christendom, and, in the language of his panegyrists, "the first gentleman in Europe," departed this life, there were funeral pageants on a grand scale of regal magnificence, and the horses that bore the hearse from Windsor Castle, and the solemn mutes who walked beside it, wore "the trappings and the suits of woe;" but there was no mourning for the deceased monarch, we are truly told by Lord Brougham, and no attempt to mimic sorrow, for there were no hearts saddened by his death.

It was reserved for the people of America, by their conduct on the occasion of Emmet's death, to teach a great lesson to the nations of the old world—namely, that the highest honours that a state can afford to departed greatness are well bestowed when they are given to the memory of a citizen eminently good and virtuous.

In all probability, in modern times, in the whole range of European history, there is no instance on record of private worth, honour, and integrity—of professional talents not devoted to military pursuits or to party purposes, and rendered illustrious by signal triumphs and successes—receiving such honours at the hands and from the hearts of a whole people, as were paid to the memory of T. A. Emmet throughout the United States of America.

The last chapter of this memoir will afford ample confirmation of the truth of the above assertion.

Thus died, in a distant land, in honour and renown, on the 14th of November, 1827, the Irish exile, Thomas Addis Emmet, in the 64th year of his age.

The man who was deemed a traitor in his own land—who had

been engaged in what was termed an unnatural rebellion, and is thought in England, even by men of great intellect, detestable treason; whom it was proposed in parliament to hand over with his associates to a drum-head court-martial, and to hang or shoot in a summary manner, for the benefit of society and the sake of the British constitution in Ireland, as the institution of Orangeism was then interpreted—thus died in America, in such honour and renown as no language can exaggerate. It was not in one city or in one state, at his death, where expression was given to feelings of admiration for his great worth and virtues and noble intellectual gifts—of respect for the consistency of his patriotism and the solidity of his opinions on all public subjects—and of veneration for the memory of this great, good man—but throughout the whole Union these feelings prevailed; and this tribute was unanimously accorded to the departed worth and excellence of Thomas Addis Emmet.

Of T. A. Emmet's personal appearance, habits, manners, and disposition, the following account is given in St. John Mason's notes:

"He was about five feet eleven inches in height, stooped a little, and had a studious, sedate, calm look; he was very near-sighted, and used an eye-glass frequently. In his family circle great pleasantry and playfulness were habitual with him. Sometimes, for the amusement of the young folk, he would attempt to sing and utter most discordant sounds to create a laugh, and always joined heartily in the merriment he called forth. But on all occasions, in his home or in society, his humour was always under the control of good taste, and a strong sense of the obligations of good breeding. He was at all times most careful not to utter a word that could hurt the feelings of any human being. His manners were courteous and polished. There was nothing in his bearing approaching to arrogance or self-sufficiency. He expressed himself with distinctness and clearness, and read admirably, particularly blank verse. On one occasion, Mason remembers him reading a poem of Cowper's, when he evinced the strongest emotion at a passage in which allusion was made to the death of a brother of great promise."

He was a man that nothing could move or cause to swerve from his integrity. Mason knew of his having returned fees on the failure of his client's cause.

In the following letter of a very intimate friend of Emmet, addressed to the eldest son of the latter, will be found very remarkable evidence of the generosity of T. A. Emmet:

LETTER FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON BUSTEED, ESQ., TO ROBERT EMMET, ESQ.

"331, Third Avenue, 1st November, 1842.

"DEAR SIR—I am disposed to think that Dr. Madden, in the history he proposes to publish of your father's life, may obtain much information as regards his earlier years from Baron Pennefather, who in 1798 replaced your father on the Munster Circuit and got his bag, and Chief Justice (C. K.) Bushe. There are, however, many circumstances which his biographer would, I think, be bound to notice in publishing his life, and which I much fear cannot now be gleaned up, except by some person whose local and intimate acquaintance with his relatives and early friends may enable him successfully to pursue them. I shall illustrate by stating one circumstance which I am disposed to think is known to very few persons now living, if even to more than myself. I have had it frequently stated to me by my mother, who became the almoner of your father's bounty when unable to disburse it himself.

"In Tralee, the assize town of the county of Kerry, he sought the most distressed of the poor but reputable housekeepers whose poverty did not result from misconduct, and to the number of thirty he gave regularly at every assizes the sum of one guinea each; when arrested, he sent his list to my mother, and during his confinement he regularly transmitted that sum twice a-year, and it was only when his connexion with the old country finally terminated, that his relief to these poor but deserving people ceased.

"I have also heard Mr. Knox of Ennis, who was personally acquainted with your father, and who, I believe, is still living, say, that his private charities in that town were extremely liberal. However, he felt that Tralee had somewhat more a claim upon him, as his mother was Miss Mason of Kerry, a lady whose relatives were of the first rank in the county.

"I send enclosed two notes, one to my brother, the other to Mr. George Hilliard, both of whom may be able, and if so will be very solicitous to render aid to Dr. Madden.

"Yours gratefully and affectionately,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON BUSTEED.

"Thomas A. Emmet, Esq"

A few particulars respecting his early career have been given to me by Mr. St. John Mason. His forbearance was shown on one occasion at college, when a student having at the examinations won the premium from Emmet, they casually met on the steps of the hall, and the successful student taunted Emmet, in the presence of a number of his companions, with his presumption in

attempting to cope with him. At the next examination Emmet bore off a premium from the same competitor, and on leaving the hall encountered the latter, but instead of appearing to remember his conduct on the former occasion, he behaved to him with marked affability.

When Horne Tooke was candidate for Westminster, Thomas Addis Emmet constantly attended him on the hustings: he acquired the name of Moses, Horne Tooke being the vicar. At the close of the contest, when Horne Tooke was losing ground, Thomas Addis Emmet, in crossing the river, observed the waterman regarding him attentively, and when Emmet had landed, the man said to him with a broad grin, "Well, sir, I think you are now Moses in the bulrushes."

When Emmet and his friend Knox were travelling in Switzerland in 1789, J. St. John Mason informs me they visited Lavater. Knox was determined they should have the great physiognomist's opinion of their intellectual peculiarities. In his own case, he solicited the utmost candour on the part of the celebrated face-reader. Lavater, after due observation of Knox's lineaments, said, "The gentleman was a sensible man." Knox made no further inquiries. But what opinion he pronounced on Emmet's intellectual character, Mason could never learn from his kinsman.

T. A. Emmet's income from his profession and his interest in leasehold property at the commencement of 1798 could not have been under £1000 a-year. He was neither parsimonious nor profuse. For his own pleasures his expenditure was very small indeed—it might be almost said, *nil*. For those who were in adversity and indigence his charities were not only extensive but munificent.

So much for Mr. St. John Mason's reminiscences of his kinsman. With regard to income it may be observed that he derived upwards of two hundred and seventy pounds a-year, along with that arising from lands (that will be mentioned more particularly) in the county of Tipperary, and under the will of a Mrs. Grace Emmet.

When T. A. Emmet quitted Ireland, he left a power of attorney with his brother-in-law, Mr. John Patten, to act for him; and Mr. Richard Sadlier of Tipperary was appointed his agent for the collection of the rents of his leasehold Tipperary property.

I find among the papers of Mr. Patten a copy of a receipt of his, in the handwriting of Mr. Richard Sadlier, dated the 1st of February, 1810, in the following terms:

"Received from Mr. Richard Sadlier, the acting agent, as paid, stated, and settled this day, the sum of £144 16*s*. 1*d*., being in full for one year's profit rent arising out of the lands of Raheen,

Crossoel, and Boherorow, in the county of Tipperary, due the first day of November, leased to Thomas Addis Emmet, for whose use I have received the same, in virtue of a power of attorney to me, this 1st February, 1810."

By another receipt of Mr. Patten's, given to Mr. Richard Sadlier, dated 12th March, 1805, I find payment acknowledged of the sum of £66 16*s*., being amount of half a year's income, under the will of the late Mrs. Grace Emmet, deceased, due 1st May, 1806, to Thomas Addis Emmet, payable to John Patten, under power of attorney of said T. A. Emmet. Besides his prospective interest in his father's household property in Dublin and its vicinity, T. A. Emmet derived an income from a purchase he had made of the lands of Callery, near Roebuck, in the county of Dublin, from Mr. Edward Scriven, which at the time of his imprisonment he sold to an attorney of the name of Fleming, one of the terrorists of 1798, who subsequently was transported for forgery.

The monument erected to the memory of Emmet is worthy of it. It stands in front of Broadway, the great thoroughfare of the city, in the cemetery of St. Paul's church. It is a marble monolithe, of thirty feet elevation. It is inscribed on three sides in three languages. The greater part of the English inscription was written by Mr. Verplanck, one of the New York representatives in the Congress of the United States. The Latin inscription was written by Judge Duer, an eminent barrister, whose works on jurisprudence are well known in this country. The inscription in the Irish language was written by the late Dr. England, R. C. Bishop of Charleston. The expense of this monument was partly defrayed by the contributions of his countrymen in the United States, and partly by the application of the funds in the hands of the treasurer of the American Catholic Association. When the Relief Bill of 1829 was carried, the receipt of money under the name of Catholic Rent was prohibited by that statute. The American society then thought the best application of the remaining funds, namely 1,006 dollars raised for Catholic purposes, would be to the erection of a monument to the memory of one of the early advocates of Catholic emancipation, who devoted his splendid talents to its cause, and sacrificed for its interests the brightest prospects. He did not live to see the promised land of toleration, but he did more, with the exception of Tone, than any of his cotemporaries towards the consummation so devoutly to be wished for.

That monument was never looked on by the author* without

* The United States were visited by him in 1834, 1836, and 1839.

feeling that its existence in America was a subject for meditation of strange and melancholy interest. And often as he gazed on that splendid sepulchre—which his countrymen in the new world had raised to the memory of "the banished rebel," who had become in another land an honoured citizen, "whose private life was beautiful as his public course was brilliant"—he could not help asking, was justice never to be done in his own land to the memory of one who had been held up in his own country, by the unmitigated malignity of Orangeism, to obloquy and odium? To what generation yet to come were the memories of such men as Macneven, Sampson, and Neilson to be consigned? Did they, like the younger enthusiast in his cause, when the "lamp of life was nearly extinguished," when the grave was opening to receive him and he was ready to sink into its bosom, bid no man dare to write their epitaphs, but left the charge to other men and to later times to do justice to their memories? When was that era to arrive? Where were the men to be looked for to inscribe their tombs? Was the marble to be sought in the quarries of America that was to perpetuate their *name*, their devotion to their country, and their unhappy fate?

Was the writer of the biographies of those men to seek amongst strangers respect for the talents, or sympathy for the sufferings of his countrymen? Must he be reminded elsewhere that their enterprise was unsuccessful, and must therefore have failed from their faults or that it had originated in *their* crimes? If their impatience of their country's wrongs, their hatred of oppression was "too rash, too unadvised, too sudden," shall we be told that their patriotism was but the brilliant flash of a transitory passion—"too like the lightning that doth cease to be ere one can say it lightens?" Are the traits of heroism, or the traces of love of country displayed in their struggle so easily to be forgotten, that there is no fame for them with whom fortune was not? Is the meed of generous sympathy so narrowly confined, that there is no pity for the faults which render the very intensity of the love of liberty and enthusiasm in its cause unpropitious to the fate of those who feel perhaps more than they reason at the onset of the struggle, and as they become deeper and deeper engaged in it overlook the difficulties by which it is beset, and overrate the strength and nature of their own resources? But is no patriot to be honoured *but the successful rebel?* Has liberty no champions to proclaim but those who have escaped exile or the scaffold? Has Ireland no victims to lament, no lost defenders to bewail, but those whose bones are laid under the sands at Clontarf, or the green sod at Aughrim, or the Boyne? Has Ireland no devoted children to boast of among those who died in exile or who re-

trieved the errors of a lofty enthusiasm on the scaffold and poured out their young blood in defence of their opinion of her rights; no sons of whom the memory is dear except those who adopted other and happier modes of seeking the same objects which were sought, in vain, by their predecessors.

Ill-timed or otherwise, such were the reflections which the tomb of Thomas Addis Emmet often has called forth, and which merged for a time the recollection of his sufferings in those of the still "deeper calamities of his kindred"—though no remembrance of his brother's noble qualities could supersede, for an instant, the conviction of the superior powers with which Thomas Addis Emmet was endowed.

Great as were the talents of the men who stood beside him in the early struggle for reform and rational liberty, the pre-eminence may be claimed for him; for, while the profoundness of his judgment and the justice of his views entitled him to the respect of his associates, his inflexible integrity commanded the respect even of his enemies.

In what estimation he was held by his professional brethren in America, the brief memoir of Mr. Haines enables us to form an opinion. But all that Haines has said in some parts of his memoir, perhaps a little too diffusely, has been summed up in a masterly style by one less intimately acquainted with Emmet in private life, but one, it may be said without disparagement to Mr. Haines, better qualified than any one of his associates to pronounce an opinion on the character of his eloquence, his legal attainments, and general mental powers.

Judge Duer of New York (brother of the president of the college), one of the most distinguished lawyers of America, in speaking of Emmet, at the meeting called for the purpose of carrying measures into effect for the erection of a monument to his memory, observed:

"It was his fortune to have known him from his first arrival in New York, and to hear him, he believed, in a majority of the important cases in which his talents were most successfully exerted. His opinion was unbiassed; since, from peculiar causes, there were no relations between them beyond those of mere civility.

"Thomas Addis Emmet in head and in heart, and in no vulgar sense of the term, was a great man; and as an orator, with the single exception of Burke, unsurpassed by any that his country has produced. Superior in judgment, in taste, in the extent and variety of his learning, in persevering skill, in chastened fervour, in true pathos, the abilities of Emmet were never displayed on their proper theatre. His large and philosophic views of society,

government, and law—his ample stores of knowledge—his unrivalled promptitude and invariable self-command—his elocution, flowing, copious, rapid, unlimited in the range, most fortunate in the choice of his language; his brilliant imagination and ardent feelings, when most excited disciplined to obey the suggestions of his reason; his power of sarcasm and irony, rarely exerted, but, when put forth, resistless—and above all, that *imperiatorial* tone of voice (if the phrase be allowed) which his superior genius enabled him, without affectation, to assume in a deliberative and popular assembly, would have combined to invest him with controlling sway."

One of the most attached, the most sincere, the most upright and intrepid of his associates, Dr. William James Macneven, has thus spoken of the character and career of T. A. Emmet:

"The attributes of genius are not rare among the Irish and American countrymen of Emmet, and time is constantly developing the resources of mind. The labours of intellect press onward for distinction—while names of high endowments are forced back to make room for new reputations. They alone will be long remembered who have acted with an impulsive power on the destinies of their country and kind.

"Among those who first taught how to overthrow the misrule of Ireland—who exposed its causes and prepared its cure—Emmet is distinguished. He had great influence on the adoption of those measures which are still at issue between Ireland and her foes, and which—in part obtained, in part withheld—are determinative of her future happiness, as they shall finally fail or be signally successful. He espoused the unqualified emancipation of the Catholics when that measure had few supporters out of their own body. He brought to that cause virtue and talents; and he and a few more influential members of the Protestant Church redeemed the errors of their predecessors. It is due to their memory to record that their vigorous interference broke the religious bonds which the Protestants of a former period had bound. They were accessible among the first in Ireland to the liberality of their age. Emmet, with the aid of his standing at the bar and of his commanding eloquence—exerted upon every fitting occasion—strenuously advanced those principles and policy for which we now do honour to his name."

Two of the inscriptions on the tomb of Emmet are at greater length than it is customary to go to in epitaphs in this country.* The reason for extending the details given in those inscriptions, is the circumstance of there being no published works of Emmet's,

* Dr. Macneven's Report in relation to Mr. Emmet's monument, 1833.

with the exception of the "Part of an Essay towards the History of Ireland," which appeared in Macneven's "Pieces of Irish History," in 1807, and consequently there being a greater necessity for preserving by other means the remembrance of his intellectual powers and public conduct. The following are copies of the several inscriptions in English, Latin, and Irish—the compositions of three men highly distinguished in their several pursuits:

IN MEMORY OF

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET,

Who
Exemplified in his conduct,
And adorned by his
Integrity,
The policy and principles
Of the United Irishmen—
"To forward a brotherhood
Of affection,
A community of rights,
An identity of interests,
And a union of power
Among Irishmen
Of every religious persuasion,
As the only means of Ireland's
Chief good,
An impartial and adequate
Representation
In an Irish Parliament."
For this
(Mysterious fate of virtue!)
Exiled from his native land,
In America, the land of freedom,
He found a second country,
Which paid his love
By reverencing his genius.
Learned in our laws
And in the laws of Europe,
In the literature of our times
And in that of antiquity,
All knowledge
Seemed subject to his use.
An orator of the first order,

Clear, copious, fervid,
Alike powerful
To kindle the imagination,
Touch the affections,
And sway the reason and the will.
Simple in his tastes,
Unassuming in his manners,
Frank, generous, kind-hearted,
And honourable,
His private life was beautiful
As his public course was
Brilliant.

Anxious to perpetuate
The name and example of such a man,
Alike illustrious by his
Genius, his virtues, and his fate;
Consecrated to their affections
By his sacrifices, his perils,
And the deeper calamities
Of his kindred,
In a just and holy cause:
His sympathizing countrymen
Erected this monument and
Cenotaph.

Born at Cork, 24th April, 1764,
He died in this city,
14th November, 1827.*

* Emmet's Monument.—At 12 o'clock, on Friday last, Dr. Macneven made a public report to a numerous assembly at the City Hall, in relation to the monument of the late Thomas Addis Emmet, now nearly completed, at the cemetery of St. Paul's church. After a statement of such particulars as were proper to be exhibited to the contributors towards the work, he embraced the occasion to give an outline of Mr. Emmet's character and genius, and a brief sketch of his life, as connected with the great cause of civil and religious freedom generally, and particularly with the history, principles, and objects of the Society of United Irishmen. The enterprise for which that society was organized, though unfortunate in its immediate results, and long stigmatized by the odious term of rebellion, must take its place in history, as it already has in the estimation of the world, as a struggle in one of the holiest causes that ever animated the heart of man. No one living could do greater justice to such a theme than the venerable author of this address, who was among their most distinguished leaders, and could say of their doings and sufferings, "*Quæ ipse miserrima vidi, et quorum pars magna fui.*" At the conclusion of Dr. Macneven's address the monument was uncovered by him.—*The New York Courier*, 10th December, 1832.

M. S.

THOMÆ ADDIS EMMET.
Qui
Ingenio illustri, studiis altioribus
Moribus integris,
Dignum
Se præstabat laudibus illis,
Illa reverentia, illo
Amore
Quæ semper eum viventem
Prosequebantur ;
Et subita illo erepto, morte,
Universæ in luctum civitatis
Se effuderunt.
Quum raro extitit vir
Naturæve dotibus, doctrinæve subsidiis
Omnibus illo instructior ;
Tum eloquentia, altâ illâ et verâ
Qualem olim mirabantur Roma
Athenæque,
Præcipue alios anteibat :
Gravis, varius, vehemens, fervidus
Omnes animi motus sic regere novit.
Uti eos qui audirent, quo vellet
Et invitos impelleret.
Hiberniâ natus,
Dilectam sibi patriam diu subjectam
Alieno, servis tantum ferendo, jugo,
Ad libertatem, ad sua jura vocare
Magno est ausus animo ;
At præclara et consilia et vota
Fefellere fata.
Tum infelicis littora Iernæ
Reliquit,
Spe, non animo, dejectus
Nobilis exsul :
Et hæc Americana libens Respublica
Illum excepit, civemque, sibi
Gratulans adscivit ;
Dein hæc civitas illi domus,
Hæc patria fuit,
Hæc gloriam illi auxit, hæc

Spiritus ultimos
Recepit.
Mærentium civium voluntas
Hoc exegit monumentum.

Do ṁiannaiḋ sé árd-ṁait,
Chum tír a ḃreiṫ;
Do ṫug sé clú a's fuair sé molaḋ,
A n-déiġ a ḃáis.

The two surviving sons of T. A. Emmet, Robert and Thomas, reside in New York. Both of these gentlemen were brought up to the profession of the law, and both have risen to considerable eminence in it. Robert, the eldest, filled the office of a judge of the Supreme Court for some time, and Thomas that of legal adviser to the corporation of New York, and that also of a master in chancery. Both brothers, however, I believe, are now unconnected with any judicial or other legal appointment, and in the exercise of their profession have attained a very high position in New York.

Mr. Thomas Emmet, the second son of T. A. Emmet, is the happy father of a fine family of children, who look as if they were born in a free country; resides at Harlaem, about five miles from New York. His beautiful villa, its garden, its library, the bust of Dr. Emmet, its fellow of Thomas Addis, and an oil painting of the latter by his daughter, call back to the mind of the visitor the villa of his father at Rathfarnham, described by Tone, where William Tell's imaged exploits were then casting their shadow before the path of Thomas Addis Emmet.

Mr. Robert Emmet filled the office of president of the Repeal Association of New York in 1841. In that year a circumstance occurred which placed the surviving sons of Thomas Addis Emmet, the guardians of their illustrious father's memory, in the position of vindicators of his honour, against aspersions which they considered

* The monument is an obelisk of white marble, three feet six inches square at the base, and lessening gradually upwards to the height of thirty feet, where it is two feet two inches square. From thence it is drawn abruptly to a point, and forms a small pyramid for the top. It stands on a plinth of the same material, being also an entire block, seven feet square and eighteen inches thick. On the face of the obelisk fronting Broadway, near the top, is a medallion likeness of Emmet, in bas-relief, of colossal size; below which is the English inscription, written by the Hon. Gulian C. Verplanck. On the face fronting Fulton-street is the inscription in the Irish language, furnished by the Right Rev. Bishop England, of Charleston, South Carolina, the translation of which is as follows: "He contemplated invaluable benefits for the land of his birth; he gave eclat to the land of his death; and received, in return, her love and admiration."

had been unjustly and ungenerously cast upon their father's character. In the former edition of this work I made no reference to this painful circumstance, having deliberated on the subject of the necessity or inutility of adverting to it. I felt then as I feel now, that such an attack as Mr. O'Connell made in 1841 on the exiled leaders of 1798, then living in America, ought not to have been made, and that every true friend of Mr. O'Connell had reason to regret it for his sake. But I thought then as I think now, that a premeditated, unjust, and ungenerous act towards such men as Emmet, Macneven, and Sampson, had never been contemplated by Mr. O'Connell; and that the offensive and injurious language employed by him on that occasion afforded only one of the many instances of which the speeches of O'Connell remind us—illustrative of the fact, that popular orators who talk a great deal in public, and have no time or opportunity afforded them to prepare their speeches, or resolutions, or addresses, say and write a great deal they never intended to utter or express, and can neither justify to themselves or others. Every passing incident or casual allusion in a preceding discourse strikes out a spark of thought, and stirs up some incidental theme or topic for instantaneous comment, and the subject, whatever it may be, is referred to in the heat and hurry of oratorical excitement, and in the particular mood of mind that may be determined by the conduct of followers, or the behaviour of an audience, or some accidental scrap of information that may be false or exaggerated, which may have been communicated at the very moment of entering the meeting in which the champion of a cause has to figure, and to deliver himself on the spur of the occasion, and under all the disadvantages of such a situation.

It was in such circumstances as these that Mr. O'Connell expressed himself in the terms which follow, and which gave such umbrage to the sons of T. A. Emmet; and although I still think I exercised a sound discretion in not referring to the matter in the former edition of my work, as others more immediately interested in it in America than I am, think otherwise, it has become incumbent on me to relate what passed in Ireland and in America on this occasion:

At a meeting of the Repeal Association in Dublin, reported in *The Freeman's Journal* of May the 22nd, 1841, Mr. O'Connell is reported to have proposed an address from the association to the Earl of Charlemont, in the draft of which document, prepared by him, we find the following words:

"As to 1798, we leave the weak and wicked men who considered force and sanguinary violence as part of their resources for ameliorating our institutions, and the equally wicked and villanously designing wretches who fomented the rebellion and

made it explode, in order that in the defeat of the rebellious attempt they might be able to extinguish the liberties of Ireland. We leave both these classes of miscreants to the contempt and indignation of mankind; and we, equally with your lordship, detest and deprecate the crimes of both." (*Vide* Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, May 22nd, 1841.)

The intelligence of this unjustifiable proceeding was not long in finding its way to the United States. We read in an American paper of 28th April, 1841:

"A meeting of the New York Irish Repeal Association was held on Monday evening last, the 26th April, 1841, at Tammany Hall; Thomas O'Connor, Esq., in the chair.

"A report of the executive committee, on the subject of Robert Emmet, Esq's., resignation as president of the association, was read by the secretary, John C. Devereux, Esq."

The executive committee, to whom was referred the consideration of that part of "The Reply of the National Repeal Association of Ireland" which relates to the Irish patriots of 1798, and to whom also was referred the letter of resignation addressed to the Repeal Association of the city of New York by their highly esteemed president and fellow-citizen Robert Emmet, Esq., submitted resolutions condemnatory of Mr. O'Connell's abuse of the leaders, which it is unnecessary for me to introduce here. It is sufficient to observe that the above-mentioned proceedings were the cause of the retirement of Mr. Robert Emmet as president of the Repeal Association in New York.

Two of the sons of T. A. Emmet, who had grown up to manhood, died in the United States; Temple about 1822, who entered the American navy at an early period; and John in 1842, who had been brought up to the medical profession under the care of Dr. Macneven, and became professor of chemistry in the university of Virginia. This young man lived long enough to earn a reputation in science worthy of his name. He was a constant contributor to the American scientific journals.

An interesting letter from Mrs. Graves of New York (dated the 18th October, 1842), a daughter of Thomas Addis Emmet, to her aunt, Mrs. Patten, gives the following account of the death of this promising young man:

"To you, my dear aunt, whose sympathies are so easily awakened, I need make no apology for not having written sooner. You will fully understand the struggle I have had in my heart, between joy and sorrow, since my return, and how unable I felt to make the effort of even writing a letter.

"Mr. Graves wrote to Uncle John from Liverpool, to acquaint him with the sad news we received there. For some time back

our letters had prepared us to find our dear brother an invalid, but in no immediate danger; and we cherished the hope that we would still be in time to soothe by affection and kindness some of his sufferings. I do not murmur that he was not allowed to linger; indeed all that loved him must rejoice that his spirit passed so quietly away—at peace with the world, and I trust with its God. Still it would have been a melancholy pleasure to have looked upon him once more; but as you said, my dear aunt, we must all look to that blessed home where there will be no more parting. I almost wished that we had been kept in ignorance of the sad event till our return home, for it seemed too trying to be obliged to mix at once in such a crowd when the heart longed for solitude. But though painful at the time it was of service, and enabled us on arriving to partake of the universal joy created by our return, which seemed, with its tide of grateful and happy feelings, to sweep everything like sorrow before it. Unless you had once looked into our family circle, and seen how free it was from all the little jarring and jealousies that so often disturb that union, I could not describe to you the delight of being once more among them. There was not even one loved face missing, for my dear brother John, from his delicate health, had for years been obliged to separate from us, and reside at the south, and therefore the void was not so perceptible to the eye, though the heart must ever feel it. Mamma had gone through much fatigue, for she had watched as a mother (and such a mother) only can watch the sick bed of a dear child. She has, however, now quite recovered her looks, and is, I think, as well as she has been for years. What delight she took in asking me questions about Clonmel, and old Mrs. Colville's place, where she used to spend her holidays. I had particularly observed many things that I thought must have been there when she lived there, among others the nut tree in the garden at Anerville, which the moment I mentioned she exclaimed, "How well I remember racing over the whole place to find John, and tell him there were nuts on it." I have not yet allowed her to move in from the country. The weather is delightful, and she rambles for miles through the fields, which is very good for her. Margaret is out of town with her, but I have been obliged to remain with Mr. Graves, who is endeavouring by hard work to struggle against the bad times. . . . .

"If I was to begin, my dear aunt, and separately name those kind friends to whom we all wish to be most affectionately remembered, my paper would not hold them; but I trust to you to assure them, one and all, how sensibly we felt their warm-hearted hospitality, and how happy we would be at any opportunity of returning it. To Uncle John and young John give our kindest

love. Mr. Graves has been anxiously looking out for some pamphlets which were to have reached us at Liverpool. He begged me to remind Uncle John about it.

"Believe me, my dear aunt, as ever, your affectionate niece,

"MARYANNE GRAVES."

Of the four surviving daughters of T. A. Emmet, Margaret, the eldest, never married. Elizabeth married Mr. Le Roy; Maryanne, Mr. Graves. Both of these gentlemen rank among the first merchants in New York. Jane Erin, the youngest, born at Fort George, married Mr. M'Iver. When Mrs. Emmet accompanied her husband to America, in September, 1804, two of the sons, John and Thomas, were left behind in the charge of relatives, and were sent out to America in the month of March, 1805.

MRS. JANE EMMET.

The widow of Thomas Addis Emmet, the sister of the venerable John Patten of Dublin, survived her beloved husband eighteen years. She had shared in his sorrows and his sufferings—had been his companion in imprisonment in Kilmainham gaol, and in captivity in Fort George—not for days, or weeks, or months, but for years. She had accompanied him in exile to the Continent and to the land of his adoption, and there she shared in his honours and the felicity of his latter years.

In 1820 she was the mother of ten living children. This excellent lady died in New York in the 72nd year of her age, at the house of her son-in-law, Mr. Graves, on the 10th of November, 1846.*

The woman who encountered so many privations and trials as she had done—who had been accustomed to all the enjoyments of a happy home, and

> "Had slept with full content about *her* bed,
> And never waked but to a joyful morning"—

when deprived of all ordinary comforts, of the commonest appliances of these to the humblest state of life, during the imprisonment of her husband in Dublin; and was subjected necessarily to many restraints during the dreary imprisonment at Fort George—seemed ever to those who were the companions of her husband's captivity as "one who, in suffering all things, suffered nothing."

She fulfilled with heroic fortitude the duties of a devoted wife towards her husband in all his trials in his own country; was the joy and comfort of his life in a foreign land, where the exiled

* Jane Patten, born the 16th August, 1771; married to T. A. Emmet the 2nd January, 1791.

patriot, honoured and revered, in course of time rose to the first distinction in his profession; she died far away from her native land—but her memory should not be forgotten in Ireland.

This excellent woman, full of years, rich in virtue, surrounded by affectionate children—prosperous, happily circumstanced, dutiful and loving children to her, worthy of their inheritance of a great name, and of the honour that descended to them from the revered memory of her truly noble husband—thus terminated in a foreign land a long career, chequered by many trials, over which a virtuous woman's self-sacrificing devotion, the constancy and courage of a faithful wife, the force of a mother's love eventually prevailed. The portrait of this lady is in the possession of Mr. John Patten. The time may come when this intimation may be of some avail. Ireland has its Cornelias, its Portias—matrons worthy of association in our thoughts with Cato's daughter, the mother of the children who were the jewels of the heart—with the wife of Russell, of Lavalette—but Ireland has no national gallery for the pictures or busts of her illustrious children—no national literature for a record of the "noble deeds of women" of her own land.

The Irish exiles who established themselves in America kept up a kindly intercourse amongst themselves. Some of their children intermarried, and thus the remembrance of the old ties by which the fathers were bound together were kept up and sustained by new relations. In New York this pleasing result was especially worthy of observation. The Emmets, the Macnevens, the Sampsons, the Wilsons, the Chambers, the Traynors, formed a little Irish community; and by their private conduct, no less than by the consistency of their public principles, upheld their character and that of their country. Emmet's second son married the stepdaughter of Macneven; Tone's only son married the daughter of Sampson; Chambers' daughter was married to Caldwell; Edward Hudson married the daughter of P. Byrne, the bookseller. Macneven, at the period of the author's first visit to New York, was residing in that city, a physician of high repute, the father of a family that he had reason to be proud of; and whether as a medical practitioner, an able and accomplished scholar, a man of philosophic mind, of the strictest morality, both as regarded his political principles and private conduct, no man stood higher in the estimation of his friends and of the community at large.

Sampson, at the time of Emmet's death, was broken down in health, in the last stage of dropsy; but still in the full possession of his faculties.

The widow of Sampson and her daughter, Mrs. Tone, women worthy in every respect of the names they bear, were in 1835, residing in New York. Traynor, the ship-builder, of Poolbeg-street,

Dublin, whose extraordinary escape from the prévôt in the Castle, in 1798, excited so much wonder, was enjoying the fruits of an industrious career on the banks of the Hudson. John Chambers, the stationer, of Abbey-street, was residing in New York, holding some public appointment. This venerable old man died about 1837. The son of Hugh Wilson (who died at Santa Cruz in 1829) associated in professional business with Mr. Thomas Emmet, commencing his career with the character for "honour and honesty" (not in Castlereagh's sense of these terms) which his upright father bequeathed to him. Nicholas Gray, the adjutant-general of B. B. Harvey, the commander-in-chief at the battle of New Ross, was no longer "trailing the puissant pike." When the author last heard of him, he was "driving the quill" (to use his own words) in a situation in Hudson, obtained for him by "the great and good Mr. Emmet," on whose bounty he acknowledged he and his family had subsisted on their first arrival in the country. The two Binns (though not Irishmen, may be mentioned as connected with the Society of United Irishmen); one, the secretary of the London Corresponding Society, who was tried at Maidstone in 1798, along with Arthur O'Connor, was then an alderman of the Philadelphia corporation; the other, an active United Irishman, well acquainted with the Wexford movement, converted into a tranquil citizen in easy circumstances, whose conduct exemplified the maxim, that "in peace nothing so becomes a man as modest stillness and humility." William Paulett Carey, whose paper was the organ of the Volunteers in 1782, and of the United Irishmen in 1794-5, the brother of the author of the "Vindiciæ Hiberniæ," had been dead many years, but his sons were settled in Philadelphia, where for a long period they were the Longmans of America.

Henry Jackson, the iron-founder, settled in Pennsylvania, purchased some land there, but got tired of the country, and went to Baltimore, where he lived for some time with his daughter, Mrs. Bond, and died several years ago. Mr. Bond had two sons; one returned to England—the other remained in America, became a merchant in New York, but was not very successful. Mrs. Bond returned to England, accompanied by her father, in 1810, visited Ireland, and again returned to America. Henry Jackson died at New York the 4th of July, 1817, in his 65th year. He had resided in New York some years previous to his decease. To Mrs. Bond's credit be it told, during her short stay in Ireland, her duty to her husband's memory was not forgotten by her, and to it she erected a handsome monument in Church-street. She returned again to America, where she died some years since.

John Cormick went first to New York, had one daughter

married to Mr. Barth. Egan, of Virginia, a member of Congress. Cormick, soon after his arrival in America, bought an estate and slaves in one of the southern states. (This was carrying out the principles of the United Irishmen with a vengeance!) His wife remained in Ireland, and in 1806, by mutual consent, a formal separation took place. He married again; his second wife was a Frenchwoman, by whom he had one son, distinguished for his talents at the bar. Mrs. Cormick, at his death, married Mr. Roe of Dublin, a distiller, and died in Dublin.

The sons of Porter, the presbyterian clergyman, the neighbour of Lord Londonderry, who was executed in front of his meeting-house, with the view of conciliating the congregation by whom he was beloved, occupied high stations in their adopted country. One, a member of the senate, a judge of the Supreme Court of Louisiana; the other, attorney-general of the same state. Dr. White, a member of the northern directory, resided in Baltimore, eminently successful in his profession. And lastly, the sons of Emmet, sustaining the character of their father's worth, pursued the legal profession, and followed the same honourable path of public and private virtue. The memory of their father is still living in the hearts of the people among whom his lot was cast. Fortunately for him and for his family, when the misgovernment of Ireland bereaved his country "of that integrity which should become it," in turning his face towards the transatlantic Antium, he could say, "There is a world elsewhere."

Of all his political associates, T. A. Emmet seems to have entertained the warmest feelings of personal regard for Dr. W. J. Macneven. He invariably spoke in the strongest terms of esteem of that excellent man. Emmet could well appreciate his worth, integrity, and honour, and between them there existed a mutual confidence, an ardent and sincere attachment, uninterrupted from their first political connexion to its close.

There were also many others of his associates for whom Mr. Emmet entertained the warmest friendship and esteem, and in whose truth, honour, and fidelity he placed the most unqualified reliance.

Among many of less note it may seem injustice to name but one, although none who may now be left of these gallant men will recall with any other feelings than those of pleasure and respect the name of their fellow-prisoner, Hugh Wilson. For him Mr. Emmet and his brother Robert always felt the sincerest friendship. He was not a chief or leader in the rebellion; but none were more devoted and true to their cause, and none were more endowed than he was with those qualities of the heart and sterling principles of justice and morality which mark, beyond a doubt, the

man of true courage, fidelity, and honour, and which create at once a confiding, sincere, and enduring attachment. Hugh Wilson died in New York in July, 1829, leaving two sons—one in the profession of the law in New York, the other a farmer in Pennsylvania.

Nearly all the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen who had settled in the United States have followed Emmet to the grave since the period of my first communications with them; others elsewhere, with whom the author was acquainted, and from whom he derived information which could not be supplied by any other persons, have dropped off one by one in quick succession during the last five-and-twenty years.

CHAPTER XII.

NOTICES OF THE DEATH AND FUNERAL OF T. A. EMMET IN THE UNITED STATES, AND PROCEEDINGS OF PUBLIC BODIES ON THE OCCASION OF HIS DECEASE.

(*"New York Courier,"* 15*th November*, 1827.)

"With sentiments of deep and unfeigned regret we state that this venerable and distinguished citizen was seized with apoplexy yesterday, while engaged in his professional duties in the Circuit Court in the City Hall. Such was the sensation produced by this melancholy occurrence, that the court immediately adjourned. We cannot but fear that the voice which so often and so eloquently has pleaded the cause of the injured and oppressed—the mind that has rendered plain and clear the most intricate and abstruse questions of law—the heart that has beaten with a fervid pulse for the cause and principles of his adopted country, will be lost to us for ever. We were informed at his house as late as ten o'clock last evening that he was then alive, but no hope was entertained of his recovery."

(*"New York Courier,"* 16*th November*, 1827.)

"Thomas Addis Emmet.—Our fears of yesterday were too well founded—the great advocate and estimable man is no more. He has descended to the tomb in the fulness of years and the maturity of honours. The speaking eye is closed in darkness—the eloquent tongue is silent—and the generous heart is now but cold clay. To one whose life was marked by such beauty and purity as his, death, even when he comes with such appalling suddenness, comes

not on an unprepared subject. He had so lived that he feared not to die; and while we mourn the loss of so estimable a man, regret is chastened by the well-founded belief that he has passed from this to a better and happier state of being.

"Few men of brilliant talents can pass through a conflicting professional life without exciting envy and enmity; fewer still, how pure soever in character, can escape the breath of suspicion and misrepresentation. In this the lamented Emmet was peculiarly fortunate; his enemies were few indeed, and envy, despairing of reaching the elevation on which he stood, looked elsewhere for an object. No whisper was ever heard against the purity of his character—

"He kept
The whiteness of his soul unsullied—

and added to brilliancy of genius uprightness of purpose and generosity of heart.

"Such was Thomas Addis Emmet, and as such we consign him to his honoured grave."

("*Commercial Advertiser*," 15*th November*, 1827.)

"Death of Mr. Emmet.—It is with feelings of the deepest regret that we record the death of Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq., who has so long stood in the front rank of eminent American jurists, and whose gigantic legal attainments and powerful eloquence have thrown such lustre over the bar of New York. There was something very solemn and deeply affecting in the suddenness and manner of his death. He may be said to have died on the field of his victories and well-earned renown. He was closely confined in court during the trial of the Astor cause, in which, on Monday last, he summed up in behalf of the plaintiff in a masterly and elaborate address. The trial of the 'Sailors' Snug Harbour' cases ensued, in which he was also engaged. We learn that for two nights he had scarcely taken any repose, and there is no doubt that such intense and unremitted mental occupation produced the shock which has terminated his valuable life. He was sitting in court yesterday, in the forenoon, in apparent health, and was conversing only a few moments before the event. He was observed to lean forward with his head resting on his hand, or on the table, and when spoken to was found to be entirely insensible. When this was ascertained the court immediately adjourned. Messengers were despatched for the members of his family and physicians, who speedily arrived. Bleeding was resorted to, but without producing any apparent effect. A litter was prepared for his removal, on which he was carried to his house in Hudson-square.

The Court of Chancery, which was sitting at the same time, was also immediately adjourned. The melancholy event produced a profound and solemn sensation on the crowd who assembled round the court-room, in which his friends and the medical gentlemen called in were employing their ineffectual efforts on his behalf. We believe that Mr. Emmet remained in a state of insensibility from the moment of the attack until he expired last night at a few minutes after eleven.

"There are few of our citizens who have not witnessed, at some time, the displays of argumentative and impassioned oratory which flowed from the lips of this great lawyer. His vigour seemed to remain unimpaired to the last, and he has died in the fulness of his fame and at the height of his profession. We will not do injustice to his memory by a feeble attempt to characterise the style of his eloquence. This task will no doubt be performed by some of his able compeers, on whom it will regularly devolve.

"On the opening of the court this morning, Mr. D. B. Ogden very feelingly announced the melancholy event, and the court immediately adjourned. The members of the bar who were present, including his honour the chancellor, were then called to order, and the venerable Judge Benson being present, was appointed chairman, and the chancellor, also present, was appointed secretary.

"It was on motion resolved that a general meeting of the profession be held on Friday (to-morrow) morning at ten o'clock, in the Supreme Court room, for the purpose of testifying their respect for the memory of their eminent deceased brother."

("*Evening Post*," *Friday*, 16*th November*, 1827.)

"Meeting of the Bar.—Agreeably to previous notice a numerous meeting of the Members of the Bar was convened this morning, and on motion Judge Benson was chosen president, and the attorney-general secretary, and four resolutions were passed."

The substance of these resolutions was as follows.

"1. That a marble monument be erected in honour of the deceased.

"2. That a committee be appointed to select some suitable person to prepare a memoir of the deceased, and also to deliver an eulogium as an incentive to the junior members of the bar.

"3. That the usual badge of mourning be worn for thirty days.

"4. That a copy of these resolutions be presented to the afflicted family.

"On motion of Mr. Hoffman the bar formed a procession and proceeded to the house of the deceased."

The following account of the funeral procession, and the previous proceedings of the Bar, Bench, Common Council, and College of Physicians, in reference to Emmet's death, are taken from *The New York Commercial Advertiser* of 16th November, 1827.

The procession formed in the following order at the City Hall, and proceeded to the late dwelling of Mr. Emmet:

High Constable.
Governor and Chancellor.
Former Chancellor.
Present and former Judges of the Supreme Court.
Judges of the United States' Court.
First Judge of Common Pleas and former Recorders.
Present and former Attorney Generals.
Clerk of County and Clerk of Oyer and Terminer.
Clerks of U. S. Courts and U. S. Marshal
Clerks of the Supreme Court, and Register in Chancery and Surrogate.
District Attorney, and U. S. District Attorney.
Members of the Bar.
Students at Law.
Sheriff.
Mayor and Recorder.
Members of Common Council.
Members of Common Council Elect.

At a court of general sessions held at the City Hall of the city of New York, in and for the city and county of New York, on the 16th day of November, 1827:

Present—Richard Riker, Recorder; Jacob B. Taylor, Gideon Ostrander, and Campbell P. White, Esqrs., Aldermen.

Upon the opening of the court, the Recorder stated, that it had been announced to the presiding magistrates, that Thomas Addis Emmet expired on the evening of the 14th instant, and would be buried this day at twelve o'clock.

The following order was forthwith directed to be entered upon the minutes of the court:

"That the Judges of this court now here will attend the funeral of Thomas Addis Emmet, for the purpose of paying the last tribute of respect to one who, by uniting the greatest abilities with the most unsullied integrity, has for more than twenty years thrown a lustre upon the New York Bar. The Judges now present most deeply deplore his death, and will unite with their associate justices, and other public functionaries, and with their

fellow-citizens, in testifying their regard for the deceased, their admiration of his talents, and their approbation of his virtues.

"The learned Counsel whose death is thus lamented by the court has discharged, in their fullest extent, all the duties of public and of private life; and by his great attainments and excellent qualities has reflected equal honour upon the country of his birth and the country of his adoption."

At a special meeting of the Common Council on the 16th of November, 1827, the Recorder presented the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

"When, in the course of Divine Providence, individuals who have been held in high and deserving esteem by their fellow-citizens are removed from this state of mortal existence, it is becoming and useful to testify by public expression a sense of that esteem. It is becoming as a reward to merit, it is useful as an incentive to a faithful discharge of duties.

"The death of the deeply lamented Thomas Addis Emmet furnishes, in the opinion of this Board, such an occasion for the expression of public sentiment. He has long filled, in the eye of this community, a distinguished station. His talents have shed a lustre over our country—his virtues were a model for imitation, and endeared him wherever he was known.

"This Common Council, sincerely sympathizing with his family and with the public at large, and as a tribute of respect to his memory,

"Resolved, That this Board attend the funeral ceremonies of the late Thomas Addis Emmet, this day at twelve o'clock.

"Resolved, That the members of this Board wear the usual badge of mourning for the space of thirty days."

J. Morton, Clerk.

At a special meeting of the Board of Professors of the Medical Faculty of Geneva College, held at the College on Thursday evening, the 15th of November instant, Professor Francis having communicated the death of Thomas Addis Emmet, Counsellor of this Board, and formerly a member of the medical profession,

On motion—Resolved, "That the professors of this college deeply sympathise with the family of Mr. Emmet on the loss they have sustained in the death of an inestimable husband and father; and that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to his bereaved relatives."

Resolved, "That this Board will unite with the Bar and with the public in testifying their respect for the memory of the distinguished individual whose loss is so deeply and justly regretted."

Resolved, "That the professors will suspend their respective lectures on the 16th inst., and will attend the obsequies of the illustrious deceased."

By order, { DAVID HOSACK, M.D., Pres. of the Med. Faculty. VALENTINE MOTT, M.D., Dean.

ACCOUNT OF THE FUNERAL PROCESSION AND INTERMENT.

("*The Morning Courier*," 17*th November*, 1827.)

"Between the hours of 11 and 12 o'clock, on the 16th instant, there was an immense crowd of people assembled in Hudson-square. The universal sensation of grief which the death of Mr. Emmet excited shows the high respect and veneration in which he was generally held.

"At one o'clock the procession began to move."

[Then follow the names and titles of the several legal and public functionaries given in the preceding notice.]

"The pall-bearers on this melancholy occasion were, His Excellency De Witt Clinton, Governor of the State of New York; the late Chancellor Kent and Chancellor Jones; Judges Betts and Thompson; Nathan Sandford and Martin Van Buren, Esqrs., U.S. Senators; Messrs. W. J. Macneven, William Sampson, John Chambers, Robert Swanton, D. B. Ogden, C. D. Colden, J. O. Hoffman, and Samuel Boyd.

"The procession advanced through Beech-street towards Broadway, where it was met by an immense assemblage of individuals anxious to perform the last honours to the eminent deceased. Every window and avenue was filled with spectators, and notwithstanding the coldness and disagreeableness of the day we believe there has been seldom witnessed in this city a more numerous or more respectable funeral.

"About half-past one o'clock the procession arrived at Grace church. The funeral service was here read in a most impressive manner by the officiating clergyman. The melodious and solemn sound of the organ, the delightful and awe-inspiring music of "I heard a voice," &c., and the melancholy occasion of the assembly, evidently affected every person present.

"Hence the procession moved to St. Mark's church graveyard, where the body of the much lamented Thomas Addis Emmet was interred."

("*New York Evening Post*," 27*th November*, 1827.)

"We learn that Governer Clinton has complied with the wishes of the committee of the bar, and accepted of their invitation to pronounce the eulogy on Mr. Emmet, in conformity to the resolution of the bar of this city, adopted on the 16th instant.

"MONUMENT TO MR. EMMET.

"At a meeting of citizens of Irish birth and parentage, convened by public advertisement, and held at Tammany Hall on the evening of the 21st instant, Dr. George Cuming being called to the chair, and Alderman Campbell P. White appointed secretary,

"Dr. Macneven, evidently under the influence of strong feelings, addressed to the meeting the following observations:

"'The melancholy occasion which calls us together will be our apology for giving vent to Irish feelings, and assembling in the character of Irishmen at present. We have lost a friend who by his virtues and his genius was an honour to our native country—a country ever dear to our affections, though of late so fallen as scarcely to live in the knowledge of the world, or to honour and reputation, but through its exiles. If it were for nothing else than the reverence we bear our native land we owe a debt of gratitude to the memory of Emmet, for the beneficial influence he has shed upon the Irish character in the United States.

"'Twenty years ago, as several here may remember, strong prejudices against the emigrants from Ireland prevailed widely through this city, and even reached some of the best men in the community. But they were prejudices, and we had the consolation of seeing them gradually give way before the bright example of great personal worth, conciliating manners, and the honourable employment of the highest intellectual powers. One incident of those times is fit to be recalled, as it forcibly exhibits the propriety of conduct which won esteem, and the sense of justice which prompted the eloquent and beautiful effusion contained in *The American* of 15th November—a tribute to the memory of our departed friend alike distinguished by good feelings, good taste, and the greatest felicity of expressing them. Deception will often come upon us from without, but the merit that redeems it is our own.

"'Through all the city the public press took the same just and generous part; nor is this surprising, though it be praiseworthy. Men whose own vocation consists in the daily exercise of talents, frequently of a high order, could not but experience an instinctive sympathy and fellow feeling towards one whom talents so various and commanding had raised to undisputed eminence.

"'For an honour never conferred here before on a private citizen, our municipal fathers, in their corporate capacity, attended the obsequies of Emmet.

"'The Grand Assize of this metropolis of the Union, a body that has rarely convened since the revolution, being assembled to

try the validity of Captain Randal's munificent bequest, have it in contemplation to affix a tablet to our countryman's fame on the wall of the court where he fell—heretofore the scene of his usefulness—henceforward of his renown. Nor is it irrelevant for me to remark, that his professional career at the New York bar began in prosecuting a suit against negro slavery, and that its last act was a defence of charity.

"'The judges adjourned from the bench to attend him to his grave.

"'The members of the bar among whom he spent his life, and who must be admitted to be the most discerning judges of his character, of his genius, and of the vastness of his acquirements—the most capable to appreciate his unwearied toil, his urbanity to his compeers, his fidelity to his clients; the members of the bar resolved, with one accord, to perpetuate the benefit of so illustrious an example, especially for the sake of junior members, by the erection of a monument. This inspiring incentive is likely to be placed in the daily view of the profession, to rouse the latent energies of genius to noble emulation, to kindle the rivalship of eloquence, and proclaim the triumph of science and of labour.

"'The Faculty of Physic of Geneva College wears mourning for an early member of the medical profession, and has appointed his distinguished cotemporary and friend at the University of Edinburgh, Dr. Mitchill, to pronounce his eulogium.

By strangers honoured, and by strangers mourned.

"'After these kind-hearted, these generous proceedings of the Americans, what shall be the conduct of his fellow-citizens of Irish birth? They will indeed embalm the memory of Emmet in their hearts, but they will also leave behind them a less frail memorial of their esteem. They will erect an Irish monument to an Irish patriot, where, thank God! they have power to do it. And it shall revive, in associated remembrances, the names of many confederates of his sublimest purposes, who now sleep without their fame, whose epitaph is not yet written, but to whom this monument of a brother will be a cenotaph.'

"Resolutions were then passed:

"That a subscription be opened for erecting a monument to the late Thomas Addis Emmet, commemorative of his virtues and genius.

"That in order to extend the right of joining in the subscription to the whole Irish population, no greater sum than three dollars be received from any one person.

"George Cuming, Chairman.

"Campbell P. White, Secretary."

NOTICE OF CAREER AND CHARACTER OF T. A. EMMET.

(*"The New York Albion,"* 18*th November*, 1827.)

"MR. EMMET.—The melancholy death of this excellent man and distinguished advocate has been announced to this community, and excited a sympathy as honourable to its possessors as it was justly merited by the eminent virtues of him whose sudden and appalling demise all hearts deplore.

"When an individual in ordinary life, whatever may be the purity of his character and the general elevation of his views, is snatched away from us, the loss penetrates the hearts of friends, and perhaps destroys for ever all the blessed and soothing joys, all the affectionate endearments of the social circle in which he moved; but society feels not the event that has occured, and the great machine rolls on with the regularity of undisturbed and noiseless progression. But when a man like Thomas Addis Emmet, whose name is engraven on the imperishable tablets of history—whose genius and whose eloquence have received the unbought tribute of both hemispheres—whose public and private course, whether as a patriot or a father, was a combination of unspotted honour, of the gentlest and kindest affections, and the warmest charity—the simple beauty of whose life was a commentary on what man may be in this transitory world—when such a man is struck down into the remorseless grave, the blood rushes back to the fountains of the heart, and we are lost in wonder as we contemplate the strange and unaccountable Providence which has hurried him so suddenly away. Emmet passed from before our eyes like a bright vision—stood but now in the glorious panoply of talent and eloquence in the very hall of judgment, pursuing the noble career he had embraced with an ardour and devotion rarely witnessed at any time, but almost never at his period of life.

"We heard his last effort, which, like the increasing splendour of the sun as it sinks to rest, seemed to grow yet more radiant with feeling and energy and all the attributes of genius, and in another moment, the heart that was ever filled with the noblest sentiments, and the colossal mind which could patiently examine the arcana of practice, unravel the knotted combinations of falsehood, or comprehend within its grasp the profoundest questions of government and politics, were palsied by the cold hand of relentless death! It is a consolation to those who loved him, that he died in the full possession of his unrivalled faculties, and rich in the affections of all those who ever approached him.

"To this community, which he has so long served, his loss is a severe one; but to his brethren of the bar, perhaps his loss is irreparable. The amenity of his manners, the urbanity of his

deportment, the excellence of his heart, and the kindness to the younger members of the profession, all rendered him a model for imitation, and are for ever engraven on the hearts of those with whom he was associated. Of that bar he might well be called the father, "*et decus et tutamen;*" perhaps we may say without offence to those who survive him, that whether we regard the virtues of the heart, the high sense of honour which characterize every action of his life, or the displays of his forensic talent, he has not left his superior behind him.

"He first distinguished himself here in defending some fugitive slaves, and astonished his audience by the ardour of his enthusiasm and the novel excellence of his manner. He held for a short time, in 1812 and '13, the office of attorney-general of this state, but soon resigned the appointment, and never after sought or occupied a public station.

"Simple and unostentatious in private life, Mr. Emmet devoted his whole soul to his profession. Midnight orgies never followed the severe labours of the forum, and no client ever complained that the merits of his case had not been perceived and sustained. His knowledge was profound—his researches, to his last moment, unremitted. He possessed a mind of extraordinary comprehension, and the strongest and most exclusive powers of analysis; he enjoyed the secret of identifying himself with his case, and adding a sort of personal interest to his professional obligation. Endued with a brilliant imagination, fortified with accurate and discriminating views of English history, enriched with all the fruits of various knowledge, and blessed with a noble enthusiasm, he appeared at the bar the very model of a learned, accomplished, and eloquent man.

"After his admission to the bar in this state, in which we understand the general rule of court was dispensed with, Mr. Emmet rapidly rose in the profession, and indeed almost immediately took that stand which his talents entitled him to occupy, and which he maintained while he lived. His first distinguished effort was in the defence of some fugitive slaves, in which his enthusiastic manner and energetic eloquence commanded the admiration of all who heard him. On the death of Matthias B. Hildreth, Esq., the attorney-general of this state, Mr. Emmet was appointed his successor, on the 12th August, 1812. After holding this office a short period, less we believe than a year, he resigned it, and did not, during the residue of his life, seek or occupy any public station. From that period to the time of his death he was unremittingly engaged in laborious and important business. His industry was indefatigable; and while he always mastered the minutest details of every cause, his genius, with the

mental resources of general knowledge on which he could always draw for illustration, irradiated even the most dull and uninviting topics. His name belongs to the history of his native country, and his memory will always be cherished in that which adopted him, and claims his legal career as a part of the inheritance of her national glory."

The old friend and fellow-student of T. A. Emmet at the University of Edinburgh—one of the most celebrated physicians of his time in the United States, Dr. Mitchill, thus speaks of his former acquaintance and associate:

"Mr. Emmet arrived at New York in 1804, where I enjoyed the pleasure of taking my former fellow-student by the hand, and of welcoming him to the land of liberty. His political sufferings and professional fame had reached America long before his migration. He was received with great liberality by the gentlemen of the juridical profession. The prevailing opinion was, among the counsellors and judges, that his alienism was no objection to his admission to practice. He accordingly took the steps necessary to make his appearance in the courts of law and equity in the state. Having determined to consider this as the country of his future residence, he made early declaration of his intention to become a citizen, as soon as the terms prescribed by the statutes of naturalization would permit; and that he might lose no opportunity to bring himself reputably forward, he repaired to Washington city, to gain a registry in the Supreme Court of the United States, and pay his respects to the ruling powers. There I saw him busily engaged in the furtherance of his object. Wherever he showed himself he attracted sympathy and respect. New York was the place he chose for his dwelling. He seems to have studiously devoted himself to his new profession.

"Amidst the almost numberless cases of litigation arising among a free people and under the government of laws, he soon found opportunities to come forward, and after a few displays of his powers before courts and juries, as well as witnesses and other auditors, he established the character of a zealous and eloquent advocate. . . . .

"He had, as I before observed, been distinguished at Edinburgh for his speeches in the debating societies to which he belonged. Earnestness was a remarkable trait of his eloquence. He was intent upon the subject of his consideration. He knew how to be argumentative where the theme admitted or required it, and when he pleased he could indulge in declamation. His tone and accent were generally cogent and forcible, and bordered sometimes on the vehement. The motions and gestures which accompanied

the utterance increased its potency and effect. His countenance had a corresponding action, and mostly evinced the deep interest he took in the cause. There was a peculiarity in his utterance different from that of any other public speaker I ever heard. Even so long ago he appeared to have studied the subject of discussion more diligently than most of his cotemporaries; consequently he could fortify it with the science of facts and observations, and embellish it with the literature derived from books and conversations. He could command ample stores of words and ideas, and bring them to bear on the question. All these qualities which distinguished his earlier exercises were increased and improved by study and time, and put in requisition for his duties at the bar. Their joint operation rendered him a valuable counsellor, who would not trifle with his client's business, nor permit it to suffer by indifference or neglect. He had a frankness and candour which rendered him very estimable in society. To the junior members of the profession he was remarkable for a polite and conciliatory course of conduct. He entered with so much fervency and talent into the work he undertook, that he, in due season, took his station among the most eminent of the profession. He was retained in many very important trials, both civil and criminal, and the reputation of a moral and honourable man secured to him the confidence and attachment of his employers.

"In the year 1812 he was appointed attorney-general of the state; but in the conflict of party and the strife of opinion the circumstances were such that he did not hold it long.

"It is remarkable that a man who spoke so much, and frequently so well, should have written and printed so little. . .

"There are nevertheless several tracts, besides the medical essays before mentioned, which ought now to be noticed. He has left, for example, a composition which is entitled "Part of an Essay towards the History of Ireland." It was published in a collection made by his friend and fellow-sufferer, the learned and accomplished Dr. William James Macneven, and published at New York in 1807, under the title of "Pieces of Irish History," illustrative of the condition of the Catholics of Ireland, of the origin and progress of the political system of the United Irishmen, and of their transactions with the Anglo-Irish government. It commences with the corruption and venality of the parliament in 1788 and 1789, and terminates with the conviction and execution of Messrs. Weldon, Hart, Kennedy, and others, in 1795."*

* "A Discourse on the Life and Character of T. A. Emmet," pronounced in the City Hall, New York, 1st March, 1828, by Samuel L. Mitchill, M.D. New York, 1828.

MEMOIR OF

WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY OF DR. MACNEVEN—BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE BY HIS DAUGHTER—HIS CONNEXION WITH ROMAN CATHOLIC COMMITTEE.

With few exceptions, the materials collected for the memoirs of the leaders of the United Irishmen would in all probability have perished, had they not fallen into the hands of women, who clung to the memories of their departed friends with feelings of attachment commensurate with the calamities which had overtaken the objects of their affection or regard. It would seem that in man's adversity, when his fellow-men fall away from his sinking fortunes, or detach their thoughts from his maltreated memory, there is a steadfastness in the nature of woman's love, a fidelity in her friendship, which gives to the misfortunes of her kindred a new claim to her solicitude for everything that concerns their interests or their fame. In the present instance of that faithfulness of affection, the memory of William James Macneven is indebted to his daughter for the ample justice that has been done to it.

The memoir which is now presented to the public was drawn up by Miss Macneven—not with a view to its appearance in this form, but in compliance with the wishes of the author to be furnished with such materials as might enable him to give an account of her father's life. That request was complied with; but the sketch however that was forwarded was so admirably drawn in style and feeling—so indicative of an understanding highly cultivated, of rectitude of mind and literary ability, that it appeared to him better calculated to give a just idea of her father's character than its details could be in any other form. In giving this narrative as it was presented to him, he would beg to make a few observations in reference to the use made of similar documents in the previous series of this work, as well as in the present one.

His great object has been to give information, the authenticity of which could not be called in question. With this view it was necessary, at no small expense of labour, to obtain from the surviving friends and relatives of the persons whose biography he had undertaken, all the information of a documentary kind that could be procured. Such information was sought in several quarters.

and obtained in various forms. In matters which former contradictory accounts had left in doubt or dispute, it seemed to be desirable—instead of entering into lengthened discussions, extracting passages from the several documents obtained in order to refute or corroborate particular passages in other works, and thereby to be exposed to the charge of garbling important documents—to give insertion to them in their original form, and without breaking up the matter, except where an obvious necessity existed for so doing. The consequence has been an apparent negligence in arrangement, which it would have been very easy to have avoided. But if there be any value in the information given in these documents, the advantage that might be found in carefully keeping one subject from trenching in the least degree on the limits of another, might be gained at the expense of that character for authenticity which these documents possess, and which constitute the chief, if not the sole value of the work. If the author exaggerate the importance of them, the failing is not uncommon to overrate the value of things which it has cost a great deal of trouble to acquire.

We now proceed with Miss Macneven's narrative:

"During the long illness of my dear father I frequently conversed with him on the subject of his early life and family, and committed to writing a short sketch of what he related to me.

"His ancestors were respectable country gentlemen, residing on their own estate, which was transmitted in a direct line from father to son. They owned originally large possessions in the north of Ireland, but were robbed of them in the time of Cromwell, and with many of their countrymen were allotted land in the wilds of Connaught. This property remained in my father's family until his emigration to America, when it was sold. His father's elder brother, William O'Kelly Macneven, left Ireland early in life, and established himself as a physician in Germany by the advice of his maternal uncle, William O'Kelly, who held an honourable station at the court of Vienna.* Here he soon rose to eminence, and was

* The genealogy of the Macnevens is set forth by one of the most eminent of Irish antiquarians, Dr. O'Donovan, in the following note to a passage in "The Tribes of Hy-Mani:" "*Mac Cnaimhin*, now Anglicised Mac Nevin, and among the peasantry shortened to Neavin and Nevin. This family were originally settled at Crannog Meg Cnaimhin, now Crannagh-Mac Nevin, in the south-east extremity of the parish of Tynagh, barony of Leitrim, and county of Galway, and the name is still numerous in that and the adjoining barony of Loughrea. The first notice of this family to be found in Irish history occurs in the Annals of the Four Masters at the year 1159, where it is recorded that Athius, the son of Mac Cnaimhin (Mac Nevin), was slain at Ardee, in the now county of Louth, in a battle fought between Muirchertach Mac Loughlin, senior of the Northern Hy-Niall, the legitimate heir to the throne of Ireland, and Roderic O'Connor, King of Connaught. The head of the name in the reign of Queen Elizabeth was Hugh Mac Knavin: he was hanged on

appointed one of the physicians of the Empress Maria Theresa, with the title of Baron. He married a lady of rank and fortune, and settled permanently in Prague. His father, James Macneven, resided on the paternal property with an only sister, Mary Brennan, a widow lady, his younger brother Simon, and his four sons. It had been his misfortune to lose his wife a few years after his marriage. On his excellent sister devolved the charge of his children—a duty which she performed with a mother's care and tenderness. The name of his mother was Rosa Dolphin; she was of a good old Catholic family, and died when my father was but a few years of age.

"My father, William James Macneven, was born at Ballynahowne, county of Galway, on the 21st of March, 1763. He was the eldest of four sons; of his brothers, the youngest, Hugh, was the only one who lived to reach manhood; the other two, Joseph and Antony, died in infancy. At the age of ten or twelve years, my father was sent for by his uncle, Baron Macneven, to receive his education in Germany, a custom very general in Catholic families, and rendered necessary at that time by the operation of the penal laws. Baron Macneven had also early become a widower, and his family consisted of himself, three daughters, and an only son. He lived in good style, occupying a handsome residence in Prague during the winter months, and passing his summers at an old castle on the river Sazva or Seva, about sixty miles distant from the city. This castle had in olden times belonged to the Knights Templars, and was one of their strongholds. It came into our uncle's possession through his wife, who being an only child had inherited it from her father. In his uncle's family my father spent eight or ten years very happily and profitably. He received an excellent classical education in the college at Prague—subsequently he passed through the medical college there, and finished his professional studies at Vienna, where he graduated at the age of twenty, 1783. His uncle was a man of learning and science, and my father had the advantage of associating from childhood with the polished and learned men who formed this circle. The last years of my father's residence in Germany were rendered still pleasanter by the arrival of his brother Hugh, who was also sent for by their kind uncle, and enjoyed similar advantages with himself. When

the 4th of June, 1602, as appears from an inquisition taken at Galway, on the 10th of October, 1605: 'Quod Hugo Mac Knavin, alias dictus Mac Kellie, intravit in actionem Rebellionis et captus et suspensus fuit, 4 Junii, 1602; et fuit seisitus in Ballilie, Cranach Mac Knavin,' &c. In a grant to the Earl of Clanricarde, dated 19th July, 1610, mention is made, among various other lands granted to him, of part of the lands of Cranach Mac Knavin, parcel of the estate of Hugh Mac Knavin, otherwise O'Kelly [an error for Mac Kelly], of Cranagh Mac Knavin, executed in rebellion."—R. R. M.

their studies were fully completed they returned to their native country, and my father commenced the practice of his profession in Dublin, about 1784. His family were of the Roman Catholic persuasion. His father was a man of the most amiable disposition and benevolent feelings, just and honourable in all his actions, warmly attached to his children and friends, and humane to his dependents. At this period he was leading a tranquil life in the midst of his friends and neighbours. His son Hugh and his brother Simon resided with him, and his sister Mary superintended his family. My father always spoke with warm affection and gratitude of this excellent woman. She was a pious member of the Roman Catholic Church, received in all simplicity and faith its doctrines, and taught them with fervour to her nephews. A few years since, a family relic was transmitted to my father from Ireland by some person into whose hands it had fallen after her death. It was a piece of the true cross enclosed in a small silver case, which he well remembered seeing his aunt wear round her neck. It had been more than a hundred years in the family when my father was a child, having been brought from Rome to Ireland by a great uncle, who was an ecclesiastic. His aunt kept it reverently as a sacred and holy relic, and only opened it on solemn occasions. The last time my father saw it in his own country was on the occasion of his leaving home for Germany, when she opened and showed it to him to add to the strength of her parting benediction. Fifty years from that time it came into his possession in the way I have mentioned; and so strong was the force of the early associations connected with it upon my father, that as we passed it from one to the other, gazing on it merely as an object of curiosity, he expressed himself pained at seeing what had been held in such high veneration by his good aunt, and by himself in his childhood, handled thus irreverently.

"My father was now established in the practice of his profession in Dublin. With youth, health, superior abilities, and education in his favour, and good family connexions, he had a fair and prosperous career opened before him, and he was soon enabled by his practice to live genteelly and independently, and to keep with ease his station in society. Had Ireland been in a happier condition, or could selfish motives have deadened his love of his unfortunate country, I cannot doubt but that my father would have become greatly eminent in the paths of science and literature—but a more stormy career was before him.

"The Catholic Committee, originally organized by Messrs. Wise, O'Connor, and Dr. Curry, still held their meetings in Dublin, and numbered among its members almost all the influential Catholics, both of the nobles and commons. My father was a

constant attendant at these meetings, and became greatly interested in their debates. At one of them a division arose between the members on the subject of a remonstrance to be offered to the government, which the merchants and citizens, who might be called the democratic party, opposed, as too submissive and slavish in its tone; and the other party, including mostly the men of rank and fortune, upheld as discreet and loyal.* My father addressed the meeting on this occasion, strongly opposing the aristocratic party, and the measure was carried against them. The committee being thus divided, the loyal or aristocratic Catholics presented their address to the government, signed by only sixty-eight names, and an account was given in the public prints of the successful opposition it had met with. This difference of opinion in the commitee, respecting the extent of their rights, caused much debate among the great body of the Catholics throughout the kingdom. The citizens of the town of Navan published an address to my father, warmly approving of the course he had taken; and in his answer to them he animadverted with some severity on the timid and temporizing policy of the opposition. This was the commencement of my father's public career. The following year, 1792, a general convention of the Catholics was called to ascertain definitively their true sentiments on this subject. Representatives were chosen from the different towns and cities, and my father was elected by the Catholics of Galway and those of Navan. Personal considerations induced him to accede to the call of Navan.† Dr. Sheridan, one of his most intimate friends, was residing there, and its citizens had previously distinguished him by their approbation. During the

* The meeting referred to took place in the latter part of December, 1791. The secession of Lord Kenmare's party, and the presentation of an address to Lord Westmoreland, couched in terms of hyperbolical attachment to the laws which ground the people to the dust, were the results of it. The penal laws had so far degraded the Catholic people that for nearly a quarter of a century, previous to 1791, they submitted to the leadership of men destitute of talents, courage, dignity, or spirit, such as Lords Kenmare and Trimbleston. The former was born for slavery. He had not the spirit either of the Gael or the Saxon in his composition. Nature intended him for a Cappadocian. He was not only enamoured of servitude, but he would have it believed that all his race were content to remain in bondage. Messrs. Wyse, Curry, and O'Connor neutralized, as far as they were able, the influence of those oligarchs. It was reserved for the United Irishmen to give power and popularity to the Catholic cause, which enabled such men as Keogh and Byrne to shake off the incubus of the Catholic aristocracy. The secession of Kenmare and "the Sixty-eight Addressers" from the Catholic committee took place when Tone's energies began to give an impulse to that body, when Keogh's abilities began to come in collision with the pretensions of Kenmare, and the language of the plain, truth-telling Macneven became offensive to the lord whose ideas of his own consequence and sagacity were diametrically opposed to those which were entertained by others of his worth or influence.—R. R. M.

† The author feels some pride in stating that his father was one of the delegates who sat in that convention for the town of Enniskillen.—R. R. M.

meetings of this convention my father made several able speeches, published in the newspapers of the day, and originated and effected the measure which obtained for the forty-shilling freeholders the privilege of elective franchise. I am uncertain at what period my father became acquainted with Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor; but they sought an interview with him, and at their first interview explained their designs, and requested his co-operation. He cordially entered into their views, and became a member of the secret Society of United Irishmen.* Mr. Emmet also joined the secret society about the same period, and my father then commenced the intimacy with that excellent man which death alone interrupted. My father now devoted all his energies to the accomplishment of the one great object of his most ardent wishes, the liberation of Ireland, and he became one of the prominent leaders of its cause. In the meantime, he continued the practice of his profession, and mingled in society as usual. He has often spoken of Mrs. Lefanu, the sister of the great Sheridan, as one of the loveliest and most accomplished women of the day. At her house he was on the intimate footing of a valued friend, and enjoyed exceedingly the re-union of the polished and the learned, who delighted to gather round her. Mrs. Moore and Colonel Moore were also my father's intimate friends. The Colonel commanded one of the six Catholic regiments raised by the British government at the suggestion of Lord Clare, partly to give employment to the officers of the French army, who had emigrated on account of the revolution in France, and perhaps also with a view to increase the patronage of the government. My father was a frequent guest at his house, where he constantly met General Lerrin and the Duke FitzJames, also in command of regiments; and through this acquaintance with them, he obtained for his brother Hugh the post of surgeon in the regiment under the command of the Duke Fitz-James, which he held until his death, in 1797. I do not know that my uncle Hugh was ever an United Irishman; he was several years younger than my father, who was tenderly attached to him, and I think shrunk from involving him in the dangers he braved himself. My father often spoke of him with warm affection, and described him as a young man of most amiable character and su-

* The oath was administered to him by the daughter of James Moore, of Thomas-street, the friend of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a young lady then celebrated no less for her beauty than her devotion to the interests of the union. That lady, the late Mrs. Macready, informed the author that several of her sex, to her own knowledge, were sworn members of the society. The oath had been administered to her by John Cormick, of Thomas-street. There can be now no impropriety in stating, that the attachment which subsisted between Macneven and Miss Moore was not solely a political one, and that there was a very ardent desire on the part of the former to make the fair Roland of her day, an Irishwoman legally united to him.—R. R. M.

perior talents. He was always delicate in health, and died of a rapid decline in the summer of 1797, while my father was absent on his mission in France. It is not necessary that I should recapitulate the public career of my father from this period, until his connexion with his beloved and unfortunate country was dissolved by his imprisonment and exile. There are some incidents, however, in it which throw a good deal of light on his character.

"When the emissary arrived in Dublin from Generals Hoche and Tone, with verbal instructions to Oliver Bond and M'Cormick, these gentlemen were much perplexed as to the propriety of receiving the communication, and called at my father's lodgings to advise with him on the subject. He asked if they were satisfied with the messenger's credentials. They replied that they could not doubt but that he had seen and spoken with Tone; still the communications to be received and made were of too grave a nature not to induce them to hesitate in committing themselves. My father strongly urged the necessity of his reception, and volunteered to meet the agent himself. An appointment was made for meeting him that night with all possible secrecy and care. Accordingly, as had previously been agreed on, my father repaired to the Post Office, walking in front of it near the hour of eleven, and at the striking of the hour the agent emerged from under the shadow of the building and joined him. The appointed signals were given, and they walked away together. My father received from him the important intelligence he had to communicate, and gave in return all the requisite information. I think, if I remember rightly, that my father said he accompanied him to the quay, and saw him safely off before the hour of midnight. This gentleman was Colonel M'Sheehy, then aide-de-camp to General Tone, afterwards killed at the battle of Eylau.

"I have often heard my father speak with great interest of the many evenings passed during this period at Lord Edward Fitzgerald's residence, near Dublin, in the society of that true nobleman and his accomplished wife and sister, I think the Lady Emily Fitzgerald. He particularly mentioned one evening, when they had obtained certain intelligence that assistance would arrive from France. Mr. Emmet and himself hastened immediately with the news to Lord Edward—I believe also that Arthur O'Connor was one of the party—and full of the most cheering hopes they conversed on the brightening prospects of their country, the two ladies entering with ardent enthusiasm into all their feelings, and sharing in their brilliant anticipations. Of my father's arrest on the 12th of March, 1798, his imprisonment in Kilmainham, and subsequent removal to Fort George, it is unnecessary to give any further details.

"His long imprisonment was rendered less irksome to him by the vigour and activity of his mind. Books were his greatest resource; it was his custom to commit to writing notes on the various works he read, and I have found among his manuscripts many such indicative of his studies at this period. Among other things he devoted much of his attention to the writings of Ossian, &c., many of which he translated from the original Gaelic, a language he was perfectly familiar with. He made notes also of conversations he held with the Scotch soldiers and attendants about the Fort, relative to the traditions of the origin of that ancient people, and confirmatory of the idea that Scotland was originally colonized by the Irish. I have found also among my father's papers, and in his handwriting, one or two commencements of an autobiography which we often entreated him to write, and I furnish you with copies of them, and with a copy of a paper, also in his handwriting, relating to Mr. Emmet. After the arrival of Mrs. Emmet and her children at Fort George, it became one of the recreations of the state prisoners to instruct the latter in the various branches of education; my father taught them French, and compiled for their use a French grammar—Mr. Hudson gave lessons in music—a third in dancing, and so on through the usual course of instruction. During the whole time of his confinement, I believe my father's health was good, and even robust. He has often spoken of one period when he bathed in the ocean almost every day in the year, even in the depth of winter.

"After the liberation of the state prisoners from Fort George, my father passed the summer and autumn of 1802 in travelling through Switzerland on foot, and wrote an account of his journey, called 'A Ramble through Switzerland.' He also visited his relations in Germany in the course of that year, and he always maintained an affectionate correspondence with them.

"In 1803 he went to Paris, and either in that year or the following entered the French army as a captain in the Irish brigade. From my recollection of my father's conversation on this subject, and from the tenor of his correspondence at this period, I have reason to think that he still contemplated an attack upon Ireland by the French, and in entering the service of France was only devoting himself, in another way, to that cause he had espoused elsewhere. Deceived and disappointed in these hopes, he at length resigned his commission, and in June, 1805, set sail from Bourdeaux for New York, where he arrived on the 4th of July.* My father has often described his mingled sensations on

* One of the causes which induced Macneven to leave France was the concern

first landing in this, his adopted country. He landed on the Battery at the hour of three in the afternoon, and found himself in the midst of an immense assemblage of military and citizens, commemorating their independence and liberation from the very power that desolated his native land, and exiled himself and so many of his countrymen from their homes. His heart warmed to his new brethren; but he was yet unknown, and as he walked through the crowd up Broadway to the city hotel, he felt keenly that bitter sense of loneliness which none but the stranger in a strange land can realize. It was, I think, beautifully appropriate that one who had suffered so much in the cause of liberty should have reached the shores of America on the anniversary of her day of freedom; and, by an equally pleasing coincidence, Mr. Sampson landed on the 4th of July, the year following.

"My father lost no time in presenting his letters, and declaring his intention of becoming a citizen. He fixed upon New York as his permanent residence, and immediately entered on the practice of his profession, in which he was so successful as speedily to assure himself an easy competence. He met with a kind welcome from his new associates, and very soon numbered among his friends all who were most eminent for talents or virtues. The society of Mr. Emmet and his family, and of Mr. Sampson, were among his greatest pleasures; the bond between them was of no ordinary friendship—it was more like the tender attachment of brothers, and they reposed in each other the most implicit confidence, which through the course of their long lives was not interrupted for a single day.

"On the 15th of June, 1810, my father was married to Mrs. Jane Margaret Tom, widow of Mr. John Tom, merchant, of New York, and daughter of Mr. Samuel Riker of New Town, Long Island. From an early period of his arrival in this country, both he and Mr. Sampson were intimately acquainted with Mr. Richard Riker, my mother's brother, an eminent lawyer, and for many years known favourably as district attorney and recorder of New York. This intimacy ripened into the truest friendship—so enduring, that it was the request of Mr. Sampson, before his death,

he felt at the fatal issue of a duel, in which he acted as second. The principals were Mr. John Sweeney, a native of Cork, one of the Fort George prisoners, and Mr. Corbet, a brother of the late General Corbet, of the same city. A more desperate rencontre has seldom taken place. The statement of the particulars drawn up by one of the seconds, and signed by both, gives a frightful account of this affair. Macneven acted as second to Sweeney; Ware—now Colonel Ware—the second of Corbet. Either nine or ten shots were exchanged. Corbet, after he had been wounded, still persisted in keeping his ground, while Macneven in vain endeavoured repeatedly to put an end to the contest, which unfortunately terminated at length in the death of Corbet.—R. R. M.

that his remains should be interred in the family burying-ground of the Rikers, among the friends he most valued.

"My grandfather, Mr. Riker, a descendant of the early Dutch settlers, resided on his farm, on the shore of a beautiful bay about eight miles from the city. He had served his country through her revolutionary struggle, and afterwards as a representative in Congress, and had a mind and heart to appreciate and understand men like my father and Mr. Sampson, whose society he greatly enjoyed. Mr. Sampson, to the great qualities of his mind added a refinement—I may say, a poetry of feeling, which enabled him keenly to relish the real beauties of nature, and to tinge even the common-place realities of life with a bright and pleasing colouring. He had always great delight in boating, and during his years of health and vigour was never without a boat, large enough to hold himself, his friends, and their families; and it was one of his greatest pleasures to collect them together, and make excursions up the river to visit the Rikers, his friends at Bowery Bay. The sail from New York up the East River is one of much variety and beauty, with just sufficient peril in passing through the narrow passage called Hell-gate, to give it a romantic interest; but Mr. Sampson was a master of boat-craft, and used safely to conduct his little vessel through all dangers, until it entered the smooth waters of the bay, when he would give notice of his approach by playing an air on his flute, always his companion, and he was greeted by a hearty welcome before his boat could reach the shore. Sometimes the sound of his flute might be heard at the quiet farm-house, of a fine moonlight night, as late as eleven or twelve o'clock. The doors were immediately thrown open to receive the party, and after passing an hour or two in cheerful conversation, he and his friends would take the turn of the tide and sail gaily back to the city. I have often, in thinking of these scenes, contrasted the peaceful serenity and pure pleasures of the exiled lives of my father and his friends with the stormy and painful ordeal they had encountered in their native land. At the period of Mr. Emmet's death I was too young to have many personal recollections of him; but of Mr. Sampson I have the most vivid and affectionate remembrance. His family and ours have ever been united in the warmest friendship, and when I look back the pleasantest of our past recollections are connected with him. He possessed, more than any one I ever knew, the power of creating enjoyment; it was impossible that any company could be dull of which he was a part. His brilliant wit and pleasant fancy enlivened and adorned the conversation, whether grave or gay. I wish it was in my power to describe, as I remember it, the delightful social intercourse between our families. While speaking

of those whose friendship my father most highly prized, I cannot omit naming the widow of Theobald Wolfe Tone, and his son, the late Captain Tone. They were amongst his dearest friends; AND I FEEL IT IS THE PRIVILEGE OF MY BIRTHRIGHT TO KNOW, AND LOVE, AND REVERENCE THAT NOBLE WOMAN.

"In 1823 my sister was married to Thomas Addis Emmet, the son of my father's dear friend, and they and their children have been among the chief sources of happiness to his declining years.

"For the medical appointments conferred on my father I refer you to the biographical notice in *The New York Medical Gazette*, of which I transmit a copy. In 1823 he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society; he was also a member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, and there are many now living who must remember with pleasure the meetings of that society at his house in Park-place. All those most eminent in science, arts, and literature, with any distinguished strangers who might be visiting the city, were convened on these occasions and formed indeed a brilliant circle. My father took an active and prominent part in the politics of his adopted country, until within the few last years of his life, and always supported her laws and constitution with consistency and firmness. The importance attached to his opinion was evinced in 1834, on the occasion of a popular election. He differed from the party he had hitherto supported on a subject of great national interest, and his sentiments being publicly called for, he gave them in a letter to the querists with the independence and decision that formed such prominent traits in his character. His letter was immediately reprinted throughout the Union, and produced such an effect that a storm of party rage was raised against him, his opponents quite forgetting in their violence that they were denying him the simple right of holding and expressing his own opinion. My father bore all their attacks with dignity and equanimity—and some were hard to bear, for among lesser things it was endeavoured to alienate from him the affections of his countrymen, by disseminating the basest falsehoods, such as not even party heat could justify; they of course fell harmless, for their mark was far above them. I enclose two papers of that period, one containing my father's letter, and the other a meeting of adopted citizens, in which is a letter of Mr. Sampson, descriptive of many points of my father's character. Towards his native land my father's devoted attachment remained ever the same; neither time nor distance, the cares of life nor the approach of death, could diminish or weaken it. He was ever active in her service, and seized every occasion which offered to promote the great object of her happiness. In proof of

this are the many addresses from his pen, advocating with untiring patriotism her rights, and arousing in her cause the sympathies of his fellow-citizens. I may refer in particular to his address to the people of Ireland, published in February, 1825, which awakened considerable attention, both in this country and in his own. In August, 1828, my father, in connexion with Mr. Thomas O'Connor, one of his oldest and most valued friends, Mr. Sampson, and many other patriotic gentlemen, formed an association called 'The Friends of Ireland.' The exciting cause of this association was the sympathy awakened in behalf of Harry Mills, the independent and honest forty-shilling freeholder. My father was elected president, and continued to preside at its meetings until May, 1829, when Catholic Emancipation was granted. During the period of the existence of this society a large amount of Catholic rent was transmitted to Ireland, and similar associations were formed throughout the United States, and even in Mexico.

"My father wrote an account of its proceedings, read before the Literary Association of the Friends of Ireland, published in *The New York Truth Teller* of July, 1830. He also took a warm interest in promoting, by every means, the welfare of emigrants to this country, and he was president of the Emigrant Society up to the period of his death.

"In December, 1832, he met with a severe blow to his happiness in the death of his eldest son, James Joseph Macneven. My brother had finished his collegiate studies, and had commenced the study of the law, and his fine talents and amiable disposition had awakened bright hopes for the future. But a sudden and severe illness tore him from us at the early age of nineteen. It was a deep and abiding sorrow to my father, and to the last of his life he could not name him without tears.

"My father was first attacked with severe illness in the month of March, 1838, previously to which he had enjoyed almost uninterrupted health. For some days he was dangerously ill, but the attack at length terminated in a severe fit of the gout. His health was so much impaired by this illness as to render the practice of his profession both irksome and injurious to him, and he determined on retiring to the country. Accordingly, in April, 1839, he broke up his establishment in Broadway, and removed with his family to the residence of his son-in-law, Thomas Addis Emmet, about four miles from the city.

"In the preceding February he had again experienced the bitterest sorrow in the death of a beloved daughter, and retirement was congenial to his feelings.* In the spring of 1840 he was

* This young lady was seen by the author a very few months before her death, apparently in the bloom of health, and certainly in the possession of beauty and accomplishments of no ordinary kind.—R. R. M.

appointed resident physician, an office which he resigned a few weeks previous to his death.

"From the period of my father's first illness, in 1838, he was subject to frequent severe and painful attacks, which he bore with the patience of a Christian and the fortitude of a philosopher. In the treasures of his own mind he found a great resource. Books were to him never-failing friends, and the wide range of his reading comprehended the greatest variety. While in the bustle and business of his profession he was unable to give any great portion of his time to general literature; but after his retirement, he read everything. He enjoyed, with a wonderful youthfulness of feeling and fancy, the writings of Sir Walter Scott and Miss Edgeworth; he read Sparks' Life of Washington, voluminous as it is, with great interest—the writings of Jefferson, various works on geology, and all the scientific and literary reviews of the day. The study of theology engaged much of his attention, and he compared the tenets of the different sects more with a view to find points of resemblance than to discover dissimilar opinions. With all this he continued to take a deep interest in the affairs of his beloved country, and read with avidity all that related to her destinies. On the 25th of November, 1840, as my father was returning from the city, a heavy loaded waggon came in contact with his gig; he was thrown from it, and received a severe wound in his leg, which, together with the shock of the fall, occasioned him a long and painful illness: from this he partially recovered, but was again taken very ill, and was never afterwards able to leave his room. Throughout his illness, he was remarkable for the serenity and cheerfulness of his temper. The vigour of his mind and the warm affection of his heart seemed to triumph over his bodily sufferings, and enabled him to receive pleasure from many sources. The society of his family and a few intimate friends was his greatest happiness, and his enjoyment of reading continued almost to the last. He was never deceived with respect to the event of his illness, but conversed often on the subject with perfect calmness, and even cheerfulness. In the month of June his strength failed so rapidly that we were obliged to give up the hopes we had clung to—that he might yet be spared to us; and on the 12th of July, 1841, my dear father breathed his last.

"He was throughout his life a consistent and enlightened Roman Catholic, and his examination of other creeds tended only to confirm him in that persuasion. Twice during the winter of 1841 he received the communion from his friend, the Very Rev. John Power; and on the morning of his death the last rites of his Church were administered to him by the Right Rev. Bishop Hughes.

"I am unable to portray to you, as they are written on our

hearts, the great and admirable qualities possessed by my beloved father. His public career is before you; but I fear you can form but an imperfect idea, from this feeble sketch, of his private worth. As a husband and father he was most affectionate, and tender and indulgent to the greatest degree. He was a firm and faithful friend, and always willing to aid the unfortunate to the utmost of his power. I cannot forbear mentioning the generosity of his nature, which made him ever ready to acknowledge the talents of others and to rejoice in their success. His patriotism was pure and unselfish, and I well remember that on one occasion, when O'Connell's popularity here met with some abatement—*when his obnoxious address reached us, in which he denounced the men of* '98 *as miscreants**—my father was the only one of our circle who seemed unmoved. He smiled at the warmth of our expressions, and continued to watch with the greatest interest the movements of O'Connell in furtherance of the good of Ireland. The man was nothing to him; the end proposed was what my father had at heart, and he always awarded to Mr. O'Connell the meed of praise he merited.

"My father, besides being a good classical scholar, was a proficient in several modern languages. He spoke German and French with the same facility as English, and was well versed in the literature of those countries. He was also a good Italian scholar. He understood Irish, his native tongue, perfectly well, and conversed in it fluently. I have heard him say it was the first he ever spoke.

"On a careful examination of his manuscripts, I find they principally consist of notes and memorandums connected with the history of Ireland, a work on which subject, at one period, he contemplated writing. Some are in his own handwriting; others seem materials transmitted from other sources. His writings were chiefly on medical, scientific, or political subjects, and were generally in the form of lectures, addresses, and essays. His laborious profession, the duties of the professorships he held at different times, and the constant necessity of devoting himself to the daily business of life, left him little time to bestow on literary labour. Of his political writings, a pamphlet, called 'An Argument for Independence in Opposition to a Union,' is well deserving of attention. His early speeches are given in the accounts of the meetings of the Catholic delegates, held in Dublin in December,

* In this place the passage printed in Italics was omitted by me in the first edition of this work, which I considered as not essential to the main object of the memoir, and was rather severe, as I thought, on the lapses of the tongue of a great man who talked a great deal in public unpremeditatedly, and therefore very often at random, and injuriously of persons not in actual contact with him.—R. R. M.

1792, and at various other meetings of that body from that period till 1794. His principal publications are the 'Ramble through Switzerland,' published in Dublin in 1803; 'Pieces of Irish History;' an edition of 'Brande's Chemistry'; and an 'Exposition of the Atomic Theory.' My father had also made military matters a subject of thought and study, and I have on my desk a pamphlet by him on 'The Nature and Functions of an Army Staff,' printed in New York in 1812.

"The burial-ground of the Riker family is on the shore of Bowery Bay, Long Island, within a short distance of the old family mansion; and there the mortal remains of my dear father rest, beside his children; and near to it a plain monument of white marble marks the grave of his friend, Mr. Sampson. This monument was raised to his memory by the wife and daughters of Mr. Sampson; and we contemplate erecting a similar one to my father. There are but three of my father's children surviving: my two brothers—the eldest now practising medicine in New York—and myself. My sister, Mrs. Emmet, is my mother's daughter by her former marriage. My father was never rich; but he has left us an honourable competence, and a dowry, far beyond the greatest wealth, in his name and character.

"Jane Maryanne Macneven."

FROM WILLIAM HUGH MACNEVEN, SON OF DR. W. JAMES MACNEVEN, TO R. R. M.

"28th November, 1843.

"My dear Sir—The work on the United Irishmen has been read and re-read both at home and among our circle of friends with very great eagerness; but, apart from the general interest of a work in which every one could so well participate, I feel it my duty to thank you, in an especial manner, for the pains you have bestowed upon the portion devoted to the biography of my father. In assuring you of the entire satisfaction it has afforded to the family, allow me to express to you also the many and sincere obligations we feel for the kindness and friendship you have always displayed.

"As to the manuscript furnished you by my sister, although intended by her mainly to afford material for your more able pen, you were nevertheless at perfect liberty to dispose of it as you deemed best; for herself, she begs most sincerely to thank you for the very flattering approval you have given it. In the printing of her sketch there is, however, one error I would call your attention to, which it would be well to rectify in case you issue a future edition, and that is in the spelling of my mother's maiden name—it is *Riker*, not *Ricker*, as it has been published. No other error,

I believe, has been made; but if there is one thing which I might be permitted to take exception to, it is to a slight alteration you have made in the text, qualifying some expressions of my sister which incidentally alluded to O'Connell. I feel indeed the difficulties and responsibilities of your position, and that you might very justly wish to shun any censuring remarks not required by the business of your work, but I think that any allusion to him on the part of one of us had better have been omitted than be equivocal as to its purport. . . . .

"Immediately after the appearance of your second series in Europe, the first number of an American edition was issued from the press here, which the publisher thought fit—as it was at a time when the Repeal agitation was at its climax—to bring out under the title of 'Lives of Eminent Irish Repealers,' but ere the second number could be published the malapropos address of O'Connell to his fellow-countrymen in America, animadverting harshly upon this country, had given a most sudden and fatal blow to the demonstrations which the previous news had just aroused to so much enthusiasm. Such a revulsion as regarded the interests of Repeal was not for the time calculated to benefit anything associated with it; and so, it seems, thought the publisher, for a stop was immediately put to any further issue of the work under the false and injurious title he had given it. An artifice of this kind was, in any event, an ill-judged one for the publisher. For the attempt to class the men of '98 with the leaders, or rather *leader* of an association by whom they have been spoken of as 'weak and wicked men,' and even stigmatised as 'miscreants and villains,' was most certainly insulting to their memories.

"Though, as an humble advocate for liberty, I must feel well affected to a Repeal of the Union, or any change, having for its object the amelioration of the condition of Ireland, I cannot feel indifferent to the unworthy attempts O'Connell constantly makes, and has made, to misrepresent and sully the character and measures of the men of '98. The unfairness of his comparisons, and the conclusions he draws from them—the want of generosity and common honesty he displays in reflecting falsely upon men who can only speak from their graves—and the thorough littleness and want of dignity betrayed by unfavourably contrasting their course and the one which a change of circumstances has permitted him to pursue—stamps the character of O'Connell with such attributes as, despite his genius, must only belong to the most depraved natures. It may be very excusable and just policy for him and his followers to remain silent upon the subject of force, and even discourage any present allusion to such a measure; but I feel that in their condemnation of force, under any possible contingency, the

Repealers are upholding a doctrine as false as it is subversive of the very fundamental principle of liberty; and I feel confident that the expression of such sentiments will only be looked upon as a species of time-serving hypocrisy, quite unnecessary, and totally beneath the dignity of freemen. I have expressed my opinion the more freely, since I think there is no better comment upon the truth of what I have just said than the impartial history you have had the disinterested courage to produce. For, though you have been forced to record the unsuccessful issue of the means used, you have boldly exposed the necessity which should always justify them; and must be regarded by all, in so doing, as forwarding in a very effectual manner the great cause of liberty.

My mother and sister present their sincere regards to Mrs. Madden and yourself, in which permit me most cordially to join.

"I have the honour to remain, most faithfully,

"Your obedient servant,

(Signed) "WM. H. MACNEVEN.

"To R. R. Madden, Esq."

CHAPTER II.

THOMAS O'CONNOR'S REMINISCENCES OF MACNEVEN—HIS ARREST—COMPACT OF STATE PRISONERS WITH GOVERNMENT—HIS EXAMINATION—IMPRISONMENT AT FORT GEORGE, AND LIBERATION.

THE preceding narrative of Miss Macneven has rendered it unnecessary to enter into any other details, with the exception of those connected with the political movements in which Macneven was engaged.

Thomas O'Connor (one of the descendants of Denis O'Connor of Ballenagare), at a public meeting in 1837, in New York, gave the following account of Macneven's early services in the Catholic cause. Many passages cannot fail to make a profound impression on the mind of every English reader :*

"The British government, when it acquired an equivocal ascendancy in Ireland, should have tried to secure it by an incorporation of the Irish with the British people; an evil genius stood in the way, and under its councils it was resolved to enslave the Irish. The great instrument employed to effect this purpose was the penal code against the Catholics, who constituted the mass of the inhabitants.

"The system of terror which grew out of the enactment of the penal code was sufficient to daunt the heart. There are, fortunately, in all countries, some master-spirits—persons who belong

* In *The New York Times* this statement, made by O'Connor, of Macneven's services in the Catholic cause, is said to have been drawn up by Counsellor Sampson.

not to the common class of men, and who seem destined for great purposes. Ireland was not destitute of some such. In the year 1760, three Irishmen, bold as they were patriotic, associated themselves into a Catholic committee. Its object was to obtain the repeal or modification of the penal statutes. This committee formed a nucleus, about which was gradually collected the best spirits in the land. Under various changes or modifications of constitution or name, it continues to the present time. The National Association, now in Ireland, is but one of its legitimate descendants. May I be permitted to add, that an ancestor of mine, Charles O'Connor, was one: the other two were Dr. Currie, the historian, and Thomas Wise, the forefather of the present highly gifted member for Waterford.

"Dr. Macneven, scarcely yet qualified by his years to assume the *toga virilis*, entered the committee as the representative of the town of Navan. He found extreme caution paralyzing many, and in some shape all of them, with the exception of John Keogh of Mount Jerome, in the county of Dublin. Mr. Keogh found himself no longer alone. On the arrival about this time in Ireland of a new viceroy, Lord Kenmare, a Catholic nobleman, backed by the Catholic aristocracy, prepared an address, which he sent to the committee for their sanction. In the absence of Mr. Keogh, Dr. Macneven opposed the cringing sycophancy of the address in a speech in which patriotism and eloquence were happily blended, characterizing it as unworthy of their honour and a departure from the general interests of the Catholics. The required sanction was withheld; the address, however, was subsequently presented at the Castle, signed by sixty-eight names—all that could be obtained. Dr. Macneven, on this occasion, received the thanks of his constituents of Navan. In this reply, he took occasion to develop the state of the Catholics, their growing spirit and increasing knowledge, and concluded by more than a hint to the sixty-eight addressers, to be careful how they further tampered with the wishes and interests of the people. The proceedings, with the names of the sixty-eight, were published, and served as the basis of the argument successfully used by Mr. Archibald Hamilton Rowan, a Protestant gentleman and patriot, when he proceeded to Ulster to disabuse the Protestants in that province in regard to their erroneous impression of the character of the Catholic clergy and gentry. This promoted that Christian union of Catholic and Protestant, afterwards known by the name of 'United Irishmen.'

"The authority of the Catholic committee to speak the sense of the Catholic body having been frequently questioned, the committee issued a proclamation calling a convention of the Catholics

of the kingdom. It was signed by their chairman, Mr. Edward Byrne, a wealthy and respectable merchant of the city of Dublin. Accordingly a convention, consisting of representatives from all the counties, cities, and principal towns of the kingdom, convened in Dublin in 1792, in the same room in Back-lane in which the parliament of King James sat at the time of the revolution. Dr. Macneven was returned from three different places—a proof of his popularity: he selected to take his seat, as formerly, for Navan.

"In this Catholic parliament, as it was often not inaptly called, Dr. Macneven sided with or rather led those who sought the invaluable right of the elective franchise; but an unhappy overcaution ruled the majority: the petition to the king, although it passed through the hands of Mr. Keogh, sought but a qualified franchise, confining it to the freeholders of the yearly estate of twenty pounds. The doctor took an active part in the long discussion of the question—he was in favour of a more extensive franchise; in his zealous advocacy a spark from his lip fell on the latent democratic spirit of the members, and lit it into life. Availing himself of an excitement of his own creation, he moved an amendment to the effect that the Catholics should demand the elective franchise to the full extent it was exercised by Protestants. It was a crisis in the affairs of the Catholics; the motion happily prevailed, and the petition thus amended was presented to the king. It was not a time to tamper with the people—the petition was graciously received.

"On the opening of the next succeeding session of parliament, the subject was favourably introduced in the royal speech. In that session, a bill passed in conformity with the petition. To this act of Dr. Macneven, Ireland was indebted for the creation of that most courageous and patriotic class of citizens, the forty-shilling freeholders. The first great turn-out of the forty-shilling freeholders resulted in the election of Daniel O'Connell for the county of Clare, and the consequent emancipation of the Catholics.

"Dr. Macneven continued to take a distinguished part in what ever was connected with the Catholic question, until after the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam from the viceroyalty of Ireland; when the hope of emancipation became so doubtful, or was placed at such a distance, that the doctor quitted the narrow sphere of his operation, and was thenceforward an United Irishman and advocate, not of partial, but of general emancipation. The doctor was soon advanced to the chief executive office as one of the five directors. The post of danger was often assigned to him, and always promptly accepted. He repaired to Paris as the accredited agent of Ireland, and was in constant communication with Theobald Wolfe Tone, then in Holland. To seek arms, ammunition, and allies, was

their object: in this they partially succeeded. The doctor was at Paris while the English and French commissioners were at Lisle, negotiating a peace. It was all-important to Ireland to delay or prevent it. He and Tone, in perfect concert of views and exertions, strove to produce a rupture of the negotiation; or, if this could not be effected, to place on the protocol a demand for the internal independence of the Irish parliament, including the religious freedom of the Catholics. Such acts of protection in favour of oppressed nations, from sympathising and powerful friends, are not uncommon in the history of diplomacy. The last of the kind is the stipulation in the treaty of Vienna, in behalf of the nationality of Poland.

"It is well known that the English plenipotentiaries returned home, *re infecta*, without making peace, and that an invasion of Ireland was attempted the next winter.

"It failed, and unfortunately Mr. Tone lost his life in consequence of his capture on board one of the ships of the expedition. Dr. Macneven returned to Ireland and was imprisoned for several years, and finally was exiled."*

The 11th of September, 1792, the corporation of Dublin passed a series of resolutions, unanimously declaratory of their grand principle—"Protestant ascendancy"—and their determination to support it with their lives and fortunes. Having set forth the Roman Catholics to be in possession of

"The most perfect toleration of their religion,
"The fullest security of their property,
"The most complete personal liberty,"

It was resolved, "That we consider the Protestant ascendancy to consist in

"A Protestant King of Ireland,
"A Protestant parliament,
"Protestant electors and government,
"The benches of justice,
"The army and the revenue,
"Through all their branches and details Protestant,
"And this system supported by a connexion with
"The Protestant realm of Britain."†

A Catholic convention, the first ever called, responded to the sentiments put forth by the Dublin corporation. At a meeting of the delegates, on the 3rd of December, 1792, Dr. Macneven, in a speech occupying nine pages of very closely printed matter, replete with powerful argument, in plain, energetic language, asserted the rights of his Catholic countrymen to the enjoyment of every privi-

* O'Connor's "Reminiscences of Macneven."
† Address of the Corporation of Dublin, 11th September, 1792.

lege which the constitution accorded to their Protestant fellow-subjects, and made the unfortunate declaration of "their honours" of the corporation the subject of an attack, which inflicted on Protestant ascendancy a greater blow and a heavier discouragement than it had ever before sustained.

He investigated its origin, its design, and its results. "It was this ascendancy," he said, "that in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, like a ferocious tiger, devastated the land of our fathers, and after establishing its den on a depopulated waste, surrounded it in a succeeding age with the horrors of mental darkness; it was this ascendancy that, breaking through the sympathies of nature and the obligations of eternal justice, established the slow tortures, the recreant prohibitions, the unnatural, unmanly enormities of the penal code. It was this ascendancy that annihilated the flourishing manufacture of woollens, that abandoned Irish shipping, shocked Irish commerce, and despoiled the nation of independence, as it now deprived the Catholic of franchise. It was that same spirit of rapacity and division which prowled for addresses, and instigated grand juries.

"Its opposition to justice had at length taught the people their resources; it stimulated virtue, awakened pride, and armed every passion of the heart in defence of the best interests of the country. They must now come forward manfully with the long list of their grievances in one hand, the charter of liberty in the other, and arraign at the bar of national justice this monster which strides over a prostrate land and taunts the people from every ministerial print and grand jury with the clanking of their chains."

Macneven ended his address by moving a *slight* amendment in the prayer of the petition for "*a participation in the elective franchise;*" he proposed that the word "*equal*" be inserted before that of "participation."

On the following day, the 4th of December, he addressed the delegates in a speech no less powerful than the former, in support of "a demand for *total emancipation*, as the most honourable, the most consistent, and the wisest measure for them to adopt; one that could not be withheld by the power in the country, and would not be opposed by the power out of it."

The Protestant ascendancy men and Lord Kenmare found a troublesome opponent in Macneven. The claim to "equal participation in the elective franchise" must have astonished the weak nerves of the one, as much as the demand for total emancipation did the other.

Macneven sailed from Yarmouth for Holland on the 7th of July, 1797, on his mission from the directory of the United Irishmen. At p. 55 of the "Pieces of Irish History," he gives the following account of the knowledge of the British government

of the communications which had been carried on with France: "Their knowledge of the negotiations of the United Irishmen with foreign states was equally notorious, and at this time one of the deputies had personal evidence of its extent and accuracy. That knowledge was obtained for some person in the pay of England, and in the confidence of France."*

The arrests of the members of the provincial committee, and of the members of the directory, on the 12th of March, 1798, have been elsewhere described. The particulars, however, of the arrest of Macneven have been recently placed in my hands, drawn up for me by an eye-witness of that occurrence, Mr. William Lenehan:

"When a young lad, serving my time to Mr. Stubbs an eminent clothier on Inns'-quay, in the year '98, Dr. Macneven lodged in our house. He was deeply implicated in the business of the rebellion, as was likewise my master, and the house was consequently one of the resorts of all the active spirits of the day, and amongst the rest of the infamous Thomas Reynolds.

"On the day in question, about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, Reynolds walked into the shop, and my master happening to be behind the counter, Reynolds sat himself on it, and commenced talking to him.

"After a little time, an unusual bustle being apparent on the opposite side of the quay, Stubbs looked out of the window, and saw the king's troops surrounding the house of Oliver Bond. (The deputies of the different bodies of the United men who met that day at Bond's, and who were to have decided on the breaking out of the rebellion, were being arrested.) Stubbs immediately took the alarm, and sent me up to Dr. Macneven to say that Mr. Bond's house was surrounded by troops. When I entered the room, the

* "Mr. Reinhardt, the resident minister of the French republic at Hamburg, when applied to by Dr. Macneven for a passport to proceed to Paris, insisted on his orders not to deliver any without the permission of his government first obtained for every individual case. Though much pressed, he was inflexible; but always offered to transmit a memoir which should detail the object of the mission. This was at last prepared, in despair of proceeding, and as Reinhardt knew the English language, and must at any rate translate the memoir into cipher, it was deemed unnecessary to compose it in French. Two days after it was delivered, Mr. Reinhardt's scruples vanished, and he granted the passport. Macneven afterwards saw the deciphered copy of this paper, in French, in Talleyrand's office, where it was kept under the particular key of the chief secretary. The original, in English, was withdrawn from Reinhardt, and never afterwards entrusted by Macneven into any hands but those of a friend upon whom suspicion could not attach; and independent of the security offered by his character, there is this strong circumstance, that the copy of the memoir which Dr. Macneven saw in the hands of Lord Clare was from the French and not the English."

This note, for reasons which it is unnecessary to state here, is commended to the particular attention of Lord Brougham.

doctor was standing with his back to the fire and his hat on (I believe he was about going over to Bond's), and Lord Edward Fitzgerald was sitting on a sofa near him. I immediately mentioned my errand. One long and earnest look passed between the two conspirators, and the doctor turned to me and said, 'Very well, boy—that will do.' I of course retired.

"In about half an hour after this we heard the drums of the Castle guard beating as they passed on to the relief (Reynolds still sitting on the counter), when from their rere a body of soldiers crossed over Church-street bridge, and advanced towards our house.

"Stubbs again became alarmed, and desired me to say to Dr. Macneven that 'all was not right; that troops were coming towards the house, and that he had better keep out of the way for a little.'

"I had only passed the cross-door of the shop when the word 'Halt' was given; then 'Left face;' and the house was almost instantaneously surrounded. Sentinels were placed at every door, two of the soldiers were on the garden wall, and wherever there was a chance for escaping, a soldier occupied or watched that place.

"I had hurried up on the first alarm, and was telling the doctor what was now but too evident—that the house was surrounded, and that the king's troops were coming up stairs. 'Let them come, boy,' was all the reply he made, when a king's messenger, accompanied by a captain in the Fermanagh militia and a sergeant of the same corps, entered the apartment.

"Dr. Macneven was still standing with his back to the fireplace, and Lord Edward was reclining on the sofa, as I already mentioned. 'Dr. Macneven?' said the messenger in a tone of inquiry. 'That's my name,' said the doctor, advancing. 'You are my prisoner,' said the messenger; 'and I will be obliged by your surrendering all your private papers into my hands.' The doctor immediately gave him his keys, and told him that the room they were in and the next one were the only ones he occupied in the house, and that he could search them.

"The messenger and the sergeant then left the room; the captain remained with the prisoner; and in a short time the two former returned, bringing with them the doctor's private desk and some papers. A carriage having been sent for in the meantime, the messenger requested the doctor to descend with him to the street. Macneven prepared to do so, as did also Lord Edward; when the militia captain, turning to the messenger, said, 'This is Lord Edward Fitzgerald; had we not better take him with us.' 'No, sir—certainly not,' said the messenger. 'My instructions are explicit, and I will not go beyond them.'

"The entire party then descended the stairs, and Lord Edward walked through the shop with the doctor to the carriage; when passing Reynolds, both looked at him, and he was evidently disconcerted by Macneven's fixed regard. Arrived at the carriage, Macneven entered, accompanied by the captain and messenger. Lord Edward shook him cordially by the hand, and left. The carriage then drove off, and I never saw Dr. Macneven again.

"An hour had not elapsed from the time of the arrest till the messenger and party again returned in great haste, and inquired for 'the gentleman who was with Dr. Macneven.' I told them Lord Edward had left the house with themselves, and had not since returned. The messenger retired; and that very evening there was a proclamation out, offering a reward of £1,000 for the apprehension of his lordship."

"On the 12th of March, 1798, after the arrests in Dublin, Mr. Cooke told Dr. Macneven that government was in possession of a copy of the memoir given by him to the French minister, and he removed, in this instance, all suspicion of his own veracity, by detailing a great part of its contents. The day following Dr. Macneven was again questioned by the Anglo-Irish privy council concerning the same paper. Of this discovery he found means to inform several of his friends; and at the period of the negotiation he had the satisfaction of knowing that one of those persons was actually in France, and had, in all probability, already communicated the intelligence to the directory."

The examinations of Dr. Macneven before the secret committees of the House of Lords and House of Commons, the 7th and 8th of August, 1798, having been garbled like those of Emmet and O'Connor, he published, conjointly with them in the memoir already cited, an authentic account of his examinations, and the following is a copy of them:

THE EXAMINATION OF WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN, BEFORE THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS, 7TH AUGUST, 1798.

I took the following minute of my examinations before the secret committee of the Lords and Commons; being then convinced that they would not publish the entire of my answers, and that I should possibly find it necessary, in vindication of truth, to publish them myself. The garbled, disingenuous report of these committees has appeared, and I had then an opportunity of complaining to the lord chancellor of the unfairness with which my examinations are set forth in the appendix to it. He did not deny the fact, but declared very roundly I must not expect they

would publish more of them than would answer their purpose. This, to be sure, was candid, and I will not conceal one of the very few merits I can allow his lordship.

"The lord chancellor had before him extracts from the memoir which we sent to Lord Castlereagh, on the 4th of August, in fulfilment of our agreement with government. They related to the facts detailed in our paper concerning the history and progress of the union, detached from an account of the motives and abuses which were stated by us to have given rise to the resolutions we adopted. The examination was altogether conducted in a manner to obtain for such parts of the memoir a certain authenticity for publication, without publishing the memoir itself. He went into a minute examination of the civil and military organization, and the various communications with France. When he came to that part which mentions another memoir given to the French minister at Hamburgh, he turned to an extract of a copy of it, which he had before him on some subsequent occasion. He said that no copy of the entire was ever sent from England; and in this I can readily believe him. He asked how that memoir happened to be given to the French minister. I answered that the Irish agent applied to the French minister for a passport to go into France, which the minister made some difficulty in granting, but called for a memoir, and offered to transmit it to his government. The memoir was accordingly written, and soon after the person got a passport. This tedious examination took up several hours.

Lord Chancellor.—Pray, Dr. Macneven, what number of troops did the Irish directory require from the French government for the invasion of Ireland?

Macneven.—The *minimum* force was 5,000 men; the *maximum*, 10,000. With that number, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition, we knew that an Irish army could be formed and disciplined. This, aided by the universal wish of the people to shake off the yoke, we had no doubt would succeed; and we were always solicitous that no foreign force should be able to dictate in our country. Liberty and national independence being our object, we never meant to engage in a struggle for a change of masters.

Lord Chancellor.—Was not your object a separation from England?

Macneven.—It certainly became our object when we were convinced that liberty was not otherwise attainable. Our reasons for this determination are given in the memoir; it is a measure we were forced into, inasmuch as I am now, and always have been of opinion, that if we were an independent republic, and Britain ceased to be formidable to us, our interest would require an intimate connexion with her.

Lord Chancellor.—Such as subsists between England and America?

Macneven.—Something like it, my lord.

Archbishop of Cashel.—In plain English, that Ireland should stand on her own bottom, and trade with every other country just according as she found it would be her interest?

Macneven.—Precisely, my lord. I have not, I own, any idea of sacrificing the interests of Ireland to those of any other country; nor why we should not in that, as in every other respect, be as free as the English themselves.

Archbishop of Cashel.—Ireland could not support herself alone.

Macneven.—In my opinion she could; and, if once her own mistress, would be invincible against England and France together; but this, my lord, is a combination never to be expected. If necessary I could bring as many proofs in support of this opinion as a thing admits of which may be only supported or opposed by probabilities.

Lord Kilwarden.—Had the north any intention of rising in rebellion in the summer of 1797?

Macneven.—It had an intention of rising in arms after General Lake's proclamation.

Lord Kilwarden.—What prevented it?

Macneven.—The people of the north were made acquainted with assurances received about this time from France, that the expected succours would be shortly sent to us; and it was represented to them that we would be giving the English a great advantage by beginning before they arrived. For this, as well as other reasons, I was always averse to our beginning by ourselves.

Lord Kilwarden.—Then if you thought you would have succeeded you would have begun?

Macneven.—Most probably we should; at the same time I am bound to declare that it was our wish to act with French aid, because that would tend to make the revolution less bloody, by determining many to join in it early, who, while the balance of success was doubtful, would either retain an injurious neutrality, or even perhaps oppose it.

Lord Kilwarden.—The union held out to the poor an assurance that their condition would be ameliorated; how was this to be accomplished?

Macneven.—In the first place, by an abolition of tithes; and in the next, by establishing such an order of things as would give more free scope to their industry, and secure to them a better recompense for it.

Archbishop of Cashel.—You know very well if tithes were abolished the landlords would raise the rents, and the tenants would not be benefited.

Macneven.—I know, my lord, that during the period of the lease, at least, there would be no such rise, but that now, year after year, there is not a single improvement made by the tenant without the parson's getting a proportion of the profits; it is a tax which increases in proportion with the tenant's industry, and encroaches on his capital in order to form an income for a man to whom he is not indebted for any service; and in general there is the loss of the full tenth between the incumbent and his proctor.

Archbishop of Cashel.—Can you account for the massacres committed upon the Protestants by the Papists in the county of Wexford?

Macneven.—My lord, I am far from being the apologist of massacres, however provoked; but if I am rightly informed as to the conduct of the magistrates of that county, the massacres you allude to were acts of retaliation upon enemies much more than fanaticism; moreover, my lord, it has been the misfortune of this country scarcely ever to have known the English natives or settlers otherwise than enemies, and in his language the Irish peasant has but one name for Protestant and Englishman, and confounds them; he calls both by the name of *Sasanagh;* his conversation, therefore, is *less against a religionist* than against a *foe;* his prejudice is the effect of the ignorance he is kept in, and the treatment he receives. How can we be surprised at it when so much pains are taken to brutalize him?

Lord Chancellor.—I agree with Dr. Macneven; the Irish peasant considers the two words as synonymous; he calls Protestant and Englishman, indifferently, *Sasanagh.*

Lord Kilwarden.—I suppose the religious establishment would be abolished with the tithes?

Macneven.—I suppose it would.

Lord Kilwarden.—Would you not set up another?

Macneven.—No, indeed.

Lord Kilwarden.—Not the Roman Catholic?

Macneven.—I would no more consent to that than I would to the establishment of *Mahometanism.*

Lord Kilwarden.—What would you do, then?

Macneven.—That which they do in America; let each man profess the religion of his conscience, and pay his own pastor.

Lord Chancellor.—Do you think the mass of the people in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught care the value of this pen, or the drop of ink it contains, for Parliamentary Reform or Catholic Emancipation?

Macneven.—I am sure they do not, if by the mass of the people your lordship means the common, illiterate people; they do not understand it. What they very well understand is, that it would

be a very great advantage to them to be relieved from the payment of tithes, and not to be fleeced by their landlords; but there is not a man who can read a newspaper who has not considered the question of reform, and was not once at least attached to that measure; the people of the least education understand it; and why the common people, whose opinion on every other occasion is so little valued, should be made the criterion of public opinion, I do not know.

Lord Chancellor.—I dare say they all understand it better than I do.

Macneven.—As to Catholic Emancipation, the importance of that question has passed away long since. It really is not worth a moment's thought at the present period.

Lord Dillon.—Has the union extended much into Connaught?

Macneven.—It has, very considerably.

Lord Dillon.—I did not think so. What is the extent of the organization?

Macneven.—Less, perhaps, than in other places; it got later into Connaught, but very great numbers have taken the test. From the misery of the poor people, and the oppressiveness of landlords in many parts of that province, we have no doubt but if the French ever land in force there they will be joined by thousands—probably by the whole of its population.

Archbishop of Cashel.—If the French had made peace at Lisle, as you say they were willing to do, they would have left you in the lurch; and may they not do so again?

Macneven.—The French government declared that it would not deceive the Irish, and that it must make peace if England offered such terms as France had a right to expect; but that if the insincerity of the cabinet of St. James's should frustrate the negotiation, the Irish should never be abandoned; and I now consider the directory as bound by every tie of honour never to make peace until we are an independent nation.

Archbishop of Cashel.—What security have you that the French would not keep this country as a conquest?

Macneven.—Their interest and our power. If they attempted any such thing they must know that England would not fail to take advantage of it; that she would then begin to get a sense of justice towards Ireland, and make us any offer short of separation, as she did America, when by a like assistance America was enabled to shake off her yoke. Moreover, it is not possible for the French to send any force into this country which would not be at the mercy of its inhabitants; but the example which was held out to them, and to which they promised to conform, was that of Rochambeau in America.

A Member of the Committee.—To what number do you think the United Irishmen amounted all over the kingdom?

Macneven.—Those who have taken the test do not, I am convinced, fall short of 500,000, without reckoning women and old men. The number regularly organized is not less than 300,000; and I have no doubt all these will be ready to fight for the liberties of Ireland when they get a fair opportunity.

Lord Chancellor.—We shall not trouble you with any more questions.

SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 8TH AUGUST, 1798.

Lord Castlereagh.—Dr. Macneven, the Lords have sent us the minutes of your examination before them, and we only wish to trouble you with some questions relative to the interior state of the country.

Speaker.—Pray, sir, what do you think occasioned the insurrection?

Macneven.—The insurrection was occasioned by the house-burnings, the whipping to extort confessions, the torture of various kinds, the free quarters, and the murders committed upon the people by the magistrates and the army.

Speaker.—This only took place since the insurrection?

Macneven.—It is more than twelve months (looking at Mr. Corry) since these horrors were perpetrated by the Ancient Britons about Newry; and long before the insurrection they were quite common through the counties of Kildare and Carlow, and began to be practised with very great activity in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford.

Corry and *Latouche.*—Yes, a few houses were burned.

Macneven.—Gentlemen, there were a great deal more than a few houses burned.

Speaker.—Would not the organization have gone on, and the union become stronger, but that the insurrection was brought forward too soon?

Macneven.—The organization would have proceeded, and the union have acquired that strength which arises from order. Organization would at the same time have given a control over the people, capable of restraining their excesses; and you see scarcely any have been committed in those counties where it was well established.

Lord Castlereagh.—You acknowledge the union would have become stronger but for the means taken to make it explode?

Macneven.—It would every day have become more perfect; but I do not see anything in what has happened to deter the people from persevering in the union and its objects—on the contrary, if

I am rightly informed, the trial of force must tend to give the people confidence in their own power; as I understand it is now admitted that if the insurrection was general and well conducted it would have been successful.

Sir J. Parnell.—Do you know the population of Wexford county?

Macneven.—Not exactly; but people agree that if the insurrection of a few counties in Leinster, unskilfully as it was directed, was so near overthrowing the government, a general rising would have freed Ireland.

Lord Castlereagh.—Were not the different measures of the government which are complained of, subsequent to various proceedings of the United Irishmen?

Macneven.—Prior, my lord, to most of them. If your lordship desires it I will prove by comparison of dates that government throughout has been the aggressor. [His lordship was not curious.]

Speaker (looking at the minutes from the Lords).—You say that you wished to keep back the insurrection; how do you reconcile that with the general plan of arming?

Macneven.—From the time we had given up Reform as hopeless, and determined to receive the French, we adopted a military organization, and prepared to be in a condition to co-operate with them; but it was always our wish to wait, if possible, for their arrival. We wished to see liberty established in our country with the least possible expense of private happiness, and in such a way that no honest man of either party should have cause to regret it. We had before our eyes the revolution of 1688, in which a popular general, with only a small army, gave the friends of liberty an opportunity of declaring themselves. Accordingly, upon that celebrated occasion, the junction of the people of England with King William was so extensive, that war and its concomitant evils were entirely precluded. I know the case would be the same here if there was a French landing.

Mr. Alexander.—Although talents and education are to be found in the union, yet there is no comparison, in point of property, between those who invited the French and those who brought in King William.

Macneven.—Pardon me, sir, I know very many who possess probably much larger properties than did Lord Danby, who signed the invitation to the Prince of Orange, or than did Lord Somers, who was the great champion of the Revolution. The property in the union is immense; but persons in a situation to be more easily watched were not required to render themselves particularly conspicuous.

Speaker.—But in case of a revolution, would not many persons be banished or destroyed, and their property forfeited; for instance, the gentlemen here?

Macneven.—We never had a doubt but in such an event many of those who profess to be the warmest friends of the British connexion would very quickly join us; and the readiness with which we have seen them support different other administrations, led us to suppose they might possibly do us the HONOUR of supporting our own. I am confident, sir, that in case of revolution the United Irishmen would behave better to their enemies than their enemies do to them.

Speaker.—Was not the *Olive Branch*, and the arms she had on board, destined for this country?

Macneven.—I never heard they were. Arms have been frequently offered, but we always refused to accept them without troops; for we knew that insurrection would be the immediate consequence of a landing of arms, and we constantly declared to the French government that we never meant to make our country a La Vendee, or the seat of Chouan.

Speaker.—Do you think Catholic Emancipation or Parliamentary Reform are objects of any importance with the common people?

Macneven.—Catholic Emancipation, as it is called, the people do not care about; I am sure they ought not now. They know, I believe, very generally, that it would be attended with no other effect than to admit into the House of Peers a few individuals who profess the Catholic religion, and enable some others to speculate on seats in the House of Commons. No man is so ignorant as to think this would be a national benefit. When Lord Fitzwilliam was here I considered the measure a good one, as it would have removed the pretexts of those feuds and animosities which have desolated Ireland for two centuries, and have been lately so unhappily exacerbated; but now that those evils have occurred, which the stay of that nobleman would have prevented, they are not little measures which can remedy the grievances of this country.

[*Speaker* (looking over at somebody).—See that.]

Speaker.—But are you not satisfied that Reform would go as little way to content the people as Catholic Emancipation?

Macneven.—Sir, I can best answer that question by declaring what the sentiments of the United Irishmen were at different periods. When Mr. Ponsonby brought in his first Bill of Reform, I remember having conversed with some of the most confidential men in the north on that subject, and they declared to me they would think the country happy, and likely to think itself so, by

getting that bill. When he brought in his last bill, I am sure the country at large would have been satisfied with the same.

Lord Castlereagh.—They would have been satisfied to effect a revolution through a reform.

Macneven.—If a change of system be one way or other inevitable, of which I have no doubt, and which you yourselves cannot but think highly probable, who can be so much interested in its occurring peaceably as you are? In any tranquil change you will retain your properties, and the immense influence which attaches to property. In such a situation you would necessarily have a considerable share in the management of affairs; and I cannot conceive how a revolution effected in such a manner would much confound the order of society, or give any considerable shock to private happiness.

Speaker.—Don't you think the people would be dissatisfied with any reformed parliament which would not abolish the Church Establishment and tithes?

Macneven.—I have no idea of a reformed parliament that would not act according to the interest and known wishes of the people. I am clear that tithes ought to be suppressed, and have no doubt the Church Establishment would follow.

A Member.—Would you not set up another?

Macneven.—Most certainly not; I consider all church establishments as injurious to liberty and religion.

Mr. J. C. Beresford.—Will you tell me what you understand by a free House of Commons?

Macneven.—One which should be annually and freely returned by the people, and in which their interests, for the most part, should direct their decisions.

Mr. J. C. Beresford.—What do you think of pot-walloping boroughs? they afford a specimen of universal suffrage.

Macneven.—I know some adversaries of reform who have less reason to be displeased with them than I have; but they are a proof how useless would be any partial reform, and that a thing may be noxious in a detached state, which would form a valuable part of a good system.

A Member.—It seems we are reduced to the unfortunate situation of not being able to content the people without a reform which would overthrow the Church Establishment, and break the connexion with England.

Macneven.—If you be in that situation, give me leave to tell you it was brought on by the perseverance with which every species of reform has always been refused, and the contumely manifested towards those who petitioned for it. Discussion was

provoked by this treatment, and resentment excited; the consequences of which are now that the people would probably exercise to its full extent whatever privilege they acquired, though, if timely granted, they would stop far short of the length to which it might be carried; this is the nature of man. But, sir, I see no necessary connexion between the fall of the Establishment and a separation from England.

Speaker.—Sure, if the head of the Church was removed, the connexion would be broken.

Macneven.—It might be preserved through the king, if the Irish thought proper to retain it. As the parliament now exists, with two-thirds of it (if I may be allowed to speak frankly) the property of individuals in the pay of the British cabinet, the connexion is indeed injurious to Ireland, and it is rendered so by the parliament; but if we had a free parliament, there might be a federal connexion advantageous to both countries.

Sir J. Parnel.—Under that federal connexion Ireland would not go to war when England pleased.

Macneven.—I hope not. Were the connexion of this nature, it would probably have preserved England from the present war, and rendered her the same kind of service which might be expected from a free House of Commons, if she had one.

A Member.—What has hitherto prevented the French from invading this country?

Macneven.—Nothing, I am sure, but inability; this, however, will not always last; and I have not the least doubt but when it passes off they will invade it, unless by a change of system you content the nation, and arm it against them; it will then defend itself, as it did before by its volunteers.

Speaker.—What system?

Macneven.—A system of coercion, and a system of injustice, to be replaced by a system of freedom.

Sir J. Parnel.—Would you not be disposed, as well as other gentlemen who may have influence with the people, to exert it, in order to induce them to give up their arms, without the intervention of force?

Macneven.—I cannot answer that question, unless I am told what equivalent is meant to be given them for such a surrender.

Sir J. Parnel.—Pardon.

Macneven.—They never considered it a crime to have arms, nor do I; on the contrary, they have been taught and know it is a right of theirs to possess them. If any attempt is made to take from them their arms, they will mistrust the motives, and think, not without reason, that it is intended by such conduct to leave them naked, at the mercy of their enemies.

Sir J. Parnel.—Pikes are horrible weapons, and I don't know but a law might be passed against them.

Macneven.—I am sure I have seen as strange laws passed without any difficulty; but one might equally as well be made against muskets and bayonets.

Sir J. Parnel.—But pikes are not in the contemplation of the law which gives the subject the right of possessing arms.

Macneven.—I believe, Sir John, the law which declares that right to belong to every freeman was partly obtained by the pike.

Speaker.—It was Magna Charta.

Lord Castlereagh.—What is likely to be the effect of the insurrection that has been just put down?

Macneven.—It will teach the people that caution which some of their friends less successfully endeavoured to inculcate; and I am afraid it will make them retaliate with a dreadful revenge the cruelties they suffered, whenever they have an opportunity.

Lord Castlereagh.—Will they, do you think, rise again?

Macneven.—Not, I believe, till the French come; but then, most assuredly, whenever they can join them.

Speaker.—Will the people consider themselves bound hereafter by the oaths of the union?

Macneven.—I suppose they will.

Speaker.—Would you?

Macneven.—I, who am going to become an emigrant from my country, am dispensed from answering that question; yet I acknowledge, were I to stay I would think myself bound by them; nor can I discover anything in what has passed to make it less my duty.

Speaker.—Ay, you consider a republican government more economical?

Macneven.—Corruption is not necessary to it.

Speaker.—How did you mean to pay the loan from Spain—I suppose from our forfeited estates?

Macneven.—Rather, sir, from your places and pensions. If I only take the pension list at £100,000 (it has been considerably higher, and I believe it is so still), that alone would be sufficient to pay four times the interest of the half-million we meant to borrow. I need not tell you that money can be got when the interest can be regularly paid. We conceive also there are several places with large salaries, for which the present possessors do no other service than giving votes in parliament; another considerable fund would, we imagine, be found by giving these sums a different application.

Speaker.—Do you remember Mr. Grattan's motion about tithes? Was not that a short cut towards putting down the Established Church?

Macneven.—If the stability of the Established Church depends

on the payment of tithes, the Church stands on a weaker foundation than in civility I would have said of it; but sure I am, sir, that if tithes had been commuted according to Mr. Grattan's plan, a very powerful engine would have been taken out of our hands.

A Member.—Is not the union much indebted to the Roman Catholic clergy?

Macneven.—The principle of burying all religious differences in oblivion was warmly embraced by the Catholic clergy; some of them became more active members of the union, and I make no doubt but they are in general well affected to the liberties of their country.

Speaker.—Have not the priests a great influence over the people?

Macneven.—When they espouse the interests of the people they are readily obeyed by them, from the reliance that is placed on their better sense and education. When they oppose these interests they are certainly found to have neither authority nor influence. Of this I can give you two important examples. At the time the Catholic committee was opposed by the *sixty-eight*, together with Lord Kenmare and his *marksmen*, a priest between Kilbeggan and Moate, who endeavoured to seduce his flock to support the slavish principles of that party, was well nigh *hanged* by his own parishioners for what they deemed treachery to their interests. The other, a priest in the north, who thought fit to preach against the union; the flock immediately left the chapel, and sent him word they would for that Sunday go to the meeting-house, and that if he did not desist from such politics in future they would come near him no more. Of such a nature, gentlemen, is the influence of the Catholic clergy.

Speaker.—Are the bishops much looked up to?

Macneven.—They are not, as far as I can learn, so well beloved, or so much confided in by the people as the inferior clergy.

Speaker.—Can you assign any reason for that?

Macneven.—I am inclined to believe it is because they are seen so much about the Castle, and because some acts coming from that body have manifested an over-extraordinary compliance for the supposed wishes of government.

Speaker.—Did you see Dr. Hussey's letter—what do you think of that?

Macneven.—I have seen it, and disapprove of it. As one name and paper is mentioned, I cannot help saying that I have seen another letter with the name of Dr. Moylan, which contained a remarkable falsehood in favour of administration; but as this was only a pious fraud perhaps, I could never hear that they complained of it.

Lord Castlereagh.—We will detain you no longer.

WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN.

CHAPTER III.

CAREER OF MACNEVEN IN THE UNITED STATES.

From the period of Macneven's examination to that of his arrival in America, there are no matters of importance which have not been given in the preceding narrative. The following documents will serve to throw some additional light on the brief notice of his career in the United States :

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF MR. THOMAS O'CONNOR OF NEW YORK, IN REFERENCE TO THE ABOVE-MENTIONED SUBJECT.

"New York, 26th September, 1842.

"Although the history of my friend Macneven's career in America has no direct connexion with his earlier life in Europe, or his connexion with the endeavours to establish freedom in his native land, yet it serves to show how consistently he pursued and studied the interests of his country here. In the year 1816, a free office was opened in Nassau-street (I believe the first of the kind established in the United States), for the purpose of procuring employment for Irish emigrants, who were then arriving here in great numbers. It was attended with considerable success. Besides employment obtained in the city and neighbourhood of New York, a vast number of them were directed to places in the interior where employment had been previously engaged for them. It was about this time a meeting was held in this city, at which all the distinguished Irishmen attended, the object of which was the settlement of Irish agriculturists on American lands, where, as owners of the soil, they would be respectable and independent. Dr. Macneven was either the chairman, or an active and influential member of the meeting. As a result of that meeting an application was made to the Congress of the United States for a portion of the public lands on terms accommodating to the Irish, and not injurious to the interest of the government. The petition for this purpose was favourably viewed by a large number of the members of the House of Representatives, but the question went against the Irish by a small majority—I think twelve.

"About the year 1827 he established a free office in Mott-street, with an object similar to that of the one in Nassau-street, and with somewhat similar success. He relied on the corporation of the city for some support, to be derived from the money levied on emigrants on their arrival there. This application met no favour from the corporation.

"He was likewise the originator, I believe, of an establishment, or free registry office, for the benefit of servants; the office continues open in Broadway, near Canal-street. Several years ago he wrote and published for the direction of emigrants, in pamphlet form, 'Directions or advice to Irishmen arriving in America.' To it was attached directions for naturalization, by the late Thomas Addis Emmet. He was a member of nearly every society formed in this city, having for its object the honour or the interest of his countrymen. One only he eschewed, because he considered it not sufficiently *national* in its views. In the years 1828-9 he was appointed president of the society, 'The Friends of Ireland,' in New York, which contributed not a little to the means which insured the success of the emancipation of the Irish Catholics. He was the first to move and to promote the erection of a splendid monument to the memory of the late Thomas Addis Emmet.

"Dr. Macneven was as warm an advocate of the Repeal of the Legislative Union between England and Ireland, as he had heretofore been a never-pausing advocate of the independence of his native land.

"THOMAS O'CONNOR."

In the spring of 1834 Macneven passed through one of those ordeals which men who take a part in public affairs in America have not unfrequently to go through. Jackson's removal of the deposits from the United States Bank had been publicly spoken of by Macneven as "unwise and unstatesmanlike." Up to that period he had been a strenuous supporter of Jackson. A furious clamour was raised against him; he was accused of inconsistency, and, like every other person then opposed to the removal of the deposits, he was charged with being bribed by the bank to support its interests. The Jacksonite press, and even the Irish press of America, assailed him in the fiercest manner, and the usual consequence of a warfare of this kind followed. Macneven was denounced, mobbed, and, in all probability, would have been maltreated had he fallen into the hands of the enraged multitude; his house was besieged, some persons forced their way into it, terrified his family, and, having done so, returned to their homes, and after a little time to their senses. No small number of the lower orders of his own countrymen joined in this outrage, on a man whose life had been devoted for twenty-nine years in that city to their interests.

On this trying occasion, when popular injustice and ingratitude might have been expected to have irritated and disgusted him, he gave expression to no complaint, manifested no annoyance, nor would suffer others to speak harshly of the treatment he had met

with. "He said his poor countrymen had been deceived—they would soon find out their error, and make amends for their folly." In his communications to the press on this subject, he maintained the same tone of moderation; in the calm and philosophic spirit which was peculiar to his character, he pursued the even tenor of his way, and in a little time the usual mutability of public opinion was exhibited, and he found himself, as he expected, reinstated in his old position in public favour.

The New York Enquirer of March, 1834, enters largely into Dr. Macneven's opinions on the question of the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank, by the president, General Jackson. The following extracts are taken from a communication of Dr. Macneven to certain citizens of New York, who had called on him for his views of a subject that had become a national controversy in the United States. Dr. Macneven says in this communication:

"I supported General Jackson's election, and I continue to feel the highest sense of gratitude for his eminent services in the field. Though, perhaps, disappointed in some of the expectations I had formed of the benefits to be derived from his administration, still, preferring him far before those who were brought as candidates against him, I have sustained him as long as I could do so conscientiously. In relation to the great question which agitates and engrosses Congress and the people, after having examined his course with every disposition to find it justifiable, I cannot possibly approve it.

"The fiscal reasons which have been assigned for the removal of the public deposits are so futile, that they hardly deserve an answer. To say in the same breath, that the necessary demands of government will reduce them in one year to little or nothing, and yet that they must be removed at once, lest they should be so greatly accumulated by the time the charter will expire, as to compel Congress to renew the charter, is really too absurd to be deemed serious. When I am told that the public monies were not safe in the United States Bank, and looking at the public documents I find that just before the removal they amounted in the whole to less than ten millions, while the bank had eleven millions in specie; but now that they amount in this city alone to five millions, while the banks in which they are placed have only eight hundred thousand dollars in specie, I cannot see what has been gained in point of safety.

"The true and indeed avowed motive was a political one. The object was to cripple—nay, to crush an institution deemed dangerous, and which is said to have set itself in opposition to the will of the people, and to have improperly interfered in the election

of our chief magistrate. But the folly of the attempt of the bank, if it really was made, has been fully demonstrated by the result of the elections. We are not, thank God, governed by wealth, but by numbers. . . . .

"Yet it is not simply because an unwise and unfortunate measure has been adopted and is obstinately maintained, that I feel myself called upon to express my dissent. Though an humble individual, I may be permitted to say that I am actuated by much higher motives. I have looked at the law which is said to warrant the deed, and I see that by it the public monies were ordered to be kept in a certain place, unless the secretary of the treasury thought it necessary to remove them, in which case he was bound to lay before Congress his reasons for so doing. . . . .

"I cannot sustain such a measure. It is a palpable infringement of the laws. It is equally contrary to the spirit of our constitution, to the principles of genuine liberty, and of republican institutions. . . . .

"The three respectable banks selected for the purpose have a capital of six millions of dollars. Their discounts before they had the public deposits amounted to 9,200,000 dollars, and they made, one with another, an annual dividend of six and a-half per cent. But with the aid of the public monies they are now able to discount near 13,800,000 dollars, or 4,600,000 dollars more than formerly, giving an additional profit of four and a-half per cent. a-year on their capital. Thus we have forty bank directors endowed with the power of distributing four millions and a-half in loans, beyond the natural resources of their banks, and two thousand stockholders whose income is at once raised from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 11 per cent. This might not give much influence to the grantor if the boon was irreparable. But on what tenure is it held? It depends on the sole will of the secretary, who has reserved the power to annul the contract whenever he pleases, and who for any such change is no longer bound to assign reasons. . . . .

"The democratic party was founded on the purest principles, and whilst adhering to and bound by these, it had a right to require personal sacrifices from its friends—namely, that they should yield their opinions to those of the majority, on unimportant points not affecting these principles, or in the selection of candidates of equal qualifications. But where the principle itself is called in question, I must preserve my independence of opinion, and with regret, yet without hesitation, dissent from those who, under colour of adherence to the usages of party, may require a sacrifice of all that is dear to us, and thereby subvert the fundamental principle of our institutions. This, as I understand it, is that the majority, not of any party, but of the people, must govern.

"To you, my friends and fellow-citizens, who know me, I need not say that I am not one of the rich—that I derive my means of existence from the moderate profits of my professional industry—that I am and cannot cease to be a democrat—that I have lived a friend of liberty, and have once suffered for that cause. For my zeal in its defence I became a proscribed exile from my native land. Here, in this asylum of the oppressed, I have now lived almost twenty-nine years. I have, you well know, no other country. I am identified with its interests, its prosperity, its glorious institutions. These I cannot desert. On their preservation depends our happiness and that of our posterity. They are the boast, the model, and the hope of the friends of liberty throughout the civilized world. I adjure my fellow-citizens not to blast those hopes and the high destinies to which this nation is called; to preserve those institutions inviolate; to defend and protect them against every attack, and every attempted infringement, from whatever source, or from whomsoever they may come; to bring back the administration of our government to its native purity; and to leave to their children, entire, unshackled, and unblemished, the sacred inheritance such as they received it from their fathers.

"To sum up in a few words, gentlemen, my answers to your questions: I disapprove of the removal of the deposits, and am in favour of their restoration forthwith.

"I am opposed to the continuation of the present Bank of the U.S., but am in favour of a national bank that shall possess the advantages of this, and distribute them as equally as may be for the public accomodation, without prejudice to liberty. . . . .

(Signed) "W. J. MACNEVEN."

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF COUNSELLOR SAMPSON IN DEFENCE OF DR. MACNEVEN'S VIEWS.

("*New York Journal of Commerce*," *9th April*, 1834.)

"As to the letter of Dr. Macneven, in answer to a requisition of his fellow-citizens, it is manifestly the production of a sound and vigorous understanding, and I am well convinced the heart of him who penned it is no less sound. It is clear, unsophisticated, and unequivocal. He has however been accused of tergiversation and inconsistency, and for this reason, that on the 29th of January he offered a resolution at his ward approving the measures of the executive, which in his letter, after a lapse of about two months, he as positively condemned; and for this, without any regard to circumstances, or any account made of the character of the man, gross and unfounded calumnies have been heaped upon his head.

It has been maliciously said that he was bribed and corrupted by the bank; and when this was found too revolting, another charge was added, that he had, through pique and disappointment on the refusal of an office, betrayed his friends, his party, and his own unsullied reputation.

"Is this, my fellow-citizens, to be endured? Is this a fair use to be made of the liberty of the press? Are such calumnies to be justified by party spirit, or indulged as electioneering squibs? Are they not blisters on the foul tongue of him who utters them? Is it a maxim to be countenanced by honest citizens, that all is fair in politics, and that the exercise of the most important franchise, upon whose purity all security of our rights and liberties depends, is to be polluted by means so base and unworthy? Is that being true to a party which is false to justice and reckless of common decency? It is from the too great encouragement given to such unworthy means that I have always stood aloof from party, and rather chosen to renounce its emoluments than bind myself to connive at what ought not to be tolerated. . . . .

"I could as well believe that such men could countenance that emanation from their meeting which invaded the sanctity of the private abode of my friend—whose hisses and groans, and brutal exclamations, ominous of evil, and characteristic of depravity, penetrated the recesses of his dwelling, carrying terror and alarm to the hearts of those females to whom the ties of nature and the knowledge of his virtues had rendered him so justly honoured and so dear. . . . .

"In one point the adopted citizens have not had fair play. *The Truth Teller*, for which they look for information, condemned the conduct of the doctor, but omitted the letter to which that censure referred; and some who came to the meeting full of indignation would have been, I apprehend, somewhat puzzled to say what it was about. But my countrymen have honest and feeling hearts, and will not long be deceived; they will read and judge for themselves, and remember that the man against whom they have been so suddenly inflamed is the same United Irishman—the same conspicuous and efficient member of the great Catholic committee, whose energies and courage first forced the chain and broke the spell which held the Irish nation in abject slavery; the colleague of the amiable and virtuous Teeling; the bosom friend of that ever memorable hero—the gallant, the accomplished, the lion-hearted Theobald Wolfe Tone.

"They will remember that from these and their interests he has never swerved; that his heart and hand has ever been open to the needy and distressed; that if for their sakes he has sometimes turned from the rich, at no time has he turned his face from

the poor man; and if any feelings of gratitude remain they will come back to him with redoubled affection, and if any honest pride, they will be proud of such a compatriot.

"I am, gentlemen, with much respect,

"Yours very truly,

"WILLIAM SAMPSON."

The most striking feature in Macneven's character was an imperturbable coolness and self-possession, combined with the most remarkable simplicity of mind and singleness of purpose; he was totally devoid of fear in the maintenance of his principles, and of every species of affectation in the exhibition of a very high degree of moral courage, and a chivalrous sense of duty to the interests of humanity and justice. These qualities were strikingly exhibited by him in 1834, in the controversy in which he engaged, and the conflict with the opinions of the great majority of his countrymen in the United States which ensued.

There was a sort of stoic attachment in the fidelity of Macneven to his principles; but his politics were those of a philosopher, his patriotism was the widely extended benevolence of a Catholic philanthropy. He talked of his devotion to his cause in language the least impassioned—of the enemies of his country in moderate and charitable terms; if a single virtue belonged to one of them, he presented it prominently before his hearers: it was a pleasure for him to descant upon some acts of Clare's, which he believed were evidences of a nature originally generous. It was impossible to be in his society, and still less so on terms of intimacy with him, without observing the consistency of his opinions, and the rectitude of mind displayed in the expression of them. The same principles he set out in life with advocating, he upheld in his old age, without change or modification; but his mind was open to every improvement that was suggested in the mode of carrying them into effect. His principles were inflexible, and yet he was free from obstinacy and arrogance in the assertion of them; and as to jealousy of his associates, or envy of the prominence of their station, or the pre-eminence that might be claimed for their opinions or their acts, it was not in Macneven's nature to feel anything of the sort. I speak of the man from my own intimate knowledge of his worth and virtues.

There was nothing brilliant in his talents, or showy in his conversation; his abilities, however, as a public speaker were considerable, and one or two extracts from his early speeches in "The Back-lane Parliament," as it was called, will give some idea of the plain sound sense, and strong conviction of the truth and justice of his cause, which distinguished the speeches of Macneven.

But when the vices of those, whose profligacy in the gratification of their passions had made treason to their principles the means of replenishing their resources, were the subject of his remarks, it would be difficult to convey an idea of the solemn earnestness of his language, and of the vigour and expressive energy of the terms in which he described and reprobated the acts of such men as Reynolds. It was only on some such occasion that one could discover in the placid benignity of the old man's countenance, the tranquillity of its expression, the gentleness and suavity of his manner, the mildness of his tone of voice, traces of that energy of character which he displayed on many occasions, which called for extraordinary intrepidity, presence of mind, quickness of observation, and promptness in taking advantage of the knowledge thus obtained.

The stuff that was requisite for a man in the occupation of a post beset with dangers, or a martyr to a cause which needed the demonstration of an attachment to it superior to the fear of death, was that which entered into the composition of Macneven. If the interests of that cause called for any extraordinary effort, though its issue were to prove fatal to him, Macneven would have walked to the scaffold with the same air and aspect of composure with which he would have gone to his bed.

When I visited him for the last time in 1839, and saw with deep concern the change which had taken place in his appearance, being then evidently broken down in health, and fast approaching the termination of his career, I made a memorandum of the subjects of conversation on which he expressed any opinion respecting the events or men of '98, or communicated any interesting information.

In speaking of Reynolds, Dr. Macneven said: "That villain did all he could to get evidence from me to convict me, but I distrusted him, knowing him to be given to falsehood and inclined to gluttony. I never knew one who was a sensualist who was good for anything in public business. I knew the mother of this man Reynolds well—she was a Geraldine—a shrewd, intelligent old lady. I was her physician, attended her in her last illness, and believed she did not die a natural death."

"Immediately before the arrests at Bond's, Reynolds was desirous to entrap me into an admission of a guilty knowledge of the designs of the United Irishmen. Reynolds came to my place of abode two or three days before the arrests in March, and asked for me. He came several times in the course of one day and also of the next. I at first shunned him, but finally determined to see him, and endeavour to find out if my suspicions were well founded. When he called at my lodgings on Ormond-quay, Reynolds told

me he had called to know where the provincial committee was next to meet, and the object of it. I had folded up a blank sheet of paper as a letter directed to Reynolds, and taking it up off the mantle-piece I said to Reynolds, 'Here is all the information I can give you on the subject;' fixing my eyes steadily at his face, 'but,' said I, 'as we have met there is no occasion for the letter,' and I threw the seeming letter into the fire. Such disappointment I never saw represented on the stage by an actor as was depicted in the physiognomy of Reynolds. Here the written testimony, as he thought, that would have hanged his victim, he was on the point of getting hold of, and in a moment it was in the flames; and still greater disappointment was exhibited when I said, 'How do you suppose, sir, that I should know anything of the matter?' Reynolds went away, his purpose was defeated, and he felt that he was suspected."

"The policy of government was to make us exaggerate our sentiments—to inebriate our opinions, in order to drive us to desperate courses, and then take advantage of our folly. There was one infamous paper, *The Union Star*, which was made to advocate assassination, and to express sentiments hateful to the United Irishmen. These efforts were denounced by *The Press*, but *The Press* was prosecuted, and *The Union Star* allowed to escape unpunished. The editor was a bad man."

"A certain lord said, just previous to the breaking out of the rebellion: 'The country must be made sick of republicanism; they (the people) must be maddened with liberty principles before they have had enough of anarchy, and are forced to come back to us for good government.'"

"Lord Clare was a sort of an Irishman in feeling—with all his vices, he was not of the same class as Lord Castlereagh—his blood was warm, and he was susceptible of generous emotions."

"Sir L. Parsons (the late Lord Ross) was the most staunch democrat, as I thought, of all the men of that party—his change of politics surprised me amazingly."

"Grattan would not have been so much thought of, if it had not been for Clare's hostility to him. They hated one another—Grattan checked Clare's vices; Clare stimulated Grattan's patriotism."

"There were a great many persons of high rank, and even some holding official situations, who were in the confidence of the United Irishmen, watching the turn that things would take, and ready to shape their course accordingly. A general officer in the British service was in the interest of the United Irishmen; a privy councillor was likewise friendly to their society, and frequently serviceable to it."

"Neither Grattan nor Curran were United Irishmen; with the former they entered very little into communication—it was known, in the event of success, Grattan would have accepted an important appointment in the new government; but Curran was continually consulted by them, knew everything that was going on, and his whole heart was in the cause—but he was never committed to it by attending any meeting or taking any oath. The officer, Captain Nugent, who arrested me at my lodgings on Ormond Quay, passed Lord Edward on the stairs, and allowed him to leave the house, not knowing who he was. I was taken to the Castle and brought before Lords Clare and Castlereagh; they put several questions to me; I declined to answer any; I said I had nothing to answer."

"Secretary Marsden visited the prisoners at Kilmainham, spoke kindly to them, told them that Rufus King objected to their going to America—they must think of some other country; they said their principles were those of America; he replied, 'Perhaps they imagine they have too many republicans there already.'"

"George Nugent Reynolds was a man of extraordinary wit and humour; he wrote his beautiful songs *currente calamo*. The best of them or of any in our language was his 'Green were the fields where my forefathers dwelt, oh.' He died at an inn in England on his way to Stow, to visit the Duke of Buckingham."

"Neilson's boy and Emmet's were educated by the prisoners at Fort George—each of them instructing the boys in some particular branch of education. Neilson's son was a remarkably fine boy."

"The Sheares took no ostensible part in the business in Dublin, until after the arrests at Bond's; there was a gap then, and they filled it up. They knew Lord Edward, but I was not intimately acquainted with them."

"John was rather a free-thinker in religious matters—expressed himself too openly—he was wrong in so doing, even though he might have given no preference to any particular form of religion, or made no profession of conformity to any; he considered it a proof of bad sense and bad feeling to make any parade of opinions on such subjects opposed to those generally entertained."

"Lord Edward Fitzgerald had a great deal more of mind than is generally imagined by those who are supposed to be conversant with the history of those times. He had no pretensions—no purpose but to serve Ireland; and to promote her interests he would have served in the ranks as a common soldier."

"Anthony M'Cann, 'the Exile of Erin,' exiled previous to 1798, was a handsome man with a dejected cast of countenance—he lived at Altona. His first acquaintance with the lady he married was somewhat singular. From some unknown benefactress, when

his circumstances were embarrassed, immediately after his exile, he received a new year's gift of a considerable sum of money. The following year the same act of beneficence was repeated. He then discovered the person, who proved to be a rich widow lady; and in a short time 'the Exile of Erin' was no longer an unhappy man. I heard from him about two years ago."

"T. A. Emmet was simple in his tastes and manners, went little into society, loved his family, read much; his first speech at the bar in the United States was in the defence of a slave; his last effort in a court of law was in behalf of a charitable institution. This was as it should be with his career."

"Emmet always spoke of his brother Temple as one of the first men of his age. The attorneys of Dublin told him (Macneven) that Thomas Addis Emmet had few if any superiors at the bar. One of the best pictures of Emmet was painted by Benjamin West, and is now in possession of the Fulton family."

"My views for Ireland are now limited to a domestic legislature for the business of the country, not extending to foreign policy, continuing to be a part of the English monarchy, subject to the King of England; no Church Establishment; no tithes. All schemes for the advantage of Ireland, short of this, are futile."

To a question put to me by the daughter of Macneven—"Whether it was likely the government would let her father go back to Ireland, and afford him the gratification of feeling it was in his power to return to his country, though he might never avail himself of the permission?"—Macneven did not give me time to answer; he said, "It is too late to think of that; my lot is cast here, and I have few, if any, relations in Ireland now living. The few who are living are in the county Donegal."

The last time Dr. Macneven ever addressed a public meeting was at a dinner on the festival of St. Patrick, 1837, at which he presided, in New York. The following extracts are copied from the report of that address, published in *The Green Banner:*

"It is a consolation to us to know that Ireland has to aid her in this inveterate conflict, many eminent sons of exalted genius and burning patriotism, to all of whom we owe the expression of our admiration and gratitude; but we will begin with him, the Hercules of her host—the slayer of the monster, religious persecution—whose long and invaluable services place him first in the remembrance of his countrymen—The Liberator. The toast is naturally answered by the heartfelt cheer of every true Irishman. Nor this alone. The illustrious subject of your homage merits the admiration of mankind, for his ability and success in establishing religious freedom in his country without the contamination of crime or bloodshed; as he is now prosecuting her liberation from

civil bondage without violence or war. The course of Mr. O'Connell forms in some sort a new era, well worth the consideration of whoever would win liberty and preserve order in other places subjected, like Ireland, to foreign and domestic servitude. He is now engaged in a great experiment, which the philosopher is looking to with hope, and the oligarch with dismay—an experiment on the reforming power of reason, the cogency of argument, the pressure of public opinion, and the novel efficiency of sullen but resolute inaction that, without abandoning its purpose, waits for its opportunity. With the unwearied application of his powerful talents he rouses his countrymen to an indignant sense of their degrading condition, while in the same breath he engages their intelligence in the schooling of universal discussion. His constitutional agitation is a moral lever that has its fulcrum in the hearts and arms of millions of a valiant people, whose universal mind he has disciplined to co-operation and method. . . . .

"While reviewing the operation and effects of Mr. O'Connell's system of agitation—for it is now a system, and may be denominated the Irish process of reform—we are struck with the frequent and sometimes simultaneous assemblages of large masses of the people; congregating in regular bodies, with the power and advantages of organization: taught to collect, obey, and act by superior orders. These are things that exhibit to us a great and satisfactory gain in public liberty and personal safety, such as might happen in New York, where a citizen is free to do anything and everything that does not infringe the law. But Irishmen had not this privilege in the calamitous days of the Convention and Gunpowder Bills, when the sanguinary daring of a Clare, a Foster, and a Castlereagh, stifled all remonstrance at the outset, sent the Riot Act and the soldiery to the public meeting, and trampled the press under the mercenary's heel. At that time the moral power was not suffered to act, to discuss, to agitate. It could not then regenerate Dublin, any more than it can now regenerate Vienna, Berlin, or St. Petersburgh. It is doubtless the best agent of reformation, provided there exist enough freedom of speech and action to give scope to its efficacy. In this lies the great difference between Ireland now and in 1798. There remained then but one mode of redress. It was that embraced by America under circumstances similar but not equal. There is now another way, directly contrary, but in altered circumstances far better. Who would now in this country, under any excitement of the tariff controversy, seize by force of arms a ship in Boston harbour and throw her cargo overboard, when a town meeting and a memorial to Congress would affect all that was proper or needful? No doubt Adams, and Washington, and Jefferson, were guilty of high treason when

they embraced the only alternative left; yet these noble patriots, all determined as they were, need not, in our days and altered circumstances, burn a priming to bring about the happiest revolution that was ever achieved. We must all prefer, to the most successful use of physical violence, the moral, peaceful revolution which Mr. O'Connell is now effecting by the masterly employment of the powers acquired to his country since 1798. But his machinery of honest, staid agitation no man could work at that time. His present organization of agitation was then impossible. Perhaps it is not in accordance with facts to ascribe to any leader of United Irishmen the committal of the country in 1798. The beginning of hostilities may come from either party; and to those who are versed in modern Irish history it is not unknown that the English government, through its Irish agents, intended, fomented, enacted the insurrection of 1798, in like manner as it had stirred up war in other times for ulterior purposes. Had the torture then widely inflicted—the pitch cap ignited on the peasant's head—the brand blazing in his thatch—been again encouraged by the government, even the controlling, constitutional eloquence of the Liberator himself might fail to restrain the outbursting of manhood. We have seen the case occur, when the government was the instigator to insurrection, and then the cruel and unrelenting avenger. Surely here is sufficient to justify revolution in its rise, and, thank heaven! not always without cause to bless it in its issue. We live in the midst of a specimen of what revolution has done to raise obscure provinces into the most prosperous empire on the face of earth. But whether to bear the ills we have, or to encounter others, does not admit of a general solution. Each case must be judged by the circumstances of the time and the chances of success. Those circumstances at the period of 1798, were the war then raging between England and France, against whose Jacobin excesses she raised all Europe in arms; while her own acts in Ireland, religious and civil, were equal to whatever she stigmatized as heinous in her rival—to whom, in fact, she reproached no crime that could not be retorted from her own practice."

FRAGMENT OF A NARRATIVE RESPECTING HIS FAMILY, COMMENCED BY DR. W. J. MACNEVEN.

"New York, 23rd August, 1837.

"To gratify my wife and children, and at their earnest desire, I have undertaken to compose some notes on myself and family. In younger days I had dreams of celebrity, which could be gained, I thought, by giving a proper view of the heart-stirring subjects with which I was conversant; but more important cares have

absorbed my prime, and a family memoir is all that remains for the completion of my declining years. However imperfect, it will be valued by my relations, and even fame, were it attained, is less precious than their love."

"New York, Thursday, 12th March, 1840.

"Began these memoranda. I was born, I believe, in 1763, on the 21st of March. My family possessed in fee-simple a small landed estate in the county of Galway, about a mile south from Aughrim and Kilcommodan Hill. An eventful battle was fought there on the 12th July, 1691, between the forces of King James II. and King William, and my early intimacy with every inch of the field gave my thoughts ever after an invariable direction to the unfortunate relations of Ireland with England. My mother was the daughter of a gentleman in the neighbourhood of the name of Dolphin, and my kindred of that side continued to hold a respectable standing in the country. Until about the age of ten I passed through the nearest schools. Ballinasloe and Archreagh had each a good English and Latin teacher, and I acquired under them a moderate knowledge of the rudiments of English and Latin grammar. Though fonder of play than of my book, yet I never lost sight of the head of the class, and often arrived at that gratifying distinction.

"My paternal uncle, Baron Macneven, was at this time living at Prague; he was chief physician to the Empress-queen Maria Theresa, and president of the Faculty of Medicine in the university of that city. He was also a man of good fortune, of eminent talents and learning, and persons of the best society took pleasure in frequenting his house. He sent for me to become an inmate in his family, and receive the advantages of an extensive and excellent education. A favourable opportunity presented itself, in the return of an officer in the Austrian service, who was going back, after a visit to his relatives in the county of Meath. In passing along Rogerson's-quay early in the morning, on our way to the Holyhead packet, I saw two fine-looking men brought from a back yard under a guard of soldiers, and handcuffed before my face; I learned they were American prisoners, and heard them say to the soldiery—though their own lot was a hard one, they would be happy to meet the enemy another time on Bunker's Hill. This incident awoke my attention to the events of the American war, and made me a willing reader of the English papers in my uncle's circle, when they brought us the glories of Washington and the defeats of the British army.

"My father was descended from one of that national party that stood out for Ireland in the war of Cromwell, and who were ulti-

mately driven by the conqueror into the wilds behind the Shannon, not knowing where else to banish them. There my family lived, like others of the old race, in obscurity and independence—true to their religion—full of love of Irish nationality, traditionary pride, and aversion to England." . . . .

LETTERS FROM DR. MACNEVEN TO R. R. MADDEN.

"New York, 10th July, 1837.

"Dear Sir—It is full time I should return you thanks for your kind letter of the 1st instant; but though slow in acknowledging your valuable communication, I lost no time in making a proper use of its important contents. I at once communicated a clear abstract of them to one of our liberal, widely-circulating papers; and for their correction, or their shame, our rulers and our public were soon informed of the unworthy use that is made of our flag to favour and facilitate the slave trade. Just now I have seen extracts from the report of the British commissioners of the 1st of January, 1836, concerning the transport of slaves from Cuba to Texas. You are probably aware that the inhabitants of the slave states are generally desirous of the separation of Texas from Mexico, and its annexation to the Union—their object being to extend and consolidate slavery, with a view of increasing and strengthening their power in Congress. Should this scheme succeed, the people here, and all to the eastward, already tell us that they will be driven in self-defence to foster the discontents in Canada, favour the separation of those provinces, and promote their annexation to this extremity of the Union, as a counterpoise to the south.

"In this state of things I often wish that facilities were afforded to my poor Irish countrymen to settle at Texas, where they would at once possess a quantum of ground, power, and wealth, that would give them a real home, consideration, and happiness. There is great jealousy of them in the United States, and it is increasing daily, for their numbers are mutiplying very fast, and the natives think that these foreigners, as they call them, interfere too much. There actually exists a dislike to them, notwithstanding the immense good they do. It would be a great matter for those who might remain here if there was another good place to which they would be welcome. You may offer Canada, but it is not worth occupying alongside the United States; whereas Texas would form an invaluable settlement for rich and poor. Mrs. Macneven joins me in best respects to Mrs. Madden, and in every good wish for you and your family.

"Yours sincerely,

"William James Macneven."

The following portion of a letter was found unfinished among his papers after his death:

FROM DR. MACNEVEN TO R. R. MADDEN.

"DEAR SIR—I am long indebted to you for an acknowledgment and return of letters, and hope you will never have such cause of apology for similar omissions as but too painfully exculpate me. The inability caused by long and severe sickness was the first, though not the worst of those impediments. The illness and death of a beloved daughter, which happened in that interval, leave a wound that cannot be healed or forgotten. But to hear from you was still a gratification. I was disappointed at not obtaining any circumstantial or satisfactory information from your friend, Sir Edward Baker, respecting Lord Edward's family. He told me he was born and brought up in England, and knew little of the Irish history of his family. But I am glad to see that you are employing yourself upon Irish history, and I trust that you will cause it to be better known. Mr. Warden acquaints me from Paris that a General O'Neil in that city is preparing a work on Ireland, and desirous of receiving materials from this country. Yet there are so few here who take an interest in the subject, and all are so intent upon their own affairs, that very little can be obtained. I have learned that Arthur O'Connor likewise is preparing for the press a work of a similar nature. I am now retired to the country, where I purpose to pass the remainder of my days. I am pretty old, and with this my domestic loss age leaves me no taste for a more public life. I am not rich, but have a comfortable independence for self and family, and in this country it is enough."

The preceding letter was written a short time before his death. That event took place at the house of his son-in-law, Mr. Thomas Emmet, at Harlaem, in the 78th year of his age. The following account of the funeral arrangement and interment of his remains is taken from *The New York Freeman's Journal* of 17th July, 1841:

"On Wednesday morning, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather—the rain pouring in torrents—one of the largest funeral processions that has ever been witnessed in this city moved from Mr. Emmet's house to St. Patrick's cathedral, where it arrived a few minutes after 12 o'clock. The scene in the cathedral was truly solemn and affecting. The pulpit was shrouded in black, and on the altar were laid all the habiliments of mourning customary on such occasions. The coffin was laid on a bier in the central aisle in front of the altar, and covered with a funeral pall

of fine black cloth reaching to the floor, and with a deep white edging; and on it were laid a number of burning lights in silver candlesticks. The Right Rev. Bishop Hughes officiated in pontificals, such as are worn in the solemn services for the dead—black vestments, with a white cope and a mitre of the same colour, entirely plain and devoid of ornament. All was peculiarly impressive. The swelling tones of the organ, and the chaunting by the choir of the mournful requiem for the departed soul—the prayers of the bishop, and the holy incense arising in clouds from the burning censors held by the acolytes around the 'narrow tenement' in which were laid the sole earthly remains of one so great and good—all conspired to fill the hearts and souls of those present with the most saddening emotions. We could not forbear at the time recalling to mind, and contrasting with the scene before us, that most eventful period in the life of him who now lay silent in death—when he and the Fitzgeralds, and Emmets, and Tones, and Sampsons, and hundreds and thousands besides of noble hearts, rose up to avenge their country's wrongs—to save her—to redeem her from the misery of the insulted, down-trodden captive, which she had so long and so bitterly endured. But beset with foes, and spies, and traitors, their cause was lost. And where, we inwardly inquired, was all that gallant band? An Emmet on the scaffold; Fitzgerald, the lion-hearted, set upon after the manner of assassins, and borne down beneath the weapons of a hired soldiery; death in its most terrible forms—chains, and the dungeon, and exile. Such was the fate of those who loved their altars and the homes of their fathers. The time and the circumstances around us were indeed well calculated to call up sorrowful memories.

"It was consoling, however, amid all the grief which it occasioned, to see this time-honoured patriot go down to his rest so tranquilly, and so surrounded with all that could give peace to the departing spirit. Friends without number—love and respect on every side—all the aids of religion in the hour of extremity, and his obsequies honoured by the offices of a holy bishop of that faith for which he had in his lifetime suffered and so zealously contended.

"After the funeral service in the cathedral, the procession in carriages moved to the East River at the foot of Grand-street, from which place the body was accompanied by the relatives and pall-bearers to the family burying-ground at Newtown, in Long Island."

The medical career of Dr. Macneven is recorded in *The New York Medical Gazette* of 11th August, 1841:

"Dr. Macneven was sent to Germany for his education at an early age, and continued there for ten years, taking his degree of doctor of physic at Vienna, in 1784. He returned that year to Dublin, and entered upon the practice of his profession in Dublin. . . . . He landed in New York, 4th July, 1805. He immediately entered on the practice of his profession, and in 1808 was appointed professor of midwifery in the College of Physicians and Surgeons. In 1811, he exchanged his chair for that of chemistry. In 1812, he was appointed resident physician by Governor Clinton. In 1816, materia medica was added to chemistry, and he gave instruction on both branches till 1820, when they were again separated.

"In 1826, he resigned his professorship in the College of Physicians, and united with Drs. Hosack, Francis, Mott, and Godman, in the Duane-street School. Here the chair of materia medica was again assigned him. This school was discontinued in 1830, and at that point Dr. Macneven closed his career as a teacher. In 1832, during the cholera, he was chosen one of the medical council, to whom was assigned the supervision of the hospitals and other establishments for the sick. In 1840, he was again appointed resident physician, an office which he resigned a few weeks before his death. He published, in 1820, an exposition of the atomic theory, which attracted favourable notice both at home and abroad, and about the same time an edition of Brande's Chemistry, which is extensively used as a text-book. As a lecturer he was simple, clear, and animated—as a practitioner, judicious and efficient—as a man, amiable, honest, and kind-hearted—as a patriot, ardent, active, bold, disinterested. With him the love of country was a passion as well as a principle; and when that country shall cease to cherish his memory she will be utterly unworthy of him."

LETTER RELATIVE TO THE DEATH OF DR. W. J. MACNEVEN FROM HIS WIDOW TO MRS. MADDEN.

"New York, 27th September, 1842.

"Dear Madam—I received your letter, dated 12th of August, and thank you for the kind sympathy you therein express for the irreparable loss we have sustained in the death of my much lamented husband. I feel that Dr. Madden and yourself are among the number of those friends who could justly estimate the private virtues as well as the public worth of *one* who never swerved from his duty in any one act of his life. I thank you for the amiable remembrance you are pleased to entertain of the happy intercourse between us, which your short visits to New York but

too seldom gave us the opportunity of enjoying; and I remember with much pleasure, dear madam, the last evening you passed with us—you, Dr. Madden, and your lovely boy. Dr. Madden will receive, together with this letter, a packet from my daughter, containing a hasty sketch of her father and his family.

"Agreeable to your request, I communicated to Mrs. Sampson your wishes respecting her husband—his private life, &c. Mrs. Tone has sent me the enclosed packet for Dr. Madden, which I forward to him. We have read with great interest the doctor's late work. It is indeed ably written; and I need not say that it is highly appreciated by Americans as well as by the Irish population of our country. Mr. Emmet requests me to tell the doctor that his brother Robert, who has his father's papers, has been out of town for most of the summer—that he will return shortly, when he will obtain and transmit, by the earliest opportunity, anything that may be deemed useful for his work. Mr. Hugh Wilson, one of the United Irishmen, a dear friend and fellow-sufferer with my beloved husband, died in 1829, leaving two sons. The eldest, Edward Joseph, is practising law with my son, Thomas A. Emmet. He is the very counterpart of his excellent father. Hugh, the youngest, is engaged in farming in Pennsylvania. He is well educated, and possesses good talents and great energy of character. They are united to my children and to those of the Emmets by the strongest bonds of friendship.

"Please to accept for yourself and Dr. Madden my kindest regards.

"I am, dear Madam, yours very sincerely,
(Signed) "Jane M. Macneven."

LETTER FROM WILLIAM HUGH MACNEVEN, THE ONLY SON OF DR. W. J. MACNEVEN, TO R. R. M.

"New York, 18th April, 1843.

"Dear Sir—I enclose you with this letter a copy of a proclamation written by my father, after he had been exiled from Ireland and had joined the French army in France. The United Irishmen having entered into negotiations with the government, many, like my father, entered the army with the hope of invading Ireland and achieving her emancipation. This proclamation was drawn up by my father with a view to publishing it as soon as they should land in Ireland; but disappointed and deceived in their expectations, it of course remained in manuscript. . . .

"That portion of your work already published, I need scarcely say, has been widely circulated in this great reading community,

and has given satisfaction to all for the candid spirit in which the events it embraces are narrated. The whole tenor of the work, disquieting as must always be the picture of that period of Ireland's unhappy history, maintains that dispassionate tone which is undoubtedly best calculated to obtain the confidence of the reader, and must do much toward destroying the prejudices which calumny has so long engendered. The historian who records truths so unpalatable to the powers that be, follows no beaten track; he writes however not wholly for the present, but for a future which must come fraught with great political changes.

"I believe I but speak the sentiments of all similarly interested, in expressing my deep indebtedness to the pen which has so successfully undertaken the task of rescuing from oblivion a just record of the men of '98; and though I differ from you in upholding—as I most religiously do—the wisdom and justice of their attempt, I am satisfied that it can only need a faithful history of Ireland's wrongs to vindicate the character and motives of the men who sought to redress them. Few of the men of that day are now living to give their testimony, and the time was fast passing when history could secure a just record of a period which sucessful tyranny is so much interested in cloaking with falsehood.

"With sentiments of great respect, dear sir, I remain your obedient servant,

(Signed) "WILLIAM HUGH MACNEVEN.

"Dr. R. R. Madden.

"My mother and sister beg to be remembered most kindly to Mrs. M. and yourself."

NOTICES OF DR. W. J. MACNEVEN'S DEATH, AND OF HIS CAREER, IN THE AMERICAN PAPERS.

("*New York Freeman's Journal*," 17*th July*, 1841.)

"DEATH OF DR. WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN.—It is our mournful duty, this week, to announce the death of one of the best and purest of Ireland's patriots—one of the last surviving relics of that sacred band who, in the disastrous days of '98, struck boldly—though alas! unsuccessfully—for Ireland's freedom, and whose memory is now, and will for ever remain, warmly and affectionately enshrined in the hearts of Irishmen.

"WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN is no more! A great and a good man is gone from amongst us; one around whose declining path of life there shone a glory reflected from years long past—all the proud though sad memories of his country's last great struggle to assume her rightful place as an independent nation; one who

was so indentified with that period of intense but melancholy interest in Ireland's history, that with his name or his presence there always came the thought of freedom and independence—of the high and daring aspirations of the patriot, and the fearful calamities and dark treachery in which all were lost and extinguished—of bright hopes, almost bursting into glorious reality, for a nation's rescue from bonds and slavery, but all swept cruelly away in the sudden tempest and overwhelming power of the oppressor's wrath. These were some of the heart-stirring thoughts which were ever associated with the name and presence of Macneven, and the recollection of which crowds upon the soul so sadly, now that his mortal life—faithfully devoted as it had been to his country, and to the cause of justice and humanity everywhere—is closed for ever. And these thoughts will not be allowed to slumber now in the breasts of the FRIENDS OF IRELAND. One so venerated and beloved—an honoured and noble relic of that time which showed that if Irishmen were enslaved they at least did not wear their bonds tamely and submissively: one thus endeared—the personification of so much of the glory of his country—will not, we feel assured, be suffered to pass away without some marked and permanent evidence being given, that the Irishmen of New York are true to the generous character of their country: that freedom is a name dear to them, and that the love of the land of their fathers remains unabated in their bosoms: that patriotism is with them a substantial and a household virtue, and that he in whose whole life it was exemplified will not be suffered to go down to the grave unforgotten and undistinguished. And who could claim the possession of that virtue in a more remarkable degree than he whose sun has now set amid so many blessings on his memory? To use the words addressed to us, since this melancholy event, by a venerable friend, an extract of whose speech at a public dinner forms a portion of this article:

"'The natural life and the patriotism of William James Macneven would seem to be of the same duration. No man who knew him can say when he was not a patriot. Patriotism must have embraced him in his cradle. Contrary to the lesson which selfishness would dictate, he returned to his country from the Continent, where he had been sent for his education, and where honours and fortune awaited him. He loved that country too well to desert it in the day of its distress, and in all its throes and struggles for the recovery of lost freedom he took an active part; and, driven into exile, he continued in America to labour for the good of his countrymen in Ireland, and for the benefit of such of them as emigrated to this country. He was, in the year 1828-9, president of the Friends of Ireland in the United States; and

was, at the time of his death, president of the Irish Emigrant Association in this city. But the heart that was warm, and was nobly so, is now cold and lifeless; the hand once employed in drafting a constitution for independent Ireland is now rigid in death; the tongue once eloquent is speechless; the eye fitted alike for the camp and the cabinet is dim and sightless; the man who would have made Ireland what Washington made America has not lived to witness even freedom's shadow—the Repeal of the Union.' . . . .

"Dr. Macneven was in the 79th year of his age when called, as we believe and trust, to receive the reward of a life well spent. His health had been very feeble for many months past, owing principally to an injury received by a fall from his gig. Notwithstanding all the kind assiduities of affectionate friends and the best medical aid from his attending physician, Dr. William Power, his strength of late failed rapidly, and on the 12th inst., at one o'clock in the afternoon, he expired, at the house of his son-in-law, Thomas Emmet, Esq." . . . .

At the dinner (previously noticed) given in 1837, in New York, in honour of the patron saint of Ireland, the services of Dr. Macneven to the Catholic cause were set forth by an Irishman of an historic name and lineage, a man of great worth and talents, a Mr. Thomas O'Connor, a member of the American bar.

The report of the proceedings of that festive meeting, given in *The Green Banner*, was republished in July, 1841, prefaced by the following observations of a New York journal:

"Dr. Macneven presided at the dinner referred to. The health of O'Connell was one of the standard toasts, and Dr. Macneven spoke to it with his usual force and eloquence. It was, we believe, the last time he ever addressed a public meeting. We give the following passages, which glow with patriotism and admiration for the unrivalled chief who has so successfully aroused and led on Ireland in her moral contest with English despotism, and at the same time vindicate the character and means employed by the heroes of '98. These latter, it will be remembered, O'Connell recently denounced; and although he has retracted since then, at a public meeting in London, much of what he uttered against them, still we put it to his own heart whether justice, and honour, and patriotism do not require a fuller exculpation from the charge which he preferred, than any which he has yet given, and whether there is not truth in every word of the annexed passage."

Mr. O'Connor, the vice-president of the meeting on the occasion referred to, said:

"Dr. Macneven is among the oldest of my living personal acquaintances—he was one of the earliest; fifty years have rolled away since we first met. As far back as my earliest knowledge of the doctor he was a patriot. . . . Endowed with talents of a high order, God and nature bestowed on him a heart and spirit which, for good or evil, must have drawn him into active notoriety, whether as the asserter of his country's rights or the opposer of his country's liberties. He acted on his own judgment, and was by choice a patriot. Dr. Macneven was the uncompromising advocate of the independence of his country, at a period when no man of sense or honour would have taken up patriotism as a mere trade, when its immediate aspect presented but danger of the most appalling kind, and when, in its remote prospect, it promised but that happiness in the enjoyment of which the earliest labourer in the field has the least chance to participate."

To the preceding statement of Mr. O'Connor's views of the character of Dr. Macneven the author of this work has little to add. An intimate acquaintance with him enables the author not only to pronounce a very confident opinion of its accuracy, but to express his conviction that it falls short of conveying an adequate idea of Dr. Macneven's singleness of purpose, simplicity of character, stern integrity of principle, philosophical calmness and composure of mind, arising from controlled passions, moderated desires, and well regulated conduct adapted to all circumstances and vicissitudes of fortune.

These are not the qualities with which Shakspeare would have invested the character of a man "fit for treasons, stratagems, and broils." William James Macneven and Thomas Addis Emmet were assuredly not the persons whom a statesman (deserving of that title) could proscribe as rebels, without feeling there must be "something rotten in the state," and vicious in the extreme in the government of which he was a minister, when sober-minded men of such exalted worth and virtue as they were could be induced to commit themselves and their country to a desperate struggle with their rulers. The preceding memoirs are especial illustrations of the truth of this opinion.

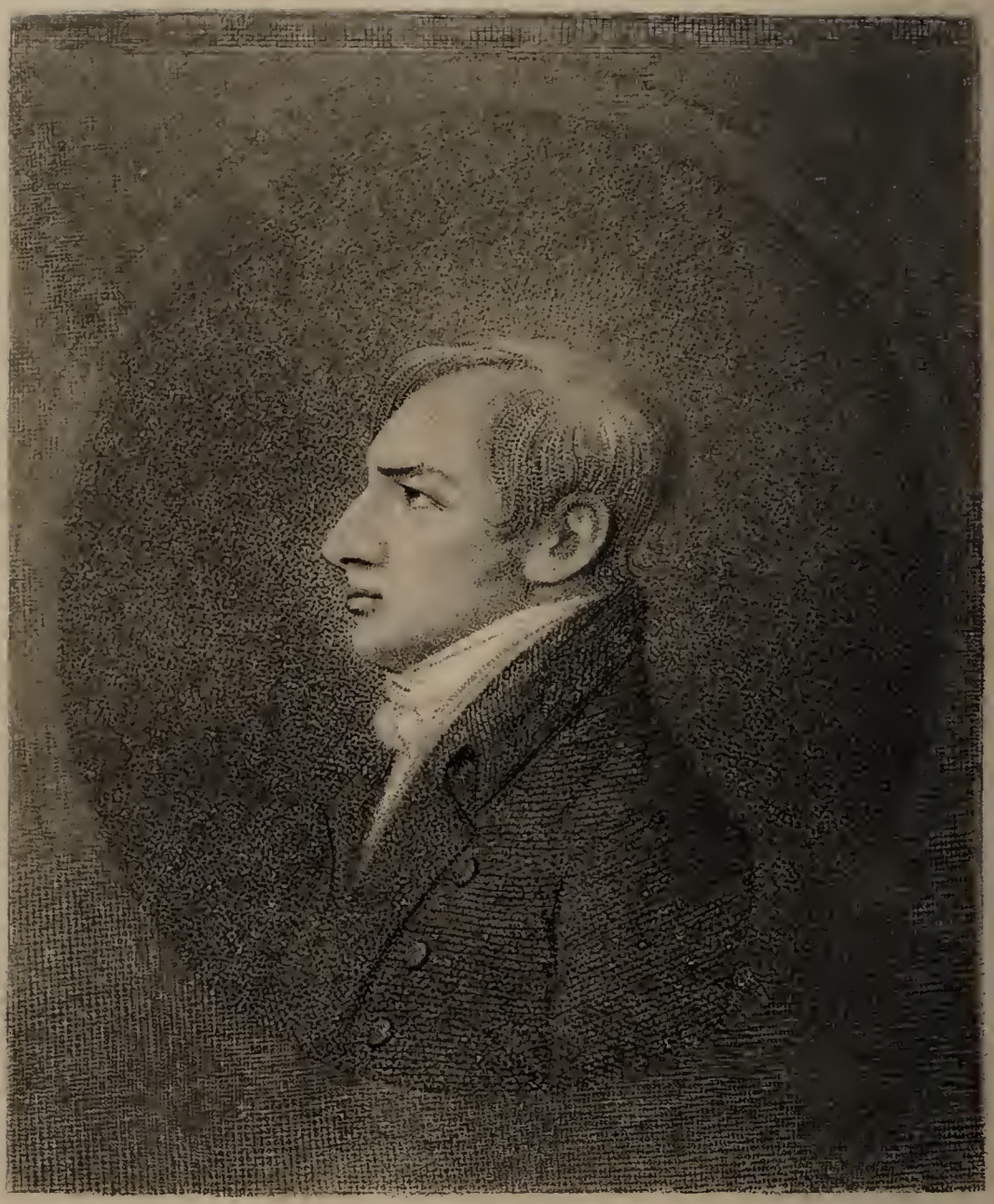
This work is, in fact, the embodiment of an idea that the Machiavelian doctrine, *Divide et impera*, and the policy of ruling a country through a faction, against the great body of a people, and for the interests solely of a section of them, if long continued, must terminate either in debasement, stifled hatred and servitude, or in rebellion. In the latter event the chances of success will be rarely found in a ratio with the wrongs an insurgent people have risen to redress, and a bad government will be rendered worse by an abor-

tive insurrection, the failure of which will have only tended to consolidate the power of misrule. Eventually the bad government will become either incurably depraved, or the force of circumstances or an instinct of self-preservation will turn it from the evil of its ways, and suggest the adoption of wiser, more moderate, and more wholesome counsels; but its new action on them will be impeded and thwarted by the remnants of old oppressions and the resentment connected with them for lost privileges—for the withdrawal of state support from the ascendancy of a faction, and discredited pretensions to loyalty of an exclusive character—and embarrassed by the conflict of new opinions and recently recovered rights, with those damaged interests of an effete monoply not yet reconciled to the humiliation of enfeebled insolence and restrained rapacity.

A government that has been uniformly just, *ab initio*, faithful to its trust, or that, from abandonment of its duties, has reverted to the first principles and intentions of all state authority deserving of that name, will endeavour by all legitimate means to render the people contented, and will leave no part of the community just cause of complaint. Equal laws, and an impartial administration of them, must insure that reverence for authority without which there is no real safety for state or people. If a well-ruled people unfortunately allowed themselves to be led by turbulent and disaffected persons into violent and illegal courses, the obvious duty of a good government would be, to adopt the promptest measures for the prevention of the designs of those disaffected persons, the most effective means to nip conspiracy in its bud, to hinder its growth, and render an outbreak of rebellion if possible impracticable. If all such efforts unfortunately failed, it then would be the duty of a good government to suppress rebellion by all the means at its disposal that were lawful, and in accordance with the principles of Christianity, which are recognised as the foundation of all authority in a Christian state. The policy of the bad government of those times which this work treats of was, to exasperate popular discontent, to cause men who were known to be disaffected to a faction whose power was predominant in the state to exaggerate the sense of their wrongs, to mesh them in a system of espionage, to speculate on the result of insurrection, to foment it, and promote its premature explosion, in order that when the deluded people went to war with them, they might with advantage go to law with the exasperated people, and administer it at the point of the sword, when the result could not be doubtful. In putting down the rebellion of 1798, which was prematurely exploded, savage and inhuman means of repression were had recourse to, and all laws human and divine were outraged. Is it good for the interests of humanity, of religion, of good government, that the history of that rebellion

should be ignored or falsified? The writer of this work believes that it is not, and therefore he submits it to the cool judgment of sober-minded men of all creeds and classes in these kingdoms, confidently expecting that his motives and his labours will be duly and fairly appreciated.

The history of the rebellion of 1798 affords small encouragement for resistance even to the worst of governments. Abundant evidence is there for leaders in popular movements of enormous difficulties to confront, of vile intrigues and jealousies to contend with, of exaggerated expectations of sympathy, assistance, resources, and support. Ample proof will be furnished in those lessons of history of the utter worthlessness of oaths and tests for the object they are intended to effect, the final certainty of deceived hopes—of treachery, stealthily treading in the footsteps of conspiracy, dogging its confederates from place to place—of grounds for suspecting the fidelity of associates, but no means of detecting and defeating perfidy—of falling into errors that may be fatal, and having no opportunity afforded of retrieving them. The teachings of that history would make their way to the consciences of men who loved their country, and yet were driven into rebellion by intolerable injustice. They would point out the disastrous effects of abortive insurrections to the honour and the interests of the land that gave them birth—disastrous effects which may surpass all other calamities in lasting mischief, save those of a famine or a pestilence. The calamity I refer to is the contempt brought on the country it was intended to revolutionise, by abortive insurrection; contempt for the country and the people that have met with defeat, and must endure subjection, felt not only by the government that has triumphed over them, but felt by foreign nations, which may have sympathised with the past wrongs and sufferings of that people that has been subdued. There would be found ample evidence of the evil of giving increased power to a bad government over a country that has been not only beaten down, but scourged without mercy, and brought into contempt. Ten, twenty—nay, even fifty years of that kind of peace that supervenes on a crushed rebellion—on the exhaustion of a nation's energies—on the disgrace and dishonour of defeat—on the insolent contempt that is felt for any assumption of power to resist oppression—may be enjoyed by the oppressor and endured by the oppressed. And that reflection is not rendered less poignant by the consideration that the prolongation of that injustice might not have been possible had no abortive insurrection taken place.



ROBT EMMET

From an original Portrait drawn and engraved by Petrie.

Published by Madden & Co.

MEMOIR OF

ROBERT EMMET.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY CAREER OF ROBERT EMMET—HIS EDUCATION IN TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN—HIS TALENTS—ACQUIREMENTS—HIS TASTES—HIS CONNEXION WITH THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND DEBATING SOCIETY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN—HIS CLASS FELLOWS AND ASSOCIATES—THE UNIVERSITY—VISITATION AT TRINITY COLLEGE—EXPULSION OF POWER AND ARDAGH IN 1797—EXPULSION OF NINETEEN STUDENTS IN 1798—ROBERT EMMET'S LETTER TO THE BOARD OF FELLOWS AND WITHDRAWAL OF HIS NAME FROM THE COLLEGE BOOKS—MOORE'S CONNEXION WITH EMMET, AND THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE VISITATION.

THERE have been among the United Irishmen persons of greater intellectual powers than Robert Emmet—better qualified, certainly, to carry into successful execution very great designs—and Theobald Wolfe Tone pre-eminently was one of these—but none of them so extensively, so permanently engaged the sympathies of the people for their sufferings or their fate, as the young man, who perished in the last struggle for their cause. This peculiar interest in his memory is attributable, in some degree, to the well-known episode in his career (strange and mournful as some fiction of romance,) that is connected with the name of Sarah Curran, and the story of the broken heart; but mainly to his singleness of purpose, his simplicity of character, his noble talents, his generous nature, his purity of mind, the prestige of his name, and, above all, that ardent patriotism that was the ruling passion of his life, and the animating principle of his conduct in the dock, in the dungeon, on the scaffold—conduct never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it—a subject of mournful interest, and admiration, too, for all who read of it.

It was surely no ordinary conduct, on the threshold of the grave, which extorted eulogy from the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and an admission such as we find in a despatch to his government, in reference to the state trials of 1803, namely, that "Emmet seemed to have been animated by a sentiment of magnanimity, with which (whatever his crimes may have been) he certainly conducted himself on that solemn occasion."

It is now fifty-six years since Robert Emmet pronounced that memorable speech, wherein he said: "I have but few words more to say. I am going to my cold and silent grave—my lamp of life is nearly extinguished. I have parted with everything that was dear to me in this life for my country's cause—with the idol of my soul, the object of my affections: my race is run, the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom!

"I have but one request to make at my departure from this world—*it is the charity of its silence.* Let no man write my epitaph; for, as no man who knows my motives dare now vindicate them, let not prejudice nor ignorance asperse them. Let them rest in obscurity and peace! Let my memory be left in oblivion, and my tomb remain uninscribed until other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written. I have done."

With this solemn appeal, at his departure from this world, for "the charity of its silence"—till other times and other men could vindicate his motives and do justice to his character—a man must be truly unfeeling and inconsiderate who could think of approaching this subject without a due sense of the solemnity of the injunction.

Fifty-six years have passed away since that appeal was made, and yet it sounds in our ears like the last words of one who suffered for a cause which he believed to be just, which are not to be forgotten. Has the time arrived when the history of Robert Emmet can be written? Is the writer of those pages qualified to undertake the task of writing the life of Robert Emmet? These are questions that will arise in every reader's mind, the moment he sets his eyes on the name that is prefixed to the memoir.

The time, in my opinion, has arrived—not the period which Robert Emmet imagined could alone serve for telling the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, in regard to him and his proceedings; but the time when an honest man may dare to speak on any subject his honest sentiments, in an honest manner. The story of the life of Robert Emmet may be told not only without detriment, but with signal advantage to the interests of a good government.

It is no part of the duty of the biographer of Robert Emmet, to set him forth as a hero of romance, or a man of a matured judgment and master mind, in whose great intellectual powers, duly developed, were re-united all the vigorous qualities that are essential to the character of an individual capable of concocting, guiding, and achieving a revolution. It is the duty of the biographer of Robert Emmet to set him forth in his true proportions,

to abstain from all exaggeration of them, to represent the man fairly—as one like Robert Emmet would desire to be dealt with; and if he were living and instructed his biographer, as it might be supposed, would say to him:

"Speak of me as I am—
Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

There was so much in the generous, kindly, noble nature of Robert Emmet that was to be loved; in his talents to be admired; in the simplicity, truthfulness, honesty of purpose, and purity of intention to respect; that his character can afford to dispense with all exaggeration and prepossession, in our estimate of him, and bear to have his defects freely canvassed by those who are competent to take them into consideration.

A great deal that is prejudicial to the memory of Robert Emmet has been spoken of him, and thought of him—not in malice, but in ignorance of the affairs of 1803, and his connexion with them.

In Ireland, constituted as intellectual society is, and connected as its tastes and tone of thought are with England's imperialism in political literature, and imperiousness of opinion in all matters relating to Irish interests, it can hardly be wondered at, that the memory of Robert Emmet should be regarded as it is by the higher classes—with a kind of contemptuous pity—and spoken of slightingly, almost invariably. In a letter which was addressed to me very recently by one of England's most illustrious men—illustrious, I mean, for powers of intellect of the highest order—one certainly deserving of being considered foremost, if not first, in the rank of men entitled to be called master spirits of the age—I was struck with surprise, I confess (bearing in mind by whom I was addressed), to find that injurious and erroneous opinion of Robert Emmet's intellectual character and of the motives by which he was actuated, expressed in terms which could not be stronger than they were. A single passage from the communication I refer to may be cited, and found sufficient to show how much remains to be known in England, by the best informed Englishmen in general, on subjects relating to Ireland, and in regard to persons connected with its history. "*I fear the vanity of a young man, with no principle, was his* (Robert Emmet's) *ruling motive in the murderous affair of* 1803. *I have a much better opinion of his brother.*" If vanity were indeed the ruling motive of the conduct of Robert Emmet in 1803, want of principle must, necessarily, be implied and associated with the termination of an insurrection in "a murderous affair." But the supposition of vanity being the ruling motive of Robert Emmet, in his engagement in that conspiracy, is wholly founded on the idea, that the

originator, the *primum mobile*, the contriver and concocter of that conspiracy, and the only person of rank and station cognizant of it, and a party to its objects, councils, and designs, was Robert Emmet.

Let us bear in mind the words which Robert Emmet addressed to Lord Norbury on his trial, and give them all the weight which is legitimately due to them:

"I have been charged with that importance in the efforts to emancipate my country, as to be considered the key-stone of the combination of Irishmen, or, as it has been expressed, 'the life and blood of this conspiracy.' You do me honour overmuch; you have given to the subaltern all the credit of the superior. There are men concerned in this conspiracy, who are not only superior to me, but even to your own conceptions of yourself, my lord—men before the splendour of whose genius and virtues I should bow with respectful deference," &c.

There is no doubt that the conspiracy of 1803 originated, not with Robert Emmet, but with parties in Ireland who contrived to keep their real objects undiscovered and their names, too, unrevealed—who managed to have projects of renewed rebellion taken up by leaders of 1798 who had escaped expatriation—men not of the highest order, intellectually or morally—who, having remained in Ireland, found means to enter into communication with some of the principal leaders then in France, and through them with the First Consul and his ministers. We have sufficient documentary evidence in this volume, that encouragement was given in France to their applications for aid and co-operation, in the event of war breaking out between France and England.

I find such eminent men as T. A. Emmet, General Lawless, Colonel Allen, General Corbet, Colonel Byrne, not only cognizant of the projects and communication I refer to in the latter part of 1802, but in favour of them. As much may be said of many eminent individuals in those countries, to the list of whom the English peerage even has contributed a nobleman of great wealth and influence, the military profession an officer of high rank and character, and the church, too, more than one divine.

Were men of their stamp likely to countenance the projects of a vain young man devoid of principle?

Vanity, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, denotes an exaggerated opinion of one's own importance, powers, and capabilities, and a morbid ambition for notoriety and distinction that actuates the conduct, and influences the motives of a man who has false conceptions, not only of things that are internal, but of objects that are external, and makes himself ridiculous or contemptible by the extent of the absurdity of his inordinate self-love, or criminal,

when that passion so predominates as to endanger society, by any reckless presumption in its efforts, to obtain a position that is false for its fictitious merits.

When a man employs means that are inadequate for the attainment of a special object he has in view, they are ineffectual, but their fruitlessness does not necessarily imply vanity. The character and quality of the object determines chiefly the nature of the efforts for its attainment. If the object be bad, nothing can be good in the efforts for it. If the object be good, the character of the means for its accomplishment will be determined by their success; but it ought to be determined by the consideration of the reasonableness of the expectation of success, and the legitimacy of the means employed for its attainment. Johnson says: "It is laudable to attempt great things, even when the achievement of them is beyond the strength that undertakes them." But I know well, in attempted revolutions, when great failures involve great sufferings, and the good that is looked for, to the grandest efforts is problematical and precarious, the issue doubtful, and the danger certain—not to one man or a hundred, but to an entire community—tremendous responsibilities are incurred by those who hazard efforts of a revolutionary character.

Politicians who think such efforts are sanctioned by success, and even sanctified by it, must have more faith in the wisdom and enduring advantages of particular forms of human institutions than in the power and influence of a divine Providence watching over all. But they who judge of revolts by their result rather than by their objects or their means, are very apt to take short-sighted, narrow, and imperfect views of their success. To enable us to judge of the permanency of that success, the moral and intellectual, as well as material advantages derived from it, the experience of fifty—nay, of a hundred or even two hundred years, is not a sufficient period of time for a determination. "The formation of worlds is said to be a process involving time." The same may be said of revolutions: but not only the accomplishment, but the development of revolutions is a process involving time. It is not much above 171 years ago since James II. lost his crown in England, and 210 years ago since Charles I. lost his head; and yet it is barely four years since the people of these realms were informed by an illustrious personage, that the constitutional system was on its trial in these countries. If revolutions had no procreative power—if they did not invariably marry with the daughters of finance, and had no children called loans and taxes, they might be productive of enduring benefits to the country where they occurred. But that state of things is a consummation more devoutly to be wished than expected to be accomplished, in kingdoms that have been revolutionized.

The question in England in relation to revolts is, not the right of resistance to bad government, but the result of the struggle against it. Whenever that struggle is successful, it is argued the cause of the revolted deserves to be successful; when it fails, the doctrine is preached of the vanity and folly of all resistance to constituted authority.

Nothing is easier than to discredit efforts of any kind that have failed; and no means of hurting them are more likely to suggest themselves to people who are proud of their own prosperity and independence, than to accuse the unsuccessful of being vain, light-minded, and unprincipled.

It was the opinion of a great and good man, with whom I think it a great honour to have been personally and intimately acquainted, the late Dr. Channing, that "Of all treasons against humanity, there is no one worse than his, whose great intellectual force is employed to keep down the intellect of his less favoured brother." I am of opinion, there is a worse kind of disloyalty to the cause of humanity than the treason which Dr. Channing refers to. I speak of the treason against genius and virtue, as well as against humanity and justice, on the part of great intellectual power and exalted position in society, or professional life, rendered ungenerous by its pride, striving with all its might to crush the character and tarnish the memory of a fallen brother—one especially of a brief career, yet not without much brilliancy—of a young man of great promise and many claims to love and sympathy.

Perhaps with the exception of Thomas Addis Emmet, there was not an individual connected with the Society of United Irishmen less justly chargeable with vanity than Robert Emmet. The companions of his youth, the friends most intimately acquainted with him, and who had cognizance of all his acts and thoughts throughout his whole career—in private life, in college, in all his relations with the leaders of the United Irishmen, whether at Fort George, on the continent, or those embarked with him in his last unfortunate and ill-advised enterprise—are of one opinion as to the utter absence of selfishness, self-seeking, conceit, or anything bordering on vanity, in his character. He was an enthusiast, indeed; but his enthusiasm was that of a young man of an ardent temperament, of genius, of a generous nature, of strong convictions, and of heroic aspirations. To him nothing was wanting, but the experience and wisdom which time and reflection bring with them, knowledge of men and the world, and the influence on that kind of knowledge of religious feelings early planted in the mind, for the establishment of the principles and matured intellect of a finished man. Had Providence been pleased to have assigned such advantages to the career of Robert Emmet—which terminated as it did,

on the scaffold, at the age of five-and-twenty—we might have had in him a man perhaps superior, at least in no respect inferior, in talent and in worth to any of those famous lords and prelates who figured in the revolution of 1688. Fortunately for their fame, they were successful rebels. If any of them, however, had been vain men, actuated by small, ambitious motives, sought their own personal interests or selfish advantages in the work of overturning the constitution of the realm, dethroning their sovereign, and reforming the state altogether, no doubt my Lord Macaulay would have eulogised them all the same, in eloquent language. But they succeeded, and their success was sufficient for their vindication in the glowing pages of his gorgeous history.

Had Robert Emmet attained to a riper age, his family would have been left a young man, to use the words of Burke, on a similar occasion of the setting of a great hope, "Who, in all points in which personal merit can be viewed—in science, in erudition, in taste and honour, in humanity, in every liberal accomplishment—would not have shown himself inferior to the Duke of Bedford or to any of those he traces in his line. . . . He would have supplied every deficiency and symmetrized every disproportion. . . . He had in him a salient, living spring of generous and noble action. . . . At this urgent moment the loss of a finished man is not easily supplied."

Before the last catastrophe and the worst calamity of all had fallen on the family of Dr. Emmet, in the latter part of the year 1802, the poor old man—the father of Temple Emmet, who had been prematurely taken away from him; of Thomas Addis Emmet, who was in banishment; of Robert Emmet, who was then proscribed, suspected, lost to his home, and driven into desperate courses—indeed might have said, like Burke: "I am alone, and have none to meet my enemies in the gate. The storm has gone over me, and I am like one of these old oaks which the late hurricane has scattered about me. I am stripped of all my honours. I am torn up by the roots, and am prostrate on the earth. And prostrate there I most unfeignedly recognise the divine justice, and in some degree submit to it."*

But all these observations would be a mere mass of vain and futile words, if the main question that concerns the memory of Robert Emmet was blinked, or dealt with disingenuously: were the circumstances of the country, in 1803, the evils endured by the people, the means that were available for an effort to redress them, of such a nature as would justify a man of moral principles, of sober mind, of a sound judgment, in concocting a conspiracy like that of 1803, and committing the country to its perils?

* Burke's Letter to a Noble Lord, 1796.

When the details of the history of this insurrection have been laid before the reader, this question only can be fairly dealt with and determined; and at the conclusion of this memoir, so I trust it will be found to have been treated.

Is the writer of these pages qualified to be the biographer of Robert Emmet? It would be a miserable affectation of humility to pretend that I felt myself incompetent for the task I have undertaken. If I set forth such a pretence, my undertaking would contradict me. My chief hope for its success however is, that it may be judged not by the amount of literary ability, but of labour and research that I have brought to the performance. Its principal value consists in the documentary information which will be found in it. The authenticity of that information I have had occasion to speak of in the preceding memoir.

The documents, which I have received from the sons of T. A. Emmet, will be found the most valuable of any of the materials of these volumes. I have alluded elsewhere to the communication which accompanied them: the possession of documents of such importance, and the permission of the nearest living relative of Robert Emmet to make use of them, in the furtherance of this portion of my work, afford me advantages and a sanction which, I presume, are sufficient to justify an undertaking which I feel to be of great responsibility.

Robert Emmet, the youngest son of Dr. Robert Emmet, was born in Dublin, in the year 1778.* He was sent, at an early age, to Oswald's school, in Dopping's-court, off Golden-lane, near Bride-street; a rather celebrated school, at that day, for mathematics. Subsequently, he was placed at the well-known school of Samuel White, of Grafton-street, and was afterwards under the care of the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Camden-street. He entered Trinity College the 7th of October, 1793, at the age of fifteen years, according to the entry in the college book of admission. His tutor was the Rev. Mr. Graves; his college course, like that of his brothers, was brilliant. He obtained several prizes, and went through his studies with great eclat. He showed in early life great aptitude for the exact sciences, and his predilection for mathematics and chemistry continued during his life.

Robert Emmet, in early life, studied chemistry, and manifested a great taste for that science. He was in the habit of making chemical experiments in his father's house, on a large scale; and, during a sojourn of several weeks of Mr. John Patten, the brother-in-law of T. A. Emmet, Robert used to be assisted on many occasions in his experiments by Mr. Patten. On one occasion,

* In 1771, Dr. Emmet commenced practice in Molesworth-street, Dublin. In 1779, he removed to Stephen's-green.

* D. L. Kelleher says in his "Glamour of Cork" that R. E. was born in Cork,

however, he nearly became a victim to his ardour in his favourite pursuit. After Mr. Patten had retired to rest, one night, Robert Emmet had applied himself to the solution of a very difficult problem in Friend's Algebra. A habit which he never relinquished, when deeply engaged in thought, that of biting his nails, was the cause of an accident which proved nearly fatal to him on the occasion in question. He was seized with most violent inward pains; these pains were the effects of poison. He had been manipulating corrosive sublimate, and had unconsciously, on putting his fingers to his mouth, taken internally some portion of the poison.—Though fully aware of the cause of his sufferings, and of the danger he was in, he abstained from disturbing his father, but proceeded to his library, and took down a volume of an Encyclopædia, which was in the room. Having referred to the article "poisons," he found that chalk was recommended as a prophylactic in cases of poisoning from corrosive sublimate. He then called to mind that Mr. Patten had been using chalk with a turning lathe in the coach-house; he went out, broke open the coach-house door, and succeeded in finding the chalk, which he made use of, and then set to work again at the puzzling question which had before baffled his endeavours to solve. In the morning, when he presented himself at the breakfast table, his countenance, to use the language of my informant (who was present), "looked as small and as yellow as an orange." He acknowledged to this gentleman that he had suffered all night excruciating tortures, and yet he employed his mind in the solution of that question, which the author of the work acknowledged was one of extraordinary difficulty, and he succeeded in his efforts.

Robert Emmet's connexion with the Historical and Debating Societies of Trinity College is well known. I have conversed with many persons who had heard him speak in those societies, some of them of very decided Tory politics, and I never heard but one opinion expressed, of the transcendent oratorical powers he displayed there.

The Rev. Dr. Macartney, Vicar of Antrim, informed me that he had known Robert Emmet; he was present, in the early part of 1798, at a debate of the Historical Society, got up expressly for the *debut* of Robert Emmet. The question was—"Is a complete freedom of discussion essential to the well-being of a good and virtuous government?" By the rules of the Society, Dr. Macartney states, all allusion to modern politics was forbidden. Robert Emmet, in this his maiden speech, adroitly kept within the terms of the rule; he showed the necessity and advantage of this liberty of discussion to all communities; and the encouragement it deserved from a good government. He then proceeded to pourtray the evil effects

of the despotism and tyranny of the governments of antiquity, and most eloquently depicted those of the governments of Greece and Rome. He was replied to by the present Judge Lefroy, and his argument was rebutted at considerable length. Robert Emmet delivered a speech in reply, evidently unpremeditated, and showed extraordinary ability in his answer to the objections started by his opponent. He said, in conclusion, "If a government were vicious enough to put down the freedom of discussion, it would be the duty of the people to deliberate on the errors of their rulers, to consider well the wrongs they inflicted, and what the right course would be for their subjects to take, and having done so, *it then would be their duty to draw practical conclusions*."

The substance of the passage referred to by Dr. Macartney, he said, was conveyed in the above words, but to attempt to give an idea of the eloquence or animation of the speaker was impossible.

Mr. Moore, in his "Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald," speaks of his young friend and fellow-student, in the following terms:

"Were I to number, indeed, the men among all I have ever known, who appeared to me to combine in the greatest degree pure moral worth with intellectual power, I should, among the highest of the few, place Robert Emmet. Wholly free from the follies and frailties of youth—though how capable he was of the most devoted passion events afterwards proved—the pursuit of science, in which he eminently distinguished himself, seemed at this time the only object that at all divided his thoughts with that enthusiasm for Irish freedom which, in him, was an hereditary as well as national feeling—himself being the second martyr his father had given to the cause. Simple in all his habits, and with a repose of look and manner indicating but little movement within, it was only when the spring was touched that set his feelings, and through them his intellect in motion, that he at all rose above the level of ordinary men. On no occasion was this more particularly striking than in those displays of oratory with which, both in the Debating and Historical Society, he so often enchained the attention and sympathy of his young audience. No two individuals, indeed, could be much more unlike to each other than was the same youth to himself, before rising to speak and after; the brow that had appeared inanimate, and almost drooping, at once elevating itself to all the consciousness of power, and the whole countenance and figure of the speaker assuming a change as of one suddenly inspired. Of his oratory, it must be recollected, I speak from youthful impressions; but I have heard little, since, that appeared to me of a loftier or, what is a far more rare quality in Irish eloquence, purer character; and the effects it produced, as well

from its own exciting power as from the susceptibility with which his audience caught up every allusion to passing events, was such as to attract at last the serious attention of the fellows; and, by their desire, one of the scholars, a man of advanced standing and reputation for oratory, came to attend our debates, expressly for the purpose of answering Emmet, and endeavouring to neutralize the impressions of his fervid eloquence. Such in heart and mind was another of those devoted men who, with gifts that would have made the ornaments and supports of a well regulated community, were driven to live the lives of conspirators, and die the death of traitors, by a system of government which it would be difficult even to think of with patience, did we not gather a hope from the present aspect of the whole civilized world, that such a system of bigotry and misrule can never exist again."*

Again, Moore in his Memoirs refers to Robert Emmet, in the account of his early friends and associates in Trinity College:

"The political ferment that was abroad through Ireland soon found its way within the walls of our university; and a youth, destined to act a melancholy but for ever memorable part in the troubled scenes that were fast approaching, had now begun to attract, in no ordinary degree, the attention both of his fellow-students and the college authorities in general. This youth was Robert Emmet, whose brilliant success in his college studies, and more particularly in the scientific portion of them, had crowned his career, as far as he had gone, with all the honours of the course, while his powers of oratory displayed at a debating society of which, about this time (1796-7), I became a member, were beginning to excite universal attention, as well from the eloquence as the political boldness of his displays. He was, I rather think by two classes my senior, though it might have been only by one. But there was, at all events, such an interval between our standings as, at that time of life, makes a material difference; and when I became a member of the debating society I found him in full fame, not only for his scientific attainments, but also for the blamelessness of his life, and the grave suavity of his manners.

"Besides this minor society, there was also another in college for the higher classes of students, called the Historical Society, established on the ruins of one bearing the same name, which had some years before been (on account of its politics, I believe) put down by the fellows, but continued in defiance of them to hold its sittings *out*side the walls.

"Of the political tone of *our* small debating society, which was held at the rooms of different resident members, some notion may be formed from the nature of the questions proposed for discussion,

* "Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald," vol. i., p. 219, American Edition.

one of which was, I recollect, 'Whether an aristocracy or democracy was most favourable to the advancement of science and literature?' while another, still more critically bearing upon the awful position of parties at this crisis, was thus significantly put: 'Whether a soldier was bound on all occasions to obey the orders of his commanding officer?' On the former of these questions, the power of Emmet's eloquence was wonderful, and I feel, at this moment, as if his language was still sounding in my ears. The prohibition against touching upon modern politics, which it was found afterwards necessary to enforce, had not yet been introduced; and Emmet, who took, of course, ardently the side of democracy in the debate, after a brief review of the great republics of antiquity, showing how much they had all done for the advancement of literature and the arts, hastened, lastly, to the grand and perilous example of the young republic of France, and referring to the story of Cæsar carrying with him across the river only his sword and his Commentaries, he said: 'Thus France at this time swims through a sea of blood; but while in one hand she wields the sword against her aggressors, with the other she upholds the interests of literature, uncontaminated by the bloody tide through which she struggles.' On the other question, as to the obligation of a soldier to obey, on all occasions, the orders of his commanding officer, Emmet, after refuting this notion as degrading to human nature, imagined the case of a soldier who, having thus blindly fought in the ranks of the oppressor, had fallen in the combat; and then most powerfully described him as rushing, after death, into the presence of his Creator, and exclaiming, in an agony of remorse, whilst he holds forth his sword reeking still with the blood of the oppressed and innocent, 'O God! I know not why I have done this.'

"In another of his speeches I remember his saying: 'When a people, advancing rapidly in civilization and the knowledge of their rights look back, after a long lapse of time, and perceive how far their government has lagged behind them, what then, I ask, is to be done by them in such a case? What, but pull the government up to the people.'"*

Moore speaks of another of his college friends, implicated in the charges of sedition which led to the expulsion of nineteen students of Trinity College, namely, Edward Hudson:

"His character gave every promise of a bright, if not splendid career; but, under the ban of a collegiate sentence which incapacitated him from all the learned professions, he was driven to a line of employment the least congenial to his tastes, where, through the remainder of a short, amiable life, his fine talents lay useless;

* "Memoirs of Moore," Edited by Lord John Russell, vol. i., p. 47.

while a third, young Emmet but escaped, with the same branding sentence to be reserved for that most sad but memorable doom to which despair, as well of himself as of his country, at last drove him."*

Robert Emmet, in his early days and college career, is thus spoken of by a Protestant clergyman, of great eminence as a pulpit orator in Dublin, some forty years ago, the Rev. Archibald Douglas, nephew of Sir Edward Crosbie, in a letter to me, dated 6th November, 1842:

"With Robert Emmet I was most intimate before he entered college, and after. Indeed, in his young days, he almost lived in our house. So gifted a creature does not appear in a thousand years. The whole family were distinguished for talent of the highest order."

Robert Emmet, in the spring of 1798, was about twenty years of age; his brother, in the month of March of that year, had been arrested; many of his fellow-students were members of the Society of United Irishmen; and several of his brother's most intimate friends and associates were then his companions in misfortune. Whether Robert was a sworn member of the Society I have not been able to ascertain, but that he had adopted its principles early in that year, and had been freely communicated with on subjects connected with its affairs, by persons implicated in the latter, there is no doubt.

In the month of April, 1798, the lord chancellor's visitation at the college, which terminated in the expulsion of several students charged with treasonable practices in the college, took place.

When several of the students had been called before the chancellor, and examined upon oath, Robert Emmet, on being summoned, wrote a letter to the members of the Board of Fellows, denouncing the act of demanding, on oath, information from the students tending to inculpate their fellow-students, and requiring of them to disclose the names of such of their associates as were members of the Society of United Irishmen; and desiring to have

* "When, in consequence of the compact entered into between government and the chief leaders of the conspiracy, the State Prisoners, before proceeding into exile, were allowed to see their friends, I paid a visit to this gentleman, in the jail of Kilmainham, where he had then lain immured for four or five months, hearing of friend after friend being led out to death, and expecting every week his own turn to come. As painting was one of his tastes, I found that, to amuse his solitude, he had made a large drawing with charcoal on the wall of his prison, representing that fancied origin of the Irish Harp which, some years after, I adopted as the subject of one of the Melodies:

"'Twas a syren of old,' &c.

"As, in England, by a natural and, at one time no very calumnious mistake, the term 'rebel,' is looked upon as synonymous with 'Catholic,' it may be as well to mention that these three young men were (like most of the leading persons of the conspiracy) Protestants."—*Pref. Moore's Poems.*

his name taken off the books of college. Before the letter was forwarded to the Board, he showed it to his father, and it met with his father's entire approbation. This circumstance has not been referred to in any account that has been given of the transaction; it is now stated on the authority of Mr. Patten, the most intimate of all the friends of Robert Emmet. The name of Robert Emmet, however, without any reference to this proceeding, appeared, I believe, in the list of expelled students.

Previously to "the visitation," in April, 1798, there had been a court of inquiry, composed of the senior fellows of the university, into the conduct of some of the students, charged with being United Irishmen, in November, 1797, which ended in the expulsion of two students, Messrs. Ardagh and Power. Moore has confounded the dates of the two investigations. Immediately after the expulsion, several affairs of honour arose out of the proceedings of the first investigation, in November, 1797. A duel was fought between Mr. Ardagh and Mr. A. C. Macartney, subsequently Rector of Antrim (a gentleman whom I had the honour of knowing), a son of the Rev. George Macartney, of Antrim, of some celebrity in connexion with the case of William Orr. Mr. Ardagh charged Mr. Macartney with being one of the informers against him in the late proceedings which terminated in his expulsion. The parties exchanged shots without effect. In the account of this duel in *The Press*, it is stated that Mr. Macartney admitted to Mr. Ardagh's friend that he had given the information in question.

In *The Press* of March the 3rd, 1798, Mr. Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, late Assistant Barrister of the county Kilkenny, published a long statement of a demand he had made on Mr. Macartney, for an explanation of certain expressions he had used in college, wherein he stated that he (Mr. N. P. O'Gorman) was the informer against Messrs. Ardagh and Power; in answer to which demand Mr. Macartney gave a written denial of "ever having stated that Mr. Purcell O'Gorman had given information to the Board of Senior Fellows, concerning United Irishmen." The document above referred to, signed A. C. Macartney, is dated December 4th, 1797. There are expressions used in O'Gorman's letter tantamount to a proclamation of his connexion with the Society of United Irishmen. This letter was written nine days before the arrests at Bond's. The terms of it are rather more than sufficiently heroic. He was a fervent lover, no doubt, of "the union" of that period, of Irishmen of all religious denominations. But "methinks the gentleman doth protest too much."

The reader may judge for himself, from a single passage in Mr. Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman's letter, very much indeed in

the style of that magniloquent warrior—General Bombastes Furioso:

"Need I describe (says Mr. O'Gorman, in reference to the charge brought against him) how my feelings were wounded by so base, so cruel an accusation? An informer! and of all informers the most infamous—the sapper of confidence, of *union*, and *truth*. No! my countrymen—I glory in being an *Irishman*, and as an Irishman you will always find me ready to shed my blood, if requisite, or to sacrifice my existence. But see how villany has recoiled upon itself. In four short months, he is detected in that mire of guilt wherein he would have smothered my fair fame—he stands convicted, an undisguised traitor—an avowed informer."*

When people in their families talk of committing suicide, they seldom put their threats into execution. When patriots tell us metaphorically they are exceedingly anxious to be sacrificed for their country, in such flowery terms as those, in which men assure us they will be always found ready to shed their blood *if necessary, or to sacrifice their existence*, or quite determined to die on the floor of any platform for their country, or perish in the field for its cause; as a general rule we need not entertain the slightest fear for *their safety*. Men who accustom themselves to talk in public "in Ercles' vein" when it is the fashion to be vehement, have no mistrust of their valour or their patriotism so long as the political atmosphere is tolerably clear; but when the tempest comes, these fine-weather sailors sicken of the commotion around them, and they find themselves involved in numerous perplexities and some perils, from which the sooner they are extricated the better.

"Ah me! what mighty perils do await
The man who meddles with a state,
Whether to strengthen or oppose;
False are his friends and firm his foes.
How must his soul, once ventured in,
Plunge blindly on from sin to sin!
What toils he suffers, what disgrace,
To get, and then to keep a place;
How often, either wrong or right,
Must he in jest or earnest fight;
Risking for those both life and limb
Who would not risk one groat for him."

CHURCHILL—*The Duellist*, book iii.

Of the subsequent career of young Ardagh I have not been able to obtain any information. Of that of David Power, the little that is known serves only to show that it was "*une carrière manquée*." From the time of his expulsion he was marked on the black sheep list of the police authorities of Cork and Dublin. In 1798, he was arrested in Cork, thrown into prison, threatened,

* *The Press*, No. 67, 3rd of March, 1798.

tampered with, promised enlargement on conditions, and even induced to appear in the witness-box, on the trial of a fellow-citizen of his, on a charge of treason. But this unfortunate young gentleman, when he found himself called on in court to give the evidence required of him, refused point blank to do so, and the result was imprisonment for two years. On his liberation, he went to England, became connected with the press, and married there, as I infer from the following record of a marriage in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1803 : "David Power, Esq., of Cork, to Miss Sophia Chandler, of Mortimer-street, at St. Mary's-le-grand (London), the 8th of March, 1803." A little later than the date of the above notice we find him in Dublin, describing himself as an officer holding a commission in the Duke of Rutland's Fencibles ; and we find also that incredulous mortal, Major Sirr, keeping a sharp look-out after the *soi disant* fencible.

In the Sirr Papers, in Trinity College, Dublin, there is a memorandum written in 1803, after Emmet's insurrection, in the handwriting of Major Sirr, concerning David Power, who was expelled from the university on a charge of seditious practices in the latter part of 1797 :

"David Power, who was in the rebellion of 1798, and was expelled college, turned approver, and was to have been examined at Cork on Conway's trial, and was on the table before Judge Day, but did not prosecute, and was imprisoned for two years, is just arrived in Dublin, and is at the Mail Coach Hotel, Dawson-street ; says he is a Captain in the Duke of Rutland's regiment, now on the coast of Devon ; is now in business with Tim. O'Brien, in Great Ship-street, and is going to Tipperary or Cork."

The college "visitation" of April, 1798, which involved Robert Emmet in all the fatal consequences of the expulsion of nineteen of his fellow-collegians—which brought ruin on his prospects—disqualified him for the learned profession, and, by disappointing his hopes of attaining eminence or distinction in any profession worthy of his talents or his ambition, may be reasonably considered as having had a mighty influence on his subsequent political opinions, and his engagement in that conspiracy which terminated so fatally for him.

It is a very singular circumstance that the two published communications of the students of Trinity College, which appeared in newspapers of the day, and were the immediate cause of that visitation, were the compositions of two college lads who escaped expulsion, and remained undiscovered as the authors of those compositions. One of them, in after life, became the friend and favourite companion of the most eminent political men of all parties of his time, had a pension from the state, and died with the renown

of being the first lyrical poet of the age—Thomas Moore. The other young revolutionist, with the pen, became a barrister of Conservative opinions, a writer of some eminence in Tory periodicals, and of a very popular detached production entitled "Ireland Sixty Years Ago," wherein the leading men of 1798, and most of the expelled students above referred to, and their revolutionary principles, were reprobated and denounced in very unmeasured terms of reprehension. That gentleman was the late Counsellor Walsh. Moore's first prose political essay made its first appearance in *The Press* newspaper, No. 10, 19th October, 1797. It occupies three quarters of a column, and is entitled—"Extract from a Poem in imitation of Ossian." The writer was then eighteen years of age. No indication of Moore's future powers of mind is to be found in this piece. The style is bombastic—the attempted imitation of Macpherson's Ossian is wretched. The only thing noticeable in the composition is a strong national feeling, and this prevails in it from beginning to end. A single extract will suffice to give the reader a clear idea of the merits of this first prose essay of Moore:

"EXTRACT FROM A POEM IN IMITATION OF OSSIAN.

"Oh! why, my soul, rollest thou on a cloud? Oh! why am I driven from thy side, Elvira, and ye beams of love, to wander the night on the lonely heath? But why do I talk? Is not Erin sad, and can I rejoice? She waileth in her secret caves, and can I enjoy repose? The sons of her love are low; the mural hand of power is over them—and can my bed, though my love be there, afford me comfort? Yet not with their fathers do they lie—then indeed would I joy, for their souls would exult in their clouds, and their names with freedom be blessed. But hard is the fate of the low—no beams of the sun cheer their frames, but putrid damps consume! No eddying breezes lighten their souls, but depressing are the airs which surround! Nor can those yet like me unconfined to the gloom, boast of fortune a choicer regard, for usurpers prevail, and partial are thy courts, O Erin! and corruption is the order of the day! That freedom, O brethren of woe! which once was yours, is driven from your isle, and now cheereth some nations abroad; but Britannia commands, and oppression is joined to your fate!"*

The second prose essay of Thomas Moore appeared in the 29th number of *The Press*, for the 2nd December, 1797. The following extracts afford a sample of this very combustible article:

"TO THE STUDENTS OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

"In *you* they behold the seeds of their statesmen—their heroes—their *Buonapartes!* In *you* they see the talents that will

* *The Press*, No. 10, 19th October, 1797.

illumine the resurrection of Ireland—that will raise her to that rank in the climax of nations, from which she has fallen so many, so many degrees! Do not disappoint their expectations; study to be a scourge to tyrants; study to deserve well of your country—that sunk, that injured country! and if your hearts are yet free from the infections of a court—if they are not hardened by ministerial frost, can you see poor Ireland degraded, tortured, without burning to be revenged on her damned tormenters?

"Can you behold without indignation that hoard of foreign depredators, who murder the happiness of our country, and gorge on the life-blood of Ireland—who stretch us on the rack of persecution, and wonder when we struggle or groan amid our torments? Can you behold with patience those mercenary prefects, sent hither as to a province devoted to rapine and desolation? those wretches whose souls are the emblems of the government, rotted by pollution, and prolific in damnable machinations! who exult in the wages of prostitution, and, like an animal that feeds on its own ordure, live by the corruptions which themselves have generated? . . . . . .

"Oh! when will 'the Nemean Lion' rouse from his trance, and shake off the vermin that engender on his crest? . . . . .

"You, my fellow-students, have explored the page of history, where the insect courtier is forgotten, the despot is blasted in infamy, and the glorious tyrannicide is immortalized. Can you remember one instance of a people naturally brave, and wanting but the will to be illustrious, succumbing to the domination of their own servants—their minions—and passively agonising under the extremities of oppression? No! Ireland is singular in suffering and in cowardice—she could crush her tormentors, and yet they embowel her—she *could* be free, yet she *is* a slave. . . .

"Sophist."*

A very pretty beginning in politics, truly, for the young Whig.

In one of the newspapers of the time, we find the following notice:

"On the 21st of April, Lord Chancellor Clare finished his visitation of the College. Dr. Stokes was suspended for three years—so far as to be unqualified for admission to the rank of junior fellow, if a vacancy occurred in that period—the pupils he had at present were taken from him, and he was not permitted, in that term, to receive any more; and, at the end of the three years, if any impropriety of conduct attached to his character, he was then to be expelled. It was clearly proved on the examination, that Lord Moira received the information embodied in his recent

* *The Press*, No. 29, 2nd December, 1797.

motion, relative to the alleged cruelties and tortures inflicted on the people, from Dr. Stokes. Nineteen students, scholars, and sizars were expelled, and of that number four, it was said, were to be prosecuted for seditious practices."

An account of the visitation, which commenced in Trinity College on the 19th of April, far more accurate and reliable than Moore's, was written by Counsellor Walsh, and published in his "Sketches of Ireland Sixty years Ago." The following passages are taken from that account:

"On the day of the visitation we all assembled in the hall. Lord Clare, as vice-chancellor of the university, sat as the acting visitor, with Dr. Duigenan as his assessor, on an elevated platform at the upper end of the dining-hall. Then followed in order the provost, senior and junior fellows, and scholars, as members of the corporation; then the graduate and undergraduate students; and, lastly, the inferior officers and porters of the college. The great door was closed with a portentous sound, and shut in many an anxious heart. I felt mine, however, quite free from care or apprehension.

"Those who have seen Lord Clare in his visitorial capacity never will forget him—the hatchet sharpness of his countenance—the oblique glance of his eye, which seemed to read what was passing in the mind of him to whom it was directed. Silence was commanded, and the multitude was still. The vice-chancellor then said:

"'The prevalent reports respecting the state of the university, had induced the visitors to inquire whether the disaffection imputed to the college was founded in reality, or was a mere rumour or surmise. Appointed to the high office of superintending the conduct and promoting the welfare of that college, he should neglect an important duty, if he were to suffer it to continue stained with the infamous imputation of disaffection and rebellion, if unfounded, or permit any guilty member thereof to poison and destroy the prospects of the uninfected. His duty, therefore, to what he considered the happiness of the students, without referring to the more general consequences to society, from the lettered portion of the rising generation cherishing and acting on those devastating principles which had destroyed the peace, and almost annihilated the morals of Europe, indispensably required of him to investigate and suppress any serious disorders. He found great probability had been given to the reports in circulation by a rebellious publication, purporting to be the resolutions of the independent scholars and students of the university, and it behoved all who heard him to acquit themselves of any concern therein. Such members as acted with want of candour, and refused to exonerate themselves

from the treasonable charge made against the university, and which the abominable paper he held in his hand so much warranted, he was determined to remove, and adopt the necessary measures to prevent them from contaminating the youth of the several colleges in England and Scotland, by representing to the governors of them their dangerous principles, and so excluding them from admission. In one of those secret societies, the formation of which he knew of in college, a system of assassination* had been recommended, and a proposal made to collect arms. The first proposal was considered, but adjourned to the next meeting, when it was negatived by a small majority. The second was carried and acted on. He concluded by a declaration of his intention to punish with severity the encouragers and abettors of sedition and treason, and more especially the miscreant authors of that wicked paper, whom he was determined to detect and punish. It had not only been thrown into every letter-box in college, but audaciously flung at his own head, in his house, by way of menace and defiance.'

"He read the 'infamous' paper, and, to my utter horror and dismay, it proved to be my own 'RESOLUTIONS!' . . . It is impossible to describe my feelings of astonishment at my own indiscretion, or my apprehension of the consequences. I had no more notion that the resolutions we had framed would ever see the light, than that the constitutions we had drawn up would be adopted by the provisional government. I saw myself at once entangled in an awful responsibility, which might compromise my life, and I had not

* "The charge of advocating assassination, as a means of effecting political objects, was disowned by some leaders of the United Irishmen, and has been repeatedly denied by the modern advocates and memoir-writers of that body. Some have even gone so far as to assert, that the infamous *Union Star*, which assumed to be a United Irish organ, and openly advocated assassination, and pointed out by name the proper victims to be sacrificed, was a paid government publication! But it unhappily admits of no doubt that, whatever may have been the sentiments of a few of the leaders, political assassinations were looked upon as justifiable and proper by the mass of the Union. *The Press* was, on all hands, admitted to be the favourite and accredited organ of the party and its leaders; and an article appeared in it, on 2nd December, 1797, written apparently on the expulsion of Power and Ardagh, and which is curious in connexion with the above charge of Lord Clare. It is signed 'A Sophister.' Among others, it contains the following appropriate and classical incentive—'You, my fellow-students, have explored the page of history, where the insect courtier is forgotten, the despot is blasted in infamy, and the *glorious tyrannicide is immortalized.* Ireland is singular in suffering and in *cowardice. She could crush her tormentors*, and yet they embowel her.'"—*Sixty Years Ago.*

Moore's Memoirs were not published when the author of "Sixty Years Ago" singled out the letter signed "Sophister," "To the students of Trinity College," printed in *The Press* newspaper of the 2nd of December, 1798, as an evidence of assassination being advocated in the organs of the United Irishmen. That letter was written by Thomas Moore, and is acknowledged by him in his Memoirs, vol. i., p. 57.—R. R. M.

even the support of enthusiasm or participation in what some might think a noble cause.

"The roll was now called of all the names on the college books, beginning with the provost. Several excuses were offered for absence, some few of which were admitted, but in almost every case personal attendance was insisted on. Among the absent was Robert Emmet, for whom his tutor pleaded hard, but without effect. He was set down as contumacious.

"When the examination of individuals commenced, each person, when called on, was first sworn to discover all matters as to which he should be questioned. The provost was the first examined. Among other questions, he was asked if the copy of that paper which had been 'hurled at' the chancellor had been sent to him. He replied that it had, and by the same conveyance—the penny post. He was also interrogated with respect to the proceedings of the board in the expulsion of Power and Ardagh, and the number and description of the votes given on the occasion.

"The examination then proceeded through the senior fellows, till it came down to Dr. Browne. He was, as I have mentioned, a member of the board, and represented the college in parliament. His politics were in the extreme of liberality, and therefore he was an object of peculiar suspicion. He was questioned touching his vote at the board in the case of Ardagh and Power. He acknowledged he opposed their expulsion, and voted for rustication during a year, and stated that there were two other members of the board who voted with him. He admitted that he had gone from the board into the college court, and there declared the vote he had given, and said he did so because he thought it was right. The vice-chancellor declared that the conduct of Dr. Browne was highly reprehensible; that it promoted a spirit of insubordination among the students, by exciting discontent against the proceedings of the board, which it was his duty to recommend as just and proper; and that if the board had thought fit to expel him for such conduct, he would have confirmed the expulsion. Dr. Browne was also asked if he was the author of that paper, and when he denied it in the most earnest manner, he was asked did he know any person who was its author, or had any connexion with it. He, of course, declared he did not.

"Dr. Whitley Stokes, then a junior fellow, was next called on. The vice-chancellor, eyeing him with a stern countenance, and with the confidence of a person who was sure of his man, asked him, in an emphatic manner, if he knew of United Irish societies existing in college. Stokes answered decidedly 'No.' The vice-chancellor looked much amazed by the unexpected repulse, and a slight murmur of surprise ran through the hall. The paper

was held out to Stokes, and, in a similar manner, he was asked if he knew anything of the authorship of it; and, in a similar tone, to the surprise of all (except myself), he denied all knowledge of it or its authors. The exceeding candour of Stokes, and his known love of truth, induced all to believe that he would at once declare whatever he knew, when asked, and many thought that he knew much. He was then asked if he knew anything of secret or illegal societies in college. He answered promptly, and without hesitation, that he did. He was then called on to explain and declare what they were.

"'The only societies of that description which I am aware of,' said he, 'are Orange societies, and I know some members of them.'

"If the chancellor had been struck a violent blow, he could not have shown more surprise and indignation. He actually started on his seat at the audacious sincerity of this simple-minded man, and another murmur ran through the hall.

"A long examination ensued, during which Dr. Stokes answered the questions put to him in a quiet and dignified manner, and with perfect candour and simplicity. He admitted that he had been a member of the Society of United Irishmen before the year 1792, when their views were confined to legitimate objects; but stated that he was wholly unconnected with them ever since that time. He admitted that he had since that time subscribed money to their funds, but added that it was merely to supply the necessities of individuals, Butler and Bond, who were in prison. He had, he said, received some account of serious injuries inflicted on a village by the soldiery, which he communicated to Mr. Sampson, a United Irishman, as materials for Lord Moira's information, on his motion in the House of Lords, but had previously made a communication to his excellency the lord lieutenant. He admitted he had visited a man who was a treasonable character, but he did so as a professional duty, as the man was very poor and sick; and he had always brought with him a third person, to be present, lest there should be any misrepresentation of his motives. He added that, when the French invaded this country and their fleets were lying off the shore, he went among the Roman Catholics of the city of Dublin, exciting them to take up arms against the common enemy:

"'This, my lord,' said Stokes, in an emphatic manner, 'was not the conduct of a disaffected man, nor of one entertaining those principles with which this examination appears to try to connect me.'

"A Mr. Kerns, a pupil of Dr. Stokes, stood forward and earnestly defended his tutor. He said that temptations had been held out

to him to join treasonable societies, and had so far succeeded as to induce him to withdraw his name from the college corps; but, in consequence of the advice and earnest persuasion of Dr. Stokes, he had withdrawn himself from the society of the disaffected, and replaced his name in his company; and that he was not the only person so advised by Dr. Stokes, but that, to his knowledge, several others had been equally influenced in the same way by his persuasion.

"Dr. Graves, with similar earnestness and zeal, bore testimony to Stokes's character. He said that atheism and republicanism were uniformly connected at that time, but that he had the strongest proof, from his writings, that Dr. Stokes was tainted with neither the one nor the other. When Paine's 'Age of Reason' first appeared, the earliest and best answer to it was from the pen of Dr. Stokes. His work was dedicated to the students of Trinity College, and was published without any view to pecuniary profit by Dr. Stokes, who gratuitously made earnest and indefatigable exertions to disseminate it among the junior members of the university.

"Many others tendered their testimony in favour of a man so much loved and respected, and the vice-chancellor said he was happy to find so many respectable and disinterested witnesses standing forward in Dr. Stokes's favour, and that he was now convinced he was a well-meaning man, but had been led into great indiscretions.

"The examination proceeded among the scholars and students. The most lengthy was the examination of a man named Robinson. When pressed with questions, he admitted that he had lent his rooms on a particular day, but was not aware of the purpose for which they were borrowed. He, however, at last confessed that he was aware that the meeting to be held there was of a disaffected nature.

"A growing disposition was soon manifested to decline taking the oath of discovery, in the unqualified form in which it had been at first administered. Of those called on, some declared they were ready to swear as to themselves, and purge their character by an oath from any charge or suspicion of disaffection, but would not swear to inform against or implicate others by answering *all* questions put to them. Others declined being sworn, because, as they said, it would be an example subversive of the best acknowledged principles of the English law and of justice, to swear to tell what might criminate themselves. The first day closed with about fifty recusants, who declined to take the oath, and were marked for expulsion as contumacious. On the second day of the visitation, the chancellor found it necessary to modify the examination

in such a way, as to give the recusants an opportunity of redeeming their contumacy. He indicated what would be the awful state of the university, if so large a proportion of its members should appear to be implicated in the conspiracy; and he explained that the visitation was a domestic court, in which the students formed members of a family, and that the authority exercised was merely parental; that the same oath was administered to all—to the provost himself and to the youngest student—and was always accompanied by an injunction not to criminate themselves. The chancellor also intimated, that if any persons would come forward and confess their own errors, without reference to others, and promise to separate themselves altogether from their imprudent and dangerous connexions, the past should be forgiven and forgotten.

"Among those who at first refused to take the oath was Thomas Moore. He was then an undergraduate in college, and already distinguished by the early and juvenile indications of his poetic talents. The scene was amusing. The book was presented to him. He shook his head and declined to take it. It was thrust into his right hand. He hastily withdrew the hand, as if he was afraid of its being infected by the touch, and placed it out of the way behind his back. It was then presented to his left hand, which he also withdrew, and held behind his back with his right. Still the persevering book was thrust upon him, and still he refused, bowing and retreating, with his hands behind him, till he was stopped by the wall. He afterwards, however, took the oath, as modified by the explanation, acquitted himself of all knowledge of treasonable practices or societies in college, and was dismissed without further question.

"Influenced by the visitor's explanation, many who had been contumacious came forward and confessed their errors. In a few instances the names of the persons implicated were insisted on, but for the most part, the information was given in such a general way as would assist in suppressing the evil of disaffection, without compromising individuals. It appeared that there were four committees of United Irishmen in college, the secretaries to which were said to be Robert Emmet, M'Laughlin, Flynn, and Corbett, junior.

"In the course of the second day, Dr. Browne made an earnest and deprecating appeal to the visitors, in explanation of his conduct, declaring that their condemnation of it would embitter his future life. The vice-chancellor expressed himself satisfied that, had Dr. Browne known the entire extent of the revolutionary practices to which some members of the college had proceeded, he would have taken every means for their suppression, and not have

proclaimed his vote and dissent from the salutary measures of the board; and that his doing so arose from his total ignorance of the dangerous situation of the university. Browne expressed strongly his contrition for his conduct, and with a servility little according with the independent spirit he was supposed to possess, humbled himself before the vice-chancellor, declaring his deep sorrow for having incurred the censure of the visitors.

"At the conclusion of the visitation, the chancellor adverted to the case of Dr. Stokes. He declared himself gratified to find that the rumour of an eminent member of the university having been connected with a treasonable association, was entirely refuted; but, nevertheless, as he had been drawn into a communication with persons who were inimically disposed to the government of the country, he thought it his duty to prevent him from becoming a governing member of the university for the space of three years, which would be the period until the next visitation. During this suspension, it would be seen whether that gentleman had wholly withdrawn himself from the dangerous and improper connexions in which he had been indiscreetly entangled. He expressed his concern at the duty imposed on him of using severity against the few who had acted with determined obstinacy, or were committed by acts of sedition and treason. He then presented nineteen names of persons, for whose offences he recommended expulsion.

"Lord Clare's direction was immediately acted upon, and the sentence of expulsion was pronounced and executed by the board.

"Among the disorders which the political excitement had caused was one serious evil—a propensity to duelling. One of the young men previously expelled—Ardagh—supposing that a man named M'Cartney had given secret information to the board against him, immediately branded him as an informer, and sent him a hostile message. They met, and exchanged four shots, but parted without reconciliation or concession on either side.*

"The visitation, which had lasted three days, at length concluded, and the visitors retired amid the plaudits and acclamations of the assembled students.

"The impression left on the minds of the auditory by the conduct of Dr. Browne and Dr. Stokes was very different indeed. They saw the latter standing like Teneriffe or Atlas, unmoved by the assault made upon him; the former bending and yielding with a weak subserviency, ill according with the independent spirit he was before supposed to possess. . . . In the conduct of the visitation, Lord Clare's demeanour was characterized by his usual

* The real informer, whose secret revelations led to the ruin of many of his fellow-students, the author of "Ireland Sixty Years Ago" states he had reason to believe was a Mr. E———, who subsequently became a soldier.

arrogance. When a student hesitated to answer or be sworn, he frequently asked him 'if he were a fool or a madman?' and if, in his examination, he indulged in the expression of any democratic or popular sentiment, the vice-chancellor's observation was, 'The young gentleman seems to have his reason affected.' With all this, he evinced more kindness of heart than his assessor, Dr. Duigenan, and always leaned to the side of mercy, when the latter urged greater severity.

"In moving the address to the lord lieutenant, on the 23rd April, in the House of Lords, Lord Glendore took occasion to express his regret at the state of the university. Lord Clare, in reply to this observation, expressed his satisfaction, with much warmth, at the result of the visitation, in proving that so few in the college were really infected with revolutionary principles, and passed a high eulogium on the general loyalty of the body."

Mr. Walsh states, like all other persons who have written of this visitation, that Robert Emmet was expelled on that occasion: "Among the expelled the most remarkable was Robert Emmet." The fact is, however, that Robert Emmet anticipated the decision of the vice-chancellor, and withdrew from the university, after having addressed a communication to the board, assigning his reasons for withdrawing.

Moore gives a detailed account of "the visitation" and its antecedents, from which the following extracts are taken:

"In the course of the year (1797), I cannot exactly say at what period of it, I was admitted a member of the Historical Society of the university, and here, as everywhere else, the political spirit, so rife abroad, continued to mix with all our debates and proceedings, notwithstanding the constant watchfulness of the college authorities, and of a strong party within the society itself which adhered devotedly to the politics of the government, and took part invariably with the provost and fellows in all their restrictive and inquisitorial measures.

"Of the popular side in the society, the chief champion and ornament was Robert Emmet; and though every care was taken to exclude from among the subjects of debate all questions likely to trench upon the politics of the day, it was always easy enough, by a side-wind of digression or allusion, to bring Ireland, and the prospects then opening upon her, within the scope of the orator's view. So exciting and powerful, in this respect, were the speeches of Emmet, and so little were the most distinguished speakers among our opponents able to cope with his eloquence, that the board at length actually thought it right to send among us a man of advanced standing in the university, and belonging to a former race of good speakers in the society, in order that he might answer

the speeches of Emmet, and endeavour to obviate what they considered the mischievous impressions produced by them. The name of this mature champion of the higher powers was, if I remember right, Geraghty; and it was in replying to a speech of his, one night, that Emmet, to the no small mortification and surprise of us who gloried in him as our leader, became embarrassed in the middle of his speech, and (to use the parliamentary phrase) broke down. Whether from a momentary confusion in the thread of his argument, or possibly from diffidence in encountering an adversary so much his senior (for Emmet was as modest as he was high-minded and brave), he began, in the full career of his eloquence, to hesitate and repeat his words, and then, after an effort or two to recover himself, sat down."

Reference is here made by Moore to the publication in *The Press* newspaper—the organ of the Leinster United Irishmen—of a letter "To the Students of the University," written by him, in very inflammatory terms, under the signature of "Sophister." See "Moore's Memoirs," vol. i., p. 57.

"A few days after [the publication of this letter], in the course of one of those strolls into the country which Emmet and I used often to take together, our conversation turned upon this letter, and I gave him to understand it was mine; when with that almost feminine gentleness of manner which he possessed, and which is so often found in such determined spirits, he owned to me that on reading the letter, though pleased with its contents, he could not help regretting that the public attention had been thus drawn to the politics of the university, as it might have the effect of awakening the vigilance of the college authorities, and frustrate the progress of the good work (as we both considered it) which was going on there so quietly. Even then, boyish as my own mind was, I could not help being struck with the manliness of the view which I saw he took of what men ought to do in such times and circumstances, namely, not to *talk* or *write* about their intentions, but to *act*. He had never before, I think, in conversation with me, alluded to the existence of the United Irish societies in college, nor did he now, or at any subsequent time, make any proposition to me to join in them, a forbearance which I attribute a good deal to his knowledge of the watchful anxiety about me which prevailed at home, and his foreseeing the difficulty I should experience—from being, as the phrase is, constantly 'tied to my mother's apron-strings'—in attending the meetings of the society without being discovered.

"He was altogether a noble fellow, and as full of imagination and tenderness of heart as of manly daring. He used frequently to sit by me at the piano-forte, while I played over the airs from Bunting's

Irish collection; and I remember one day when we were thus employed, his starting up, as if from a reverie, while I was playing the spirited air, 'Let Erin remember the Day,' and exclaiming passionately, 'Oh that I were at the head of twenty thousand men marching to that air.' . . . .

"There was now left but little time either for caution or deliberation, as the fearful drama of 'The Plot Discovered,' in all its horrors, soon after commenced; and one of the first scenes the curtain rose upon, was that formidable inquisition held within the walls of our college by the bitterest of all Orange politicians, the Lord Chancellor Fitzgibbon. I must say in fairness, however, that strong and harsh as then appeared the measure of setting up this sort of tribunal, with the power of examining witnesses on oath, in a place dedicated to the instruction of youth, yet the facts that came out afterwards in the course of evidence but too much justified even this inquisitorial proceeding; and to many who, like myself, were acquainted only with the general views of those engaged in the conspiracy, without knowing, except in a few instances, who those persons were, or what were their plans and resources, it was really most startling and awful to hear the disclosures which every new succeeding witness brought forth.

"There were a few—and among that number were poor Robert Emmet, John Brown, and the two Corbets—whose total absence from the whole scene, as well as the dead silence that daily followed the calling out of their names, proclaimed how deep had been their share in the transactions now about to be inquired into. But there was one young friend of mine, whose appearance among the suspected and examined quite as much surprised as it deeply and painfully interested me. This was Dacre Hamilton, the son of a Protestant lady, a widow, with very small means, but of highly respectable connexions; and he himself, in addition to his scholarship and talents, being one of the most primitively innocent persons with whom I was acquainted; and, accordingly, producing often among those who were intimate with him that sort of amusement mixed with affection, which the Parson Adams class of character is always certain to inspire. He and Emmet—both of them my seniors in the university—had long been intimate and attached friends; their congenial fondness for mathematical studies being, I think, a far stronger bond of sympathy between them than their politics. For whatever interest poor Dacre Hamilton may have taken *speculatively* in the success of the popular cause, he knew quite as little, I believe, of the definite objects of the United Irishmen, and was as innocent of the plans then at work for their accomplishment, as I can truly allege I was myself. From his being called up, however, on this first day of the inquiry, when, as

it appeared, all the most important evidence was brought forward, there can be little doubt that, in addition to his intimacy with Emmet, the college authorities must have had some information which led them to suspect him of being an accomplice in the conspiracy. In the course of his examination some questions were put to him which he refused to answer (most probably from their tendency to involve or criminate others), and he was dismissed, poor fellow, with the melancholy certainty that his future prospects were all utterly blasted; it being already known that the punishment for such contumacy was to be not merely banishment from the university, but exclusion from all the learned professions.

"The proceedings, indeed, of the whole day had been such as to send me home to my anxious parents with no very agreeable feelings or prospects. I had heard evidence given compromising even the lives of some of those friends whom I had been most accustomed to regard both with affection and admiration; and what I felt even still more than their danger—a danger ennobled at that time in my eyes, by the great cause in which it had been incurred—was the degrading spectacle exhibited by those who had appeared in evidence against them; persons who had themselves, of course, been implicated in the plot, and now came forward, either as volunteer informers, or else were driven by the fear of the consequences to secure their own safety at the expense of their associates and friends.

"I forget whether I received any intimation on the following morrow that I should be one of those examined in the course of the day, but I rather think that some such notice was conveyed to me; and at last my awful turn came, and I stood in presence of the terrific tribunal. There sat the formidable Fitzgibbon, whose name I had never heard connected but with domineering insolence and cruelty; and by his side the memorable 'Paddy' Duigenan—memorable, at least, to all who lived in those dark times for his eternal pamphlets sounding the tocsin of persecution against the Catholics.

"The oath was proffered to me. 'I have an objection, my lord,' said I in a clear, firm voice, 'I have an objection to taking this oath.' 'What's your objection, sir?' he asked sternly. 'I have no fear, my lord, that anything I might say would criminate myself, but it might tend to affect others; and I must say that I despise that person's character who could be led under any circumstances to criminate his associates.' This was aimed at some of the revelations of the preceding day, and, as I learned afterwards, was so felt. 'How old are you sir?' I told him my age—between seventeen and eighteen, though looking, I dare say,

not more than fourteen or fifteen.* He then turned to his assessor, Duigenan, and exchanged a few words with him in an under voice. 'We cannot,' he resumed, again looking towards me, 'We cannot allow any person to remain in our university who would refuse to take this oath.' 'I shall, then, my lord,' I replied, 'take the oath, still reserving to myself the power of refusing to answer any such questions as I have described.' 'We do not sit here to argue with you, sir,' he rejoined, sharply, upon which I took the oath, and seated myself in the witness's chair.

"The following were the questions and answers that then ensued; and I can pretty well pledge myself for their almost verbal accuracy, as well as for that of the conversation which preceded them. After having adverted to the proved existence of United Irish Societies in the university, he asked, 'Have you ever belonged to any of these societies?' 'No, my lord.'—'Have you ever known of any of the proceedings which took place in them?' 'No, my lord.' 'Did you ever hear of a proposal at any of their meetings for the purchase of arms and ammunition?' 'No, my lord.' 'Did you ever hear of a proposition made in one of these societies with respect to the expediency of assassination?' 'Oh no, my lord.' He then turned again to Duigenan, and after a few words with him resumed: 'When such are the answers you are able to give, pray what was the cause of your great repugnance to taking the oath?' 'I have already told you, my lord, my chief reasons; in addition to which, it was the first oath I ever took, and it was, I think, a very natural hesitation.' I was told afterwards that a fellow of the college, named Stokes (a man of liberal politics, who had alleged, as one of the grounds of his dislike to this inquisition, the impropriety of putting oaths to such young men), turned round, on hearing this last reply, to some one who sat next him, and said, 'That's the best answer that has been given yet.'

"I was now dismissed without any further questioning, and, though tolerably concious, in my own mind, that I had acted with becoming firmness and honesty, I yet could not feel quite assured on the subject, till I had returned among my young friends and companions in the body of the hall, and seen what sort of verdict their looks and manner would pass on my conduct."†

So much for the college visitation of 1798.

Charles Phillips was not personally acquainted with Robert

* Moore either forgot his age or dropped a year designedly on this occasion. He states in his Memoirs he was born in 1779, consequently in 1798 he was nineteen years of age.

† "Memoirs of Thomas Moore," vol. 1. p. 51.

Emmet, but with those who were his most intimate friends and early associates he was well acquainted, and the result of all his inquiries respecting this remarkable young man is conveyed in a few striking words :

"He was but just twenty-three, had graduated in Trinity College, and was gifted with abilities and virtues which rendered him an object of universal esteem and admiration. Every one loved—every one respected him ; his fate made an impression on the university which has not yet been obliterated. His mind was naturally melancholy and romantic—he had fed it from the pure fountain of classic literature, and might be said to have lived not so much in the scene around him as in the society of the illustrious and sainted dead. The poets of antiquity were his companions, its patriots his models, and its republics his admiration. He had but just entered upon the world, full of the ardour which such studies might be supposed to have excited, and unhappily at a period in the history of his country when such noble feelings were not only detrimental but dangerous. It is but an ungenerous loyalty which would not weep over the extinction of such a spirit. The irritation of the Union had but just subsided. The debates upon that occasion he had drank in with devotion, and doctrines were then promulgated by some of the ephemeral patriots of the day, well calculated to inflame minds less ardent than Robert Emmet's. Let it not be forgotten by those who affect to despise his memory, that men matured by experience, deeply read in the laws of their country, and venerated as the high-priests of the constitution, had but two years before, vehemently, eloquently, and earnestly, in the very temple itself, proclaimed resistance to be a duty."*

CHAPTER II.

ROBERT EMMET'S CONNEXION WITH THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN, SUBSEQUENTLY TO MARCH, 1798, AND PRIOR TO THE INSURRECTION IN JULY, 1803—GOES ON THE CONTINENT IN 1800—SOJOURNS WITH HIS BROTHER IN HOLLAND THE SUMMER OF 1802—NOTICE OF COLONEL DESPARD'S PLOT, AND HIS CAREER.

WHATEVER was the nature of the plans into which some of the imprisoned leaders entered, who were confined in Newgate and Kilmainham, when the faith of government was broken with them, Robert Emmet certainly was cognizant of them, and had been employed as a messenger and confidential agent on some occasions, when the affairs in hand were deemed of great importance. I have

* C. Phillips' "Recollections of Curran," &c., Ed. 1818, p. 241.

been informed that he visited his brother at Fort George, in 1800. On the occasion of this visit there were serious differences among the state prisoners, especially between Arthur O'Connor and Thomas Addis Emmet. There were two parties in Fort George, and the divisions were, if not caused, certainly kept up by secret communications to the government of everything that went on in the prison, that must have been made by some one of their own body. It was not known, however, that the traitor to his fellow-prisoners was a northern gentleman, of great fame for his blustering patriotism in the North in 1797 and early part of 1798, Mr. Samuel Turner of Newry. During the whole period of his imprisonment at Fort George, Mr. Samuel Turner corresponded with Mr. Pitt, and it will be seen by the memoirs and correspondence of Lord Castlereagh, that after his liberation in 1802 Mr. Samuel Turner, while playing in Holland the part of an exile of Erin desperately faithful to his country, performed in secret the duties of a spy of the British government on the United Irishmen who sojourned in Hamburgh, or passed through that place. It will be seen also by the "Memoirs of Lord Cornwallis," vol. iii., p. 319, that Mr. Turner had a pension of £300 a-year for his secret services. Perhaps the old policy of dividing and governing was carried into effect at Fort George, and the principal leaders of the imprisoned members of the Society of United Irishmen were "ministered to by good espials," and the services of Samuel Turner were brought into requisition there, to set Emmet and O'Connor by the ears. About the same time as the visit of Robert to his brother, Mr. Patten received a letter from T. A. Emmet desiring him to bring a certain case of duelling pistols with him to Fort George when he was coming there; and accordingly the pistols were brought by Mr. Patten. But happily the necessity for their use was obviated by the previous successful efforts of Robert Emmet to allay the angry feelings that were then subsisting between the parties above referred to.—*Robert Emmet had a singular talent for composing differences, and making people who spoke harshly and thought unkindly of one another, acquainted with each other's good qualities, and thereby causing them to come to terms of accommodation.*

Soon after the visit of Robert Emmet to his brother at Fort George, it is stated that he set out for the continent. It is by no means probable that amusement was the main object of his visit; whatever the nature of it was he remained many months on the continent, made a tour in Switzerland, Holland, and several parts of France, and, subsequently, I have been informed, visited Cadiz, in company with Mr. John, subsequently Colonel, Allen, under the name of Captain Browne, who had been tried at Maidstone along with Arthur O'Connor and Coigly, and acquitted, and with

Dowdall, one of the liberated state prisoners who had refused to sign the compact with government, and was not precluded, like the other, from returning to Great Britain or his own country.

Robert Emmet passed several months of the years 1800 and 1801 on the continent and Peninsula, the greater part of that time on the tour in which he visited the South of France, Switzerland, and some parts of Spain. On his return from this tour, he visited Amsterdam and Brussels, where his brother, T. A. Emmet, had been sojourning since his liberation from Fort George, and banishment, in June, 1802.

I have already alluded to a letter of T. A. Emmet to his friend and fellow-student in Edinburgh, the lord advocate of Scotland, the subject of which is the breach of faith on the part of the government, in respect to the state prisoners then confined in Fort George; and it is worthy of attention, inasmuch as that violation of faith furnished (in the opinion of the majority of those persons) a justification of the renewal of their efforts, on their arrival in France, for the accomplishment of their designs.

The letter written by T. A. Emmet, at Fort George, and addressed to Lord Hope, then lord advocate of Scotland, was dated December 14th, 1801. Some passages from it, it is necessary to recur to in this memoir:

"After the insurrection had lasted for some time in Ireland, a negociation was set on foot by some of the state prisoners with the government, to stop the further effusion of blood on the scaffold and in the field. In the course of that business a proposal was made by government, in a letter from Mr. Secretary Cooke to Mr. Dobbs (who was the organ between both parties), that the prisoners should consent to go to such country as should be pointed out to them. This, with the other parts of the proposal, was rejected by the prisoners, who, however, in the hope that matters might still be adjusted, appointed deputies to communicate directly with the government: of these, I was one.

"In our interview with Lord Castlereagh, the chancellor, and Mr. Cooke, we again objected to the proposal, because it gave us no negative upon the country to which we might be sent; and added, that it might be construed so that government could send us to Botany Bay. At the mention of that place, Lord Castlereagh expressed the utmost abhorrence of the idea, and assured us, that when government made the proposal, it had no worse place in contemplation than the United States of America. To remove, however, all such apprehensions, it consented at once to give us the negative we required.

"There was an expression used by Lord Clare, at that interview, which will never be effaced from my mind. When we were

expressing some doubts about the entire execution of the agreement on the part of the government, as our part of it was to be first performed, his lordship said: 'Gentlemen, it comes to this—a government that broke its faith with you could not stand, and ought not to be allowed to stand.'

"I have now stated facts on my own authority, which, however, I am not afraid of being contradicted in any quarter. What follows I can give you on the authority of an act of government. We entered into an agreement, of which I send you a copy, and in which the words relating to our exile are, 'To emigrate to such country as *shall be agreed on* between them and government.' This compact government fully authenticated by two acts. First, they sent Mr. Dobbs, accompanied by popular and influential United Irishmen, to whom they gave papers of protection, to the County of Wicklow, where the insurrection still continued, to make the insurgents acquainted with it, and to persuade them to come in under it. This gentleman and his companions accordingly repaired to the Marquis of Huntly's and General Moore's camp, from whence they went among the insurgents, and actually persuaded all, but a few deserters, for whose security they would not pledge themselves, and a very few of their associates to submit. In the North, General Nugent, the commander of that district, published our agreement in a proclamation which he issued in August, 1798, and called upon all those who chose to take advantage of it to come in accordingly. As he published it nearly verbatim, with some of the names annexed, among which was mine, it has, therefore, become a document incontestibly authenticated by government. After these transactions, an act of parliament, indeed, was passed, purporting to be pursuant to our agreement, but of which I shall not permit myself to express to you what I think of its merits: suffice it to say, it was passed when we were all kept in close custody. As far as it goes beyond the agreement, it plainly contradicts the document which was transmitted by government to General Nugent, and authenticated by his proclamation. This is also farther to be said, that those who signed the agreement have almost all (myself and my fellow-prisoners excepted) been either allowed to remain at large in Ireland, or permitted to emigrate to Germany, Portugal, or America, according to their own choice.

"This statement I hope you will not think too long—the inferences from it are obvious. I ask only for that for which I and my fellow-prisoners gave a very important consideration, and to which government stands pledged, if there be such a virtue as public faith.

(Signed) "T. A. EMMET."

The detention of the state prisoners continued several months later than the date of the preceding communication; altogether it was prolonged upwards of three years beyond the period they had had reason to expect they would be allowed to leave the country. When they were liberated, they carried away with them a strong sense of injustice having been done them, and feelings of resentment for what they considered a breach of faith on the part of the government.

In a letter of T. A. Emmet to Dr. Macneven, dated "Brussels, 8th November, 1802," we find the following passage: "The uncertainty of peace or war, and the state of my little family here, keep me in great indecision what steps to take; but if I had to take any steps with regard to the first, I would endeavour to arrange the other accordingly. Your application to Talleyrand, and your endeavour to see Buonaparte (although things under other circumstances I should be much inclined to disapprove), may perhaps give us some insight; as, if they look to war, they will scarcely treat us with neglect. It is now above a month since I have seen R., and if Lawless received a letter from him, containing many commissions, &c., he can give you many particulars of him you would wish to know. From what he has told me, and what I have heard from other quarters, I believe that, besides ignorance and passion in the management of our affairs, if there was not treachery, there was at least great duplicity and bad faith. Some of those whom I considered as my friends before my imprisonment have grievously disappointed me; and if I go to Paris, I shall not do it without violence to my feelings. . . .

(Signed) "T. A. Emmet.

". . . Beg of Lawless to send R.'s* things as soon as he can, as they are to be forwarded to him from this, with some books, &c., that are waiting for him."

In a letter to Dr. Macneven, dated 25th October, 1802, T. A. writes: "Have you any news in Paris? we have strange rumours of war again. If they should turn out to be well founded our views would be indeed changed. Have any of you in Paris heard anything of Dowdall lately, and is he still in Ireland?"

The letters of T. A. Emmet, at this period, establish the fact that, in the autumn and winter of 1802, the leading United Irishmen then on the Continent, in the event of a rupture between France and England, were bent on renewing their efforts, and that they looked upon the struggle in Ireland as suspended, but not relinquished. This fact is sufficiently explanatory of the nature of Robert Emmet's mission. The following dates of the move-

* The person referred to was his brother Robert, who, a short time before, had proceeded to Ireland, by way of Holland and England.—R. R. M.

ments of his brother and himself will tend to show the connexion referred to.

Thomas Addis Emmet passed the winter of 1802 at Brussels. He was visited at Amsterdam by his brother Robert, accompanied by Hugh Wilson, about the month of August, the same year, a little later and for the last time at Brussels, and did not go to Paris until the spring of 1803. A part of the autumn of 1802 was passed in Paris by Robert Emmet; and there is evidence, in letters of his brother, that his proceedings there and his intentions were known to the latter. In the month of November, 1802, when Robert was in Ireland, his brother directed Robert's books and some part of his baggage, which had been left by him, in charge of Lawless, at Paris, to be sent to Brussels, from which place they were to be forwarded to him. One of those books is now in my possession, for which I am indebted to Mr. Patten, the friend of his in Dublin, to whom I have already referred, and to whom I feel under many obligations for valuable information on the subject of this volume. The title of the work is "Extracts from Colonel Templehoff's History of the Seven Years' War;" his remarks on General Lloyd; on the subsistence of armies; and also a "Treatise on Winter Posts, by the Hon. Colonel Lindsay, in two vols. London, 1793." The second volume is the one in my possession.

The margin, throughout a large portion of this volume, is filled with pencil notes, in the hand-writing of Robert Emmet, which one might suppose written by a person whose most intense application had been given to the subject of the work, and whose closest attention had been bestowed on every line. The marginal notings, under-scoring of passages, interlining of words, bracketing of sentences, are, in fact, such as are to be found in the books of students "reading up" for some important examination. The notes have chiefly reference to operations in mountainous countries—placing of posts, defending of approaches, sending out of patroles, objects to be accomplished and conduct to be observed by patroles, disposition of troops, rendering quarters defensible—and, particularly, the great advantages in the general system of defensive war which, in a mountainous country, may be derived from an experienced eye, a quick perception of the nature of surrounding obstacles, and favourable local circumstances, in the placing of every particular post. This volume has evidently been pored over by one who had bestowed anxious days and sleepless nights on its perusal.

The attorney-general, on Robert Emmet's trial, made mention of a volume of a work on military tactics that had been found in the Depot, in Thomas-street. That volume was probably the first of Colonel Templehoff's work, the second of which is in my possession.

Dr. Macneven arrived in Paris, from his tour in Germany and Switzerland, in October, 1802. In the latter part of that month we find, by Emmet's letter, he had been in communication with Talleyrand, and had sought an interview with Buonaparte. Thus, while France was at peace with England, Talleyrand was in communication with the enemies of the latter. Of the object of that communication there can be no doubt, and it is no less evident that a rupture with England was then in contemplation. Under such circumstances, Emmet was "much inclined to disapprove of the communication." His own views, however, in the event of war, are plainly shown in the passage in his letter of the 8th November, 1802, referring to certain rumours being of a nature that might decide his movements. In his former letter of the 25th of October, he speaks of "making his preparations for America, and his expectation of being joined there by Macneven, unless some change shall take place that would, in both cases, reverse all their calculations." In that letter, alluding to their intention of quitting France, he apprises Macneven "that Lawless will endeavour to change their current." It is then evident that Lawless was likewise one of the leaders whose views were directed to a renewal of their efforts; and it is needless to say, that unless they had well-grounded expectations of a rupture between France and England, they could have no co-operation on the part of the former.

There is an inquiry at the conclusion of T. A. Emmet's letter to Macneven, of the 25th of October, which, I believe, has a reference to the movements of a very important actor in the affairs of 1803—"Have any of you in Paris heard anything of Dowdall lately, and is he still in Ireland?" Dowdall was connected with Colonel Despard's conspiracy, and had been sent to Ireland, in the capacity of his agent, to ascertain the feelings of the people, and the state of things in Dublin, with a view to the extension of his plans there. Dowdall, while in Dublin, acted with extreme imprudence. In a mixed company, at table, he spoke undisguisedly of Despard's plans. One of the persons present was known to be a retainer in some subordinate capacity of government, and by that person the government, it was said, was informed of Despard's and Dowdall's movements; but they were already in possession of them through another channel. The day after Dowdall had thus spoken, James Hope, having been informed of what had passed, called on Dowdall, and warned him of the danger he stood in from his extreme imprudence. Despard was written to anonymously, informing him of the conduct of his agent.

In the course of two or three weeks the news of Despard's arrest reached Dublin, when Dowdall fled, and was next heard of in France.

The well-known English resident in Paris, Mr. Lewis Goldsmith, the father-in-law of Lord Lyndhurst, was then editor of the *Argus*, an anti-English paper, published in Paris (an organ of the French government in 1802, set up immediately before the arrival of Lord Whitworth in Paris). This versatile gentleman had previously written a Jacobin book, abusing kings and aristocrats, called "The Crimes of Cabinets;" and when Talleyrand had him dismissed from the office of editor of the Buonapartist paper, he returned, after a couple of years of further residence in France (the object of which is not very clearly set forth in his work), to his own country, where he published, in 1810, another work, called "The Secret History of the Cabinet of Buonaparte," abusing his former idol, and, in an especial manner, his old patron Talleyrand, and revealing many of the secrets of the prison-house of Buonaparte's press, and of the *canaille* connected with it and Fouchè's department, of whom Mr. Goldsmith's account is curious, as that of a competent witness, having an intimate acquaintance with his subject. Mr. Goldsmith, in his preface to his latter work, says "he does not retract one syllable of the principles he displayed in his former work; he glories in them, and shall ever maintain them in the abstract. The question is as to their application to circumstances as they arose." "Liberty having been for some centuries on the wane in Europe," it appears that Mr. Goldsmith went to see "the glorious sun rising above the horizon in France, which would, in time, illuminate the earth." "He thought," he says, "that France was the cradle out of which the mighty Hercules was to spring, to clear the earth of monsters; but experience had taught him, that not a Hercules, but a Hydra, had been the offspring of that convulsion." Mr. Goldsmith says, however, he does not retract one syllable of the principles he formerly displayed.

The new editor of *The Argus*, on the dismissal of Mr. Goldsmith, published the following notice of that occurrence in the paper: "Some time ago, an English paper was established here, entitled *The Argus*. The editor was a disaffected man, and, not having ceased to insert libels against his king and country, the French government have thought proper to prevent his continuing to be the editor of that paper."

Mr. Goldsmith states, that he was turned out of his French employment, as editor of *The Argus*, because he refused to insert articles that were libels on the King of England and the princes. He admits however that, as editor of *The Argus*, after resisting for some time, he did admit articles into that paper—two in particular, which, he observed to M. Talleyrand, were sufficient grounds for the British government to declare war against France;

to which Talleyrand replied: "*Je suis de votre avis c'est une chose, à desirer meme en ce moment.*"

One of these, "a most virulent article, was sent from Talleyrand's office, asserting in plain terms that Irishmen owed no allegiance to the King of Great Britain," which article, he states, was written by Mr. Russell.

The other article was written by an Italian of the name of Badini, the object of which was to excite a mutiny in our navy. Badini, he says, had been more than forty years in England engaged in newspapers, and when sent out of England, under the Alien Act, was in the pay of France at the time, and was editor of *Bell's Weekly Messenger*.

Mr. Lewis Goldsmith, at page 270 of his work, in the correspondence between the two governments, says: "It appears that France proposed to the ministers of England, that if they would send Georges, and the other French emigrants who are enemies to France, out of this country, the French would offer a reciprocity!!! Now, what does the reciprocity mean but to deliver up all the United Irishmen, in the same manner that they had done with the Italians." The fact stated by Mr. Goldsmith is perfectly true—Robert Emmet's information to his brother on this subject was not erroneous. *In justice to him, it should not be forgotten.*

Mr. Goldsmith states, that numerous spies and agents of Buonaparte were sent over to England, but that "the mission of Colonel Beauvoisin was the most important of all. He was sent over to engage persons to assassinate his majesty, and to organize a plan for the destruction of our naval arsenals at Portsmouth and Plymouth. He was also sent to '*surveiller*' the Count d'Artois, who then resided at Edinburgh. That Colonel Beauvoisin had frequent conferences with Despard, *I am convinced—he told it to Talleyrand* in my presence; and that Despard was urged to commit the crime of regicide, by Buonaparte, in times of profound peace, will never be doubted, after some facts which I can communicate on that subject. About three months before Despard was apprehended, I was sitting in a coffee-room with two English gentlemen, one of whom is now in London (a Mr. J. F——t),* who was ready to confirm this statement. The other is still in France, and therefore I cannot refer to him. A Frenchman came up and told me, in the presence of those two gentlemen, that the French government had laid a plan to have the King of England assassinated, and that he was to be shot in the park. When this man quitted us, I observed that it would be proper to inform the British minister in Paris of what we had heard; one of the gentlemen said he would communicate it to Mr. Fox, or to some

* Probably Mr. John Frost.

of his friends, who were then in Paris, and with whom he was intimate. I do not know that he did make such communication, but, if he did, I am certain that it was disregarded; as those gentlemen, from the magnanimity of their own nature, could not suppose that a man placed in the high situation of Napoleon Buonaparte could instigate or promote assassination."

When the news arrived in Paris of Despard having been apprehended, Mr. Goldsmith says he was sent for by Talleyrand, late in the evening (it was on the evening when the paper was to be published).* M. Talleyrand appeared very much agitated, and asked him if he had heard any news. He replied he had not. Talleyrand then went into an inner room, and brought out a packet of English newspapers; he gave the editor one, and pointed out the article which gave the particulars of Despard's apprehension. Talleyrand was visibly agitated; he asked the editor if he knew Despard, "*si c'etoit un homme sur*, and if he was intimate with ——." The editor observed that he knew very little indeed of him, and, so far from being "*un homme sur*," he was in general regarded as a madman by those who knew him.†

It was past midnight when the editor left him; at five in the morning Talleyrand sent his carriage for him, and the editor learned from the servants that the minister had just returned from St. Cloud. When the editor saw *le citoyen* minister, he gave him an article, *tout fait*, for insertion, which ran thus: "All Paris, and the First Consul in particular, learned with horror and indignation the atrocious attempt which has been made upon the life of his Britannic majesty, by a desperate Jacobin of the name of Despard. The feelings manifested on this occasion by the First Consul were very different to those expressed by the King of England when he heard it rumoured that General Buonaparte had been assassinated in Egypt." The next day, Colonel Despard's character was vilified in all the minor French papers.

With respect to the passage regarding Colonel Despard, it must be observed, Lord Hawkesbury, in his circular note to the ministers of foreign courts resident at the court of London, dated, "Downing-street, 30th April, 1804," explanatory of the conduct of the British government in reference to the "atrocious and utterly unfounded calumny, that the government of his Britannic majesty had been a party to plans of assassination;" "an accusation," said his lordship, "already made with equal falsehood and calumny, by the same authority, against the members of his majesty's government during the last war; an accusation incompatible with the honour of his majesty, and the known character of the British

* "The Cabinet of Buonaparte," p. 253. † *Ibid.*, p. 265.

nation." His lordship, in his recriminatory comments on several alleged violations of the laws of national honour on the part of the First Consul, never makes the slightest allusion to the attempt of Colonel Despard, and most assuredly his lordship must have known the fact, if such existed, of Buonaparte's connexion with that alleged intention of assassinating his majesty; and, if this fact were known, it would not have been withheld on such an occasion.

February 7, 1803, Colonel Despard was tried at the Surrey Assizes, before Lord Ellenborough, on a charge of high treason, conspiring to assassinate the king, &c. The attorney-general, Mr. Spencer Percival, stated the case to the jury at considerable length, at the conclusion of which he said:

"*I do not see, gentlemen, that in this case you should have any extraordinary anxious feelings to extricate the prisoner;* the crime is one of the blackest and most mischievous in the catalogue of guilt, and society cannot exist if it go unpunished: to the last he is entitled to justice—he is tried by the English law, before English judges and an English jury—but if you permit your inclination to mercy to exceed the limits of reason, you will do what the prisoner has no right to expect, and what I most solemnly protest against on the part of the public."

It appeared by the evidence of the crown witnesses that Colonel Despard and thirty other persons were arrested, on a charge of high treason, at a public house in Lambeth, the 15th of November, 1802. By some of the witnesses, it appeared that government was cognisant of the treasonable proceedings of Despard and his associates six months previously to their arrest; that spies were set on them, and suggested acts in some cases to them which were adopted; that they had printed papers to the following effect: "Constitution, the independence of Great Britain and Ireland; an equalization of civil, political, and religious rights; an ample provision for the families of the heroes who shall fall in the contest; a liberal reward for distinguished merit. These are the objects for which we contend. We swear to be united in the awful presence of God."

The form of the oath:—"I, A. B., do voluntarily declare, that I will endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obtain the objects of this Union; namely, to recover those rights I have lost, which the Supreme Being, in his infinite bounty, has given to all men: that neither hopes, fears, rewards, nor punishment, shall ever induce me to give any information, directly nor indirectly, concerning the business, or of any member of this or any similar society; so help me God."

One of the crown witnesses, Thomas Windsor, deposed: "He was a private in the Guards, in March, 1802. John Francis, one

of the prisoners, showed him some printed papers, which he afterwards showed to Mr. Bonus, an army agent, and officer in the Transport Office. He left one of the papers with him. He told Mr. Bonus the object of those concerned with him was to overturn the government, to get arms, and unite in different companies. Shortly after he attended a meeting at Giles's, where he was sworn by Francis. After this he attended several meetings of from sixteen to twenty-five persons, Irishmen of the lowest class. A Mr. M'Namara took a leading part at those meetings. Their object was to overturn the government, and destroy the royal family.

"The society was divided into several divisions. Each company consisted of ten, and was headed by a captain. The oldest captain took the command of five companies, and was then called colonel."

Mr. Serjeant Best and Mr. Gurney addressed the jury on the part of the prisoner. No evidence was brought forward to contradict the crown witnesses; but to the character of the prisoner, Lord Nelson, Sir Alured Clerk, George Long, Esq., and Sir Evan Nepeau appeared, and each of them gave the highest character it was possible for men to give, relative to the conduct, courage, and military talents of the prisoner, at the period of the acquaintance of each with Colonel Despard in foreign countries.

The Chief Justice charged the jury. His lordship observed, that it was admitted that a traitorous conspiracy did exist; but it was denied that it was the prisoner's. The principal evidence was that of accomplices who had become approvers. It was for the jury to consider its value, and the corroboration of it by other witnesses.

The jury withdrew for about half an hour, and on their return the foreman pronounced the prisoner "Guilty," adding, "but we most earnestly recommend the prisoner to mercy, on account of his former good character, and the services he has rendered his country." Colonel Despard heard the fatal verdict pronounced with the utmost composure and firmness.

On the 9th of February, twelve of the persons arrested on the 16th November, 1802, were tried, and nine of them were found guilty, and sentenced to death. When Colonel Despard was asked if he had anything to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he said: "My lord, I have only to say, that after the charge was brought against me, of which I have not the most distant idea, and since my committal, I have had no time to consult my solicitor on the means of refuting that charge, or of destroying the credit of the witnesses produced. I have, therefore, nothing to say now, but what I said when first brought to the bar—that I am not guilty."

Macnamara said: "I am now under sentence of death, and will shortly be under another judgment; and may God never receive my soul, if ever I spoke to Windsor till I came to this place."

The warrant for the execution of Colonel Despard and six of his associates reached the governor of the new prison in the Borough on the 19th of February. Colonel Despard received the dreadful intelligence with his wonted firmness. He had entertained some expectation of mercy, and manifested a momentary disappointment. He said the time was short.

Mrs. Despard had been constantly with her husband from the time of his conviction. She remained with him the whole of Saturday night. All the prisoners attended chapel on Sunday, with the exception of Colonel Despard and Macnamara; the latter had the assistance of a Roman Catholic clergyman. At four o'clock on Sunday evening, Mrs. Despard, accompanied by another lady, a relative to the latter, had a parting interview with her husband. After Mrs. Despard had parted with her husband he continued to walk up and down his cell till evening. He slept for a short time, and on awaking, spoke as if addressing one of the officers of the prison, who was placed in his cell, in these words, "They shall receive no information from me. No! not for all the gifts and gold in the possession of the crown." These expressions were supposed to have reference to some proposal that might have been recently made to him. The following morning, at eight o'clock, the prisoners were brought from their cells, and one after the other drawn in a hurdle across the court-yard of the prison. They were then conducted to the scaffold, which had been constructed so as to admit of having the seven prisoners placed in a line, and executed at the same moment. A few minutes before the execution took place, Colonel Despard came forward in front of the scaffold, and addressed the multitude assembled in these words:

"Fellow-citizens, I came here, as you see, after having served my country—faithfully, honourably, and usefully served it—for thirty years and upwards, to suffer death upon a scaffold for a crime of which I protest I am not guilty. I solemnly declare, that I am no more guilty of it than any of you who may be now hearing me. But though his Majesty's ministers know, as well as I do, that I am not guilty, yet they avail themselves of a legal pretext to destroy a man, because he has been a friend to truth, to liberty, and to justice—(there was loud cheering from the populace)—because he had been a friend to the poor and the oppressed. But, citizens, I hope and trust, notwithstanding my fate, and the fate of those who no doubt will soon follow me, that the principles of freedom, of humanity, and of justice, will finally triumph over falsehood, tyranny, and delusion, and every principle hostile to the

interests of the human race. And now, having said this, I have little more to add (he paused a moment)—I have little more to add, except to wish you health, happiness, and freedom, which I have endeavoured, as far as was in my power, to procure for you and mankind in general."

When the other prisoners were brought from their cells, they conducted themselves with propriety, and displayed the utmost composure. Five of them confessed they had done wrong, but not to the extent charged against them in the evidence. A fifth, Graham, said he was innocent of the crimes he was charged with, but had attended a meeting to which he had been brought by the approver Emblyn. The witness Windsor was made acquainted with the object of the treasonable society in March, 1802. He communicated his knowledge of them to a government officer belonging to the Transport Office, Mr. Bonus, and was instructed, as Cockayne had been in the case of Jackson, "to put himself forward" and watch the meetings. He did so, and introduced, by his own admission, a great number of unfortunate men into the society, who in all probability, but for his solicitation, would never have joined it or any other seditious association. The society was then, with the full knowledge of Mr. Bonus, the agent of transports—and it may, in justice to that gentlemen, be inferred of government itself—suffered to exist, to ramify, to increase in numbers, from the month of March, 1802, till the 15th of November the same year, namely, for a term of eight months!

Every man who was inveigled into the plans of that treasonable society, during the period above referred to, was sacrificed to a policy that no language of reprobation can sufficiently stigmatise.

There is no question, however, but that the objects of the society were treasonable, and that the overthrow of the government was contemplated; but so far from Despard having inveigled the persons who had been arrested with him into that society of which they were members, he was entrapped himself into its affairs by others for the especial purpose of prosecution. That society, and its different ramifications, were composed of soldiers, dismissed seamen, and working men. This association was subordinate to a secret society, composed of men of a very different class, which had been in being since the year 1795, and was called "The Secret Committee of England." It was composed of delegates from England, Ireland, and Scotland, who formed an executive directory. Despard was probably either a member of that society, or in connexion with it without being formally a member. One of its members was Benjamin Pemberton Binns, brother of John Binns, of the Corresponding Society.

It was from this society the Rev. James Coigley had carried

communications of political importance, in 1796, to the French government. It was of this society that an agent, B. P. Binns, had distributed a number of addresses among the United Irishmen, in 1797, which are spoken of in the evidence of John Hughes. There were persons said to be members of that society, of respectability, and subsequently of high standing in society, and of influence in reform politics. It had an executive committee—the members of which were unknown, except to three or four of the other members—like that of the United Irishmen; but more fortunate than the latter, its members, though suspected, never were discovered, or denounced on such evidence as could lead to their conviction. It has been denied by some of the state prisoners, that there was any correspondence or connexion between the London Corresponding Society, or any other similar association in England, and the Society of United Irishmen in Ireland. So far as regards the Corresponding Society such may be the fact, but with respect to the Secret Committee of England, though there might be no official communication between its executive and that of the United Irish one, there most assuredly was a great deal of communication between leading men of both societies, and much of it was carried on through the agency of Benjamin Pemberton Binns and the Rev. James Coigley.

With respect to Mr. Goldsmith's statement, of Despard being employed by Buonaparte to assassinate the king, it is not entitled to the slightest credit. Mr. Goldsmith's favourite and profitable pursuit for a great many years had been gathering stories of assassination, of treason, and of sedition, undertaken by the orders of Buonaparte, and promoted in foreign countries by his directions. There is one passage in his work illustrative of the character of his researches, and of the benevolent disposition in which they were pursued, at a period subsequent to his dismissal from the anti-English organ of the First Consul—the Paris *Argus*, in 1802. In his "Cabinet of Buonaparte," referring to the latter, he says: "All friends of mankind will hear with pleasure that this curse of the world is epileptic; he has also scrofulous eruptions on his breast, as the French physicians say, from the itch badly cured, '*le galle rentrèe*,' which he had to a very great degree when he lived in 'his garret, previous to the 13 *vendimiare*.'"*

So much for the statements of Mr. Goldsmith, intended to disparage the First Consul, and the stories of his projected assassinations and connexion with Colonel Despard as an agent for the perpetration of one of them. The only ground for such a charge is the supposed connexion of Colonel Despard with the popular

* "Secret History of the Cabinet of Buonaparte," p. 111.

societies in London at a previous period. He had been imprisoned and discharged without trial twice, previously to his last arrest.

On the 21st of December, 1798, on the second reading of the bill for the cessation of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, Mr. Courtney read a letter from Mrs. Despard, illustrative of the practical working of the late measure :

" Some mention having been made in newspaper reports of the House of Commons, relative to the treatment of Colonel Despard in the new prison, I think it necessary to state, that he was confined near seven months in a dark cell, not seven feet square, without fire, or candle, chair, table, knife, fork, a glazed window, or even a book. I made several applications in person to Mr. Wickham, and by letter to the Duke of Portland, all to no purpose. The 20th of last month, he was removed into a room with fire, but not until his feet were ulcerated by the frost. For the truth of this statement I appeal to the Hon. Mr. Lawless, and John Beever, Esq., who visited him in prison, and at whose intercession he was removed. The jailer will bear witness that he never made any complaint of his treatment, however severe it was. This statement of facts is without the knowledge of the colonel, who has served his majesty thirty years, and all his family are now in the army.

(Signed) " Catherine Despard,
" Berkley-square."

Despard was known to government as a man of Horne Tooke's politics, and therefore was in bad odour with it. Such was his position when the charge was made against the English government, by the First Consul, of harbouring, pensioning, and thus countenancing in England, the notorious assassin Georges and his compeers. Intelligence was received from France, not officially, however, that French agents had been sent over to England to instigate the malcontented to assassinate the king. Despard was likewise known to have been recently in France, and therefore was suspected of communicating with its government. On his return to England, he was set by the police—dogged by spies—his friends were interrogated—his letters were examined and detained. This was ever an infallible receipt for making traitors. When Tiberius expressed some distrust of a spirited officer, in a letter to the latter, that officer, Gettulus, let him plainly see how his suspicions might be realized, when he wrote to Tiberius, " that so long as he remained unsuspected, his loyalty would continue uncontaminated." Despard was at length inveigled into assemblies where it was possible to establish charges against him which could not otherwise be sustained ; and in this way a man exceedingly ob-

noxious to the government, and probably dangerous to it, was removed, by means that were foul, under legal forms.

Arthur O'Connor states, that Despard's attempt was wholly foreign to the affairs in Ireland. Until it can be shown that the objects of the Secret Committee of England, composed of delegates from England, Ireland, and Scotland, were wholly foreign to the affairs of Ireland, I, for one, cannot be persuaded but that Colonel Despard's supposed connexion with the secret society in England was well known to the leaders of the United Irishmen, and that a popular movement in England was expected, and looked for with anxiety by them, as affording employment for the troops in England, which would leave a better prospect for their efforts in Ireland.

In carrying into effect the sentence of Colonel Despard, that part of a barbarous remnant of the savagery of the ages of darkness, which passed for a salutary severity essential to the ends of justice, was dispensed with.

The following extract of the warrant for execution is worthy of attention: "And whereas we have thought fit to remit part of the sentence of the prisoners, viz., taking out the bowels before their faces, and dividing the bodies of Edward Marcus Despard, &c., &c., severally into four parts: our will *and pleasure* is, that execution be done upon the said E. M. Despard, &c., &c., by their being drawn and hanged, and having their heads severed from their bodies, according to the said sentence *only*, at the usual place of execution, on Monday next, the 21st of February; and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at our court, at St. James's, &c., &c., by his majesty's command.

(Signed) "PELHAM."

The following particulars of the early history and military career of Colonel Despard are taken from a "Memoir of the late Colonel Edward Marcus Despard, by James Bannantine, his secretary when superintendent of his majesty's affairs at Honduras." Published in *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*, March, 1803, p. 129:

"He was born in 1750 or 1751, and descended from a very ancient and respectable family in the Queen's county, in Ireland. He is the youngest of six brothers, all of whom, except the eldest, have served either in the army or navy. In 1766, he entered the army as an ensign in the 50th regiment. In the same regiment, he served as a lieutenant; and in the 79th, he served successively as lieutenant, quarter-master, and captain. From his superior officers he received many marks of approbation, particularly from General Calcraft, of the 50th, General Meadows, and the Duke of Northumberland. He has been for the last

twenty years detached from any particular corps, and intrusted with important offices. In 1799 he was appointed chief engineer to the St. Juan expedition, and conducted himself so as to obtain distinguished attention and praise from Captain Polson, who commanded on that occasion. He also received the thanks of the council and assembly of the island of Jamaica, for the construction of public works there; and was, in consequence of these services, appointed by the governor of Jamaica to be commander-in-chief of the island of Rattan and its dependencies, and of the troops there, and to rank a lieutenant-colonel and field engineer, and commanded as such on the Spanish main, in Rattan, and on the Musquito Shore, and the Bay of Honduras.

"After this, at Cape Gracias de Dios, he put himself at the head of the inhabitants, who voluntarily solicited him to take the command, and re-took from the Spaniards Black-river, the principal settlement of the coasts. For this service he received the thanks of the governor, council, and assembly of Jamaica, and of the king himself. In 1783, he was promoted to the rank of colonel; in 1784, he was appointed first commissioner for settling and receiving the territory ceded to Britain, by the sixth article of the definitive treaty of peace with Spain, in 1783. He, as a colonel, so well discharged his duty, that he was appointed superintendent of his majesty's affairs on the coast of Honduras, which office he held much to the advantage of the crown of England, for he obtained from that of Spain some very important privileges. The clashing interests, however, of the inhabitants of this coast produced much discontent, and the colonel was, by a party of them, accused of various misdemeanours to his majesty's ministers. He now came home, and demanded that his conduct should be investigated; but was, after two years' constant attendance on all the departments of government, at last told by ministers that there was no charge against him worthy of investigation; that his majesty had thought proper to abolish the office of superintendent at Honduras, otherwise he should have been reinstated in it; assured that his services should not be forgotten, but in due time meet their reward.

"It appears, however, that no further notice was ever taken of his past honourable and praiseworthy conduct, which, no doubt, highly irritated the colonel's susceptible and feeling mind; and it is highly probable that the designing and disaffected had taken advantage of his state of mind to detach him from loyalty, and engage his superior understanding and abilities in that mistaken cause for which his life has now paid the forfeit.

"Soon after the commencement of the French revolution, Colonel Despard was committed to prison, without any cause being

assigned; but was liberated after some weeks' confinement. On the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act he was again confined for a considerable time—still without any visible cause—but was at length set at liberty on his own recognizance. From this time he continued at large till the 16th of November last, when he was again taken into custody at the Oakley Arms, Lambeth, with about thirty other persons. In consequence of the last apprehension, the colonel, and twelve of his associates, were brought to trial, ten of whom were found guilty of high treason."

Colonel Despard was in his 53rd year when he was executed.

CHAPTER III.

THE PEACE OF AMIENS—ITS SHORT DURATION—PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEADERS OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN IN RELATION TO THE EMBARRASSED POSITION OF AFFAIRS, AND PROBABILITY OF A RENEWAL OF THE WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND—COMMUNICATION OF THE EMMETS WITH BUONAPARTE.

THE treaty of peace between Great Britain, on the one hand, and France, Spain, and Holland, on the other, was signed at Amiens, the 27th of March, 1802. It was very evident, from the beginning of the negotiation for peace that there was no confidence on the part of either government in the sincerity of the intention of the other to maintain it.

The ministry in England was pressed—by public opinion, and its expression in parliament—to affect to make overtures for peace, and eventually peace itself. Buonaparte was consolidating his plans for his own aggrandisement, and required a breathing time to combine and to accomplish them. The destruction of the French fleet, moreover, had rendered it necessary to make the requisite preparations to provide and to equip another. This required time; and none was certainly lost by Buonaparte—for, from the beginning of the peace, naval preparations of considerable magnitude were actively going on at Brest and other ports.

Similar naval preparations and military movements were on foot in England in the winter of 1802. In the spring of 1803, volunteering in England and the raising of yeomanry corps in Ireland, were matters of public notoriety. In *The London Chronicle* of 12th March, 1803, we find the following announcement: "Mr. J. C. Beresford, M.P. for Dublin, set off on Tuesday for Ireland. His sudden return is attributed to business of a public nature." That business was officially glanced at in a circular of the Irish secretary a few days later.

On the 26th of March, Mr. E. B. Littlehales, in pursuance to directions from the Lord Lieutenant, addressed a circular to the commanding officers of the respective corps of yeomanry, stating that in the present posture of affairs it was particularly desirable the yeomanry of Ireland should be prepared for any emergency.

Several of the corps of yeomanry, at that time, were already embodied.

M. Otto, the French minister at the court of London, in a note to Lord Hawkesbury, dated 17th August, 1802, states that he had received especial orders to solicit, that the most effectual measures should be taken in England—

"1st.—That a stop should be put to obnoxious, seditious, and unbecoming publications.

"2nd.—That certain French emigrants *should be sent out of the island of Guernsey.*

"3rd.—That certain bishops, emigrants in England, *should be sent away.*

"4th.—That Georges and his adherents *should be transported* to Canada.

"5th.—That the Bourbon princes *should be recommended* to repair to Warsaw.

"6th.—That French emigrants, wearing orders of the ancient *regime, should be required* to quit the British territory."

The example of the British Government, in times of public commotions, is referred to in justification of those demands. "Whatever," says M. Otto, "may be the protection which British laws afford to native writers, and to other subjects of his majesty, the French government knows that foreigners here do not enjoy the same protection, and the law, known by the title of the Alien Act, gives the ministry of his Britannic majesty an authority which it has often exercised against those whose residence was prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain. The first clause of the act states expressly that any order in council which requires a foreigner to quit the kingdom shall be executed under pain of transportation. There exists, therefore, in the ministry a legal and sufficient power to restrain foreigners, *without having recourse to the courts of law*, and THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, WHICH OFFERS ON THIS POINT A PERFECT RECIPROCITY, THINKS IT GIVES a new proof of *its pacific intentions* by demanding that those persons may be sent away whose machinations uniformly tend to sow discord between the people."*

The perfect reciprocity there is no mistaking. The United Irishmen in Paris stood in the same obnoxious relation to British interests which the *emigreés* in London did to those of France, or

* *London Chronicle*, 19th—21st May, 1803, p. 483.

rather of its ruler. How it was possible for the leaders of the United Irishmen, after the publication of the paper from which the preceding document is taken, to place any trust in Buonaparte's faith or friendly feelings to their cause, is indeed surprising.

Robert Emmet, of all those leaders who were then sojourning in France, appears to have been the one who most distrusted Buonaparte's intentions in regard to Ireland. It is evident that his distrust was founded on information that was authentic, and that his opinion of Buonaparte was not a mistaken one. Lord Hawkesbury's reply to the demand of the French government, dated 28th August, 1802, was a dignified refusal to transport, turn out of the kingdom, or recommend to leave it, any persons who did not infringe the laws. The intention of the Alien Act, he said, was to empower the government to remove foreigners suspected of being dangerous to it. But if any substantial proof was given of foreigners in England, distributing proclamations in France, or enticing the people to resist its government, his majesty would take all the measures in his power to cause such persons to leave the country. With respect to interference with the press, "I am sure," said Lord Hawkesbury, "you must be aware that his majesty cannot, and never will, in consequence of any representation, or any menance from a foreign power, make any concession which can be, in the smallest degree, dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of this country. This liberty is justly dear to every British subject. The constitution admits of no previous restraints upon publications of any description." No allusion whatever was made to the obliging offer of the perfect reciprocity. Altogether, the correspondence was advantageous (on the face of the published documents) to the character of the British minister, and damaging to that of the First Consul. But there is no doubt that Georges and his associates were suffered, unmolested, to pursue their machinations in Great Britain, and were supported and countenanced by influential people in England connected with the emigrants—that the pretence was futile that there was no power under the Alien Act to prevent assassins from plotting against the life of the ruler of a foreign country at peace with Great Britain—and that the professions of anxiety for the maintenance of constitutional privileges, and of feelings of veneration for the liberty of the press, were not in accordance with the practical exercise of power at that period in the British dominions.

It cannot fail to strike any reader of the official papers presented to parliament, connected with the mission of Lord Whitworth, that the great cause of Buonaparte's irritation, greater even than the retention of Malta, was the abuse lavished on him in the English newspapers, and by several of the leading members of

parliament. The British government, in affecting to remedy the grievance complained of, took the course of all others the most displeasing to Buonaparte, and most calculated to bring him into disfavour with the liberals and radicals of England, namely, the prosecution of one of those editors, Peltier, which afforded an opportunity to Sir James Mackintosh, for raking the character and career of Buonaparte, fore and aft; thus accomplishing the purpose of the government, while apparently bent on protecting the reputation of their new ally.

Was it by mere accident that this trial came on the same day that Colonel Despard was executed? The *Moniteur*, in commenting on the views of Peltier's conviction, expressed the greatest indignation at the duplicity of the British minister, in taking a course so much opposed to the wishes of the French government, instead of that course which had been demanded by their ambassador.

Buonaparte, in a conference with Lord Whitworth, communicated to the British government, 21st February, 1803, reiterated his complaints against the British government in reference to the retention of Malta, in direct violation of the terms of the treaty. He said, "Of the two, he would rather see us (the English) in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine than of Malta." . . . He complained of the protection given in England to the assassin Georges, handsomely pensioned, and of his plans being permitted to be carried into effect in France, and of two of his fellow-agents being sent into France by the *emigrées* to assassinate him (Buonaparte) and being then in custody. The two men he referred to were subsequently tried, and convicted of the crime they were charged with on their own confessions.

In regard to the abuse launched on Buonaparte in the English papers and French emigrant journals, published in London, he (the First Consul) said to Lord Whitworth: "The irritation he felt against England increased daily, because every wind which blew from England brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him."* Lord Hawkesbury in reply to Lord Whitworth's communication, 18th February, 1803, made the following admission, for the first time explicitly and plainly expressed: "*With regard to that article of the treaty which relates to Malta, the stipulations contained in it, owing to circumstances which it was not in the power of his majesty to control, had not been found capable of execution.*"

In Lord Whitworth's communication (dated 21st February, 1803) to Lord Hawkesbury, an account is given of an interview with Buonaparte, when the latter, in reference to the proofs he

* *London Chronicle*, February, 1803.

had given of a desire to maintain peace, said he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and if determined to attempt one, it must be by putting himself at the head of an expedition. But how could it be supposed that, after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were, that he and the *greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea.* He talked much on the subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged there were a hundred chances to one against him; but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and, such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprise.* He concluded by stating, that France, with an army of 480,000 men, to be immediately completed, was ready for the most desperate enterprise; that England, with her fleet, was mistress of the seas, which he did not think he should be able to equal in ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it.

In the report on the situation of the French Republic, bearing the signature of the First Consul, presented to the legislative body by a decree of the government, of the 21st February, 1803, the following passages occur:

"The British forces are still in Alexandria and Malta. The government had a fair right of complaint, but it has received intelligence that the vessels that are to convey them to Europe are already in the Mediterranean. . . .

"But in England two parties maintain a contest for power; one of those parties has concluded peace and appears desirous of maintaining it. The other has taken an oath of eternal hatred to France. . . . . While this contest of parties continues, measures of precaution are what the government are called upon to adopt. Five hundred thousand men ought to be, and shall be ready to undertake its defence and avenge its injuries. Strange necessity which miserable passions impose on two nations, whom interest and inclination mutually prompt to the cultivation of peace. Whatever success intrigues may experience in London, no other people will be involved in new combinations. The government says, with conscious pride, that England alone cannot maintain a struggle against France."†

Mr. Pitt, at this time out of office, was said, in the public prints, to be "in so precarious a state of health, as not to admit of

* *London Chronicle*, p. 476, 17–19th May, 1803. † *Ibid.*, p. 205, February 26th.

his undergoing the fatigue of a regular parliamentary attendance." His organs, however, were not idle; the papers which heretofore advocated his opinions, were busily employed in reviling the First Consul and deprecating peace with him. At the very period that Mr. Pitt's health was stated, in *The London Chronicle*, in February and March, 1803, to be in so precarious a state, he was more deeply engaged in public business, I was informed by his niece, Lady Hester Stanhope, who then acted as his private secretary, than he had been at any period while he was in the ministry. It is impossible to read the debates in parliament of this period, and not to believe that the prime minister, Adington, was more desirous of maintaining peace with France than the party that had hitherto clamoured against the war. Some of the great Whigs of that day, Lord Moira and Mr. Sheridan in particular, seemed wholly bent on driving the ministry to hostile measures against France, after having for years made war on the Tory ministry for its belligerent policy. There never was greater inconsistency exhibited by public men than was at this period displayed by Lord Moira and Mr. Sheridan. The whole of their patriotism, at this time, was devoted to efforts to influence the passions of the people of England against France, and to supply means for paying the debts and providing for the debaucheries of the Prince Regent. Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Whitbread, however, were no parties to the war-whoop of Lord Moira and Mr. Sheridan.

On the 9th of March, 1803, a message from the king was delivered to the parliament, wherein his majesty "thinks it necessary to acquaint the House of Commons that, as very considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he had judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions."

Lord Whitworth, in March, by the instructions of his government, demanded an explanation of the motives and objects of the warlike preparations in the French ports, and the reply (not official) of M. Talleyrand was said to have been short and not satisfactory: "It was the will of the First Consul." Buonaparte, on the other hand, on the 11th of March, at a levèe at the Tuilleries, attended by the different ambassadors and a great number of distinguished persons, on entering the grand saloon seemed violently agitated, and appeared to be conversing with his attendants, or rather thinking aloud, for the following words, pronounced in a very audible voice, were heard by all the persons in the audience chamber: "Vengeance will fall on that power which will be the cause of the war." He approached the British ambassador, Lord Whitworth, and said: "You know, my lord, that a terrible storm has arisen between England and France." Lord

Whitworth said it was to be hoped that this storm would be dissipated without any serious consequences. Buonaparte replied: "It will be dissipated when England shall have evacuated Malta; if not, the cloud would burst and the bolt must fall. The King of England had promised by treaty to evacuate that place—and who was to violate the faith of treaties?"*

Of the interview referred to, Lord Whitworth, in a communication to the British minister of foreign affairs, dated the 14th of March, 1803, says:

"At the court, which was held at the Tuilleries on that day, Sunday, he (the First Consul) accosted me evidently under very considerable agitation. He began by asking me if I had any news from England. I told him I had received letters from your lordship two days ago. He immediately said, 'And so you are determined to go to war?' 'No,' I replied, 'we are too sensible of the advantages of peace.' '*Nous avons*,' said he, '*déjà fait la guerre pendant quinze ans*.' As he seemed to wait for an answer, I observed only, '*C'en est déjà trop*.' '*Mais*,' said he, '*vous voulez le faire encore quinze annés et vous m'y forcez*.' I told him that was very far from his majesty's intentions. He then proceeded to Count Marcow and Chevalier Azara, who were standing together at a little distance from me, and said to them: '*Les Anglais veulent la guerre, mais s' ils sont les premiers à tirer l'epée, je serais le dernier à le remettre. Ils ne respectent pas les traités. Il faut dorénavant les couvrir de crepe noir*.' He then went his round. In a few minutes he came back to me and resumed the conversation, if such it may be called, by something personally civil to me." After some observations about the armaments in England, he said, in reply to Lord Whitworth's remark, that England desired peace: "*On voudroit à vivre en bonne intelligence avec elle* (*la France*). *Il faut donc respecter les traités, malheur à ceux qui ne respectent pas les traités, ils en seront responsible à tout l'Europe*."†

The manifesto of the French republic at the appearance of hostilities, bearing the signature of the minister of foreign affairs, M. Talleyrand, was issued on the 15th of May. In this document it is stated, that the British minister, on the 7th of April, manifested an intention to violate the treaty, and to refuse to evacuate Malta. Two new *projects* of convention had been offered—one that Malta should continue under the sovereignty of England, and that England would consent to recognise everything that had taken place in Europe since the treaty of Amiens. To which projects M. Talleyrand replied, that no change had taken

* Woodfall's *London Chronicle*, p. 478, 17th-18th May, 1803.

† "Annual Register" for 1803, p. 698.

place in Europe since the treaty was made, *except the organisation of the German empire*, in which the King of England had concurred, as Elector of Hanover, by his vote—a necessary consequence of the treaty of Luneville, which existed long before the treaty of Amiens; that the events in Piedmont, Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian republics, had their date previous to the treaty of Amiens; that with respect to the Batavian republic, it had been recognised by the King of England; and that, by treaty between that republic and France, the last division of the French troops would evacuate Holland on the complete execution of the treaty of Amiens. With respect to Malta, the independence of the order of its knights and of the island was provided for by an especial article of the treaty of Amiens. The independence of the island had been guaranteed by the Emperor of Germany; the independence of the knights had been guaranteed by the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, in consequence of the conjoint solicitation of England and France. When Lord Whitworth demanded his passports, Buonaparte, apparently still anxious for peace, consented that new arrangements should be entered into respecting Malta, in concurrence with Austria and Russia.—Lord Whitworth suspended his departure, and referred the proposal to his government. On the 11th of May, Lord Whitworth returned the answer of his government, stating that Russia had refused the request made to her on that subject. Talleyrand affirms there was not time for the application to have been made to Russia and replied to. A courier, however, had arrived at Paris from Russia, with despatches from the Emperor, manifesting the greatest concern at the intelligence of the intention of England to retain possession of Malta, renewing the assurances of his guarantee, and announcing his compliance with the request of the First Consul, to become the mediator between the two powers, with their consent. This communication was made known to Lord Whitworth on the 12th of May. On the same day, his lordship informed M. Talleyrand that he had orders to depart in thirty-six hours after the delivery of his last note. The manifesto terminates with a repetition of the proposition to place Malta in the hands of one of the three guaranteeing powers; and for all other objects foreign to the treaty of Amiens, renews its declaration to open a negotiation with respect to them.

On the 15th of May, 1803, his Britannic majesty sent a message to parliament, announcing the recall of the British ambassador from Paris, and the departure of the French ambassador from London. The declaration of hostilities with France was published in *The Gazette* of 18th May, 1803.

Mr. Pitt made his appearance in the House of Commons on

the 23rd of May, when an amendment of Mr. Grey's, in the address to his majesty, pledging the house to support his majesty in the prosecution of the war, came to be discussed in that house. During the continuation of peace Mr. Pitt was ill. His indisposition suffered him only to indulge in rural and military recreations—in learning the musket and broad-sword exercise, by way of bracing his nerves—and seeing his regiment of volunteers put through their facings, with the view of enlivening the dulness of his retirement. But like the worthy cardinal who had waxed sickly and infirm before a Pope's election, Mr. Pitt, who, before the question came to be discussed of peace or war, was a political invalid, unable to attend to his parliamentary duties, and so broken down with the labours of his past career as to excite general fears for his safety, became suddenly strong and hale. The night of the debate of the 23rd of May, Mr. Pitt was found in his place in parliament, and it is hardly necessary to add, that his "voice was still for war." Perhaps greater vigour of mind or body was never exhibited by him than on that occasion. The ex-minister was himself again—war was about to be let loose on the world, and all the principles of evil seemed concentrated in the unholy exultation with which the prospect of war was hailed on that occasion. In the heat of his passion he reviled Buonaparte in the most vehement terms of invective; he spoke of the First Consul as "a sea of liquid fire, which destroyed everything which was unfortunate enough to come in contact with it." It then only remained for honorable members to express a hope that "the only man in the empire qualified to conduct the war to a successful issue" should be recalled to the councils of his sovereign.

The result of these negotiations was war—a new devastation of the fairest portion of Europe for the space of eleven years—a further carnage of some millions of the human race—an increased burthen of public debt, to the extent of some hundreds of millions of pounds sterling in Great Britain.* And what permanent advantages have accrued to England from these eleven years of war?

Divesting these negotiations of all their concomitant feints and fencings, wiles and ambushes, mysticisms of meaning, and hiding of purposes—these skilful skirmishes, criminations and recriminations, avowals of fair intentions, and imputations of bad faith, we come to the bare bone of contention—an island in the Mediterranean, which belonged to neither of the parties in dispute.

* The National Debt in 1803 was £601,411,080 sterling. In 1814, at the end of the war, it was £943,195,951, having been increased by these eleven years of war upwards of £341,000,000.—*Colquhoun's Wealth and Resources of the British Empire.*

France wanted a navy, which it would require ten years to equip. England wanted Malta and the Cape of Good Hope, which she was then in a condition to retain, but was not in so good a condition to maintain when the treaty of Amiens was entered into. Buonaparte was well aware of these facts, and his political morality did not stand in the way of his state interests. He regarded the treaty of Amiens as a truce, believing it was so regarded by his new ally, yet willing to maintain it as long as possible, for the sake of its bearings on his interests—not on account of its obligations on his honour—and desirous, whenever it was broken, that the ostensible cause of the rupture should be a violation of an important article of that treaty on the part of England.

The consideration of this matter is not foreign to the subject of the unfortunate enterprise of Robert Emmet. Its origin and failure were unquestionably connected with the expected result of those negotiations, and the preparations for that result, which had been already begun in the northern seaports of France when he set out on his fatal mission. Previous to his departure he had an interview with Buonaparte; the nature of it was such as to leave no doubt on his mind that peace was destined to be of short continuance, that hostilities would commence before the month of August, 1803, and that the invasion of England would take place in the course of that month.

He told one of his most intimate friends in Ireland, a gentleman whose veracity can be relied on implicitly—Mr. Patten—that his interview with Buonaparte had left an unfavourable impression on his mind of the character of the First Consul; that he had been referred by Buonaparte to Talleyrand, and had several interviews with the latter, of whose intentions towards Ireland he thought not more favourably than of those of his master, and of whose knowledge of the state of things there he could say but little to its advantage. He thought, however, that Talleyrand rather desired the establishment of an independent republic in Ireland, and that Buonaparte did not. The only object of the latter, he believed, was to aggrandize France, and to damage England, and so far as that object went, to wish well to any effort in Ireland that might be ancillary to his purpose. He thought, however, that Buonaparte, seeing that war was inevitable, was sincere in the purpose he expressed of making a descent on England the earliest possible moment after war had been declared; and that event, he was led to believe, was likely to take place before many months should have elapsed.

England and France, from the middle of March, 1803, were busily engaged in preparations for war. It was not, however, till the middle of May, that acts of hostility were committed on the

merchant vessels of both countries on the coasts of France and England. An order of council, dated the 16th of May, 1803 (the morning of the French ambassador's departure from London), appeared in *The London Gazette*, directing reprisals against French ships and merchandize, and also an embargo on all vessels of the French and Batavian republics. On the 18th, the king issued a declaration of war against France. A number of intercepted English letters found on board the East Indiaman, *Admiral Aplin*, captured by the French, and published in the *Moniteur* by the government, afford abundant proof of the panic which prevailed in England, and of the expectation of invasion that was general at that period. Very serious apprehensions were expressed in these letters of the results of an invasion in Ireland. It was stated, in a letter of Lord Charles Bentinck to his brother, Lord William Bentinck, Governer of Madras: "If Ireland be not attended to, it will be lost; these rascals" (an endearing, familiar, gentleman-like way of calling the people of Ireland) "are as ripe as ever for rebellion."

In an extract of a letter to General Clinton, of the 2nd of June, we find the following passage: "I have learned from them (Irish people in England) with regret, that the lower classes of men in Ireland were more disaffected than ever, even more than during the last rebellion, and that if the French could escape from our fleet, and land their troops in the north of Ireland, they would be received with satisfaction, and joined by a great number."

In a letter of Lord Grenville to the Marquis of Wellesley, dated the 12th of July, 1803, we find the following passage: "I am not certain whether the event of the war, which our wise ministers have at last declared, may not have induced them to beg you to continue your stay in India some time longer. I hope nothing, however, will prevent me from having the pleasure of seeing you next year, *supposing at that period that you have still a country to revisit.*"*

Letter from Mr. Finers to General Lake, July 14th: "The invasion, which has been so long the favourite project of the First Consul, will certainly take place."

Letter from one of the directors of the East India Company, Thomas Faulder, to Mr. J. Ferguson Smith, Calcutta, 3rd August: "I have heard from the first authority, that if the French can land in Ireland with some troops, they will be immediately joined by 100,000 Irish."†

The reader is requested to observe, that the date of Lord

* Intercepted letters found in the captured ship *Aplin*, published in the *Moniteur*, p. 13. Pam. Dub. 1804.

† *Ibid.* p. 43.

Grenville's letter was July 12th, the letter to General Clinton is dated the 2nd of June, the letter to General Lake is dated the 14th of July. In the first, the apprehension of invasion, and the doubt of his friend having a country to revisit the next year, is obvious enough. In the letter to General Clinton, the spirit of disaffection, and certainty of the troops joining the invaders, is plainly stated. In the letter to General Lake the favourite project of the First Consul, it is said, will certainly take place. Now, all these letters were previous to the attempt of Robert Emmet, which was made on the 23rd of July.

These letters were evidently written by persons connected with government, or with persons holding high situations under the government, and we see that they entertained the opinion which has been hitherto set down as a chimerical one—that on which Robert Emmet acted—namely, that there would be an invasion of some part of Great Britain or Ireland, and that the people in Ireland would take advantage of the opportunity.

Arthur O'Connor, in speaking of some of the United Irish leaders who were in Paris in 1802-3, says: "These were persons who were opposed to him (O'Connor), who had communications with France, and this party was re-organised at Paris in 1803. Their plans were connected with Robert Emmet's plot, but were not communicated to him—they were divulged to him by the French government. The person in this party in Paris who had most influence was Russell. Buonaparte, in conversing with General O'Connor, expressed himself unfavourably of the attempt, and of those engaged in it." The United Irishmen, it must be added, who had been in communication with him, expressed themselves no less unfavourably of him.

COPY OF A MEMORANDUM RESPECTING ROBERT EMMET, FOUND AMONG MACNEVEN'S PAPERS.

"In 1802, when T. A. Emmet arrived in Brussels, from Hamburgh, his brother Robert came to meet him from Paris, and stayed there until towards November, when he returned to his family in Ireland. At the time he was in Brussels, he (Robert) had no knowledge of any design being then entertained in Ireland to make another attempt to throw off the British yoke; but communications were soon made to him when in Dublin, supported by returns and details, which gave him assurance that the population of *seventeen counties* would be brought to act, if only one successful effort were made in the metropolis, and to secure this, select bodies of men were to arrive unknown in the city, from different quarters. It was hard to reject the proposition of taking part in the enterprise, and difficult to attain any other knowledge

of the reality of the means than what was furnished by the persons who projected, proposed, and were to be performers in the proposed undertaking. There is no doubt but a great part of the country would have risen, and was prepared to do so, if Dublin had been carried, and in that event the war would have been general in less than a week."*

Robert Emmet's design was, then, based on the expectation of a speedy rupture of the amicable relations between Great Britain and France, on the knowledge of extensive naval preparations in the northern seaports of France, and the impression left on his mind, by his interview with Buonaparte, and his frequent communications with Talleyrand, that those preparations were for an invasion of England, which was likely to be attempted in August, 1803; on the knowledge, communicated to him by Dowdall, of a movement being determined on by the Secret Society of England, with which Colonel Despard was connected; on the assurance of support and pecuniary assistance from very influential persons in Ireland; and, lastly, on the concurrence of several of the Irish leaders in Paris.

The late Lord Cloncurry informed me that he dined in company with Robert Emmet and Surgeon Lawless, the day before the departure of the former for Ireland. "Emmet spoke of his plans with extreme enthusiasm; his features glowed with excitement, the perspiration burst through the pores, and ran down his forehead." Lawless was thoroughly acquainted with his intentions, and thought favourably of them; but Lord Cloncurry considered the plans impracticable, and was opposed to them. Dr. Macneven, Hugh Wilson, Russell, Byrne, William and Thomas Corbett, Hamilton, and Sweeney, were intimate and confidential friends of Robert Emmet, as well as of his brother—several of them, there is positive proof, concurred in the attempt.† All of them, it may be supposed, were cognizant of it. All their surviving friends are agreed on one point, that the project did not originate with Robert Emmet. He set out for Ireland, in the beginning of October, 1802, and arrived in Dublin in the course of the same month. His brother, Thomas Addis, was then in Brussels. One

* First edition of this work, "Memoir of Macneven," p. 281.

† Among the latter may be particularly mentioned Colonel Michael Byrne, a native of Wicklow, who fled from Ireland in 1798, and entered the French service. He was residing in Paris the latter part of 1802, when Robert Emmet proceeded on his fatal expedition to Ireland. Byrne possessed the entire confidence of Robert Emmet, was cognizant of all his plans, and participated in them. He entered the French service as sub-lieutenant in the Irish legion, and rose to the rank of *chef de batallion*. He retired from the service several years ago. He is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and Knight of St. Louis.

of his letters is dated from that city, in November of that year. In the spring of 1803, he was in Paris with his family, and, when hostilities had broken out in the month of May, was in communication with Talleyrand, and soon after with Buonaparte.

While many of the United Irishmen were in France and in other parts of the Continent, after their release from Fort George, it would seem that some apprehensions were entertained by T. A. Emmet and others, as to the nature and extent of the assistance to be received and accepted from the French; the former wishing that none other should be accepted than such as was extended to the United States of America, and that Ireland should enjoy her freedom as a separate nation; while others of the United Irishmen seemed desirous of forming a more intimate political connexion, even to the extent of not only separating Ireland from England, but of uniting her to the kingdom of France. The First Consul seemed also to favour this plan and its advocates. That this difference of opinion did, in a degree, weaken and impair that confidence and good fellowship, which had before mutually existed among the United Irishmen in France, there is no question. It certainly produced a caution and reserve in the conduct of some, which resembled and may have been mistaken for a jealousy, or suspicion, as to the real motives which actuated the conduct of others of their body; and it no doubt has likewise given rise to the opinion, sometimes expressed, that, after leaving Fort George, many of the prisoners quarrelled and disagreed among themselves. Be that as it may, "There is certainly no instance in history (says T. A. Emmet), where a body of men were engaged in a similar enterprize, and which, resulting in defeat, produced so little of jealousy, recrimination, or enmity among themselves, as existed among the chiefs of the United Irishmen."

The events connected with this communication, being of a later date than the period of the departure of Robert Emmet for Ireland, might be more regularly noticed in that part of the memoir which treats of the career of Robert Emmet at the period in question. Nevertheless, it seems to me, the correspondence of T. A. Emmet, detailing the nature of his communications with Buonaparte and Talleyrand, his own views of the results of a connexion with France, though the date of it is some months later than the period of Robert Emmet's departure, can be introduced in this place with most advantage to the subject, and made to afford an unbroken view of the subject of the communication of the United Irishmen in Paris with the French government, in 1802 and 1803. The following valuable papers bring the history of those communications to an end.

In the autumn of 1803, T. A. Emmet had an interview with

the First Consul. On the 13th of November, he addressed a memorial to him; and on the 13th of December following, Buonaparte replied to this communication, declaring his intention to set on foot preparations for an expedition to secure the independence of Ireland.

In 1803, many of the United Irishmen who had gone to France formed themselves into an Irish battalion, or legion, under the command of General M'Sheehy, and there is no doubt most of them would have returned to Ireland with an invading expedition, which they were led to believe was then actually fitting out at Brest and elsewhere. Under these circumstances T. A. Emmet drew up and presented the memorial referred to, on behalf of the United Irishmen. No copy of this memorial is to be found among Mr. Emmet's papers, but a copy of the First Consul's answer to the memorial (sent with Mr. Emmet's letters to the author) was found among Dr. Macneven's papers.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM T. A. EMMET AT PARIS, DIRECTED—"A MONSIEUR MACNEVEN, OFFICIER DU BATTALION IRLANDOIS A MORLAISE," AND DATED,

"1st Pluviose, 1804 (21st Jan.)

"MY DEAR MACNEVEN—I have received Gallagher's, Sweeney's, and your letters, all which I acknowledge with very sincere love to the respective parties. But the length and nature of this letter, with my having at this moment a great press of business, will, I hope, be a sufficient excuse for my not writing to them at present. As to the conjecture you make in your letter, about the time before which matters will not be ready, I am clear you are well founded, though not perhaps for the reasons you have assigned, as I perceive your traveller did not give you an *exact* account of what was in Brest, and none at all of what was in the neighbouring ports; but your conclusion nevertheless is true. At the end of that time (if any faith can be placed in assurance) it is intended to attempt something. I am not seaman enough to calculate the chances of success, but this I know—that similar things were done in August; and further, none of us know what combinations of plans may be used to facilitate the measure, even in an unfavourable time. So much for that. Now for what will perhaps surprise and please you, as it has done me. I presented the memoir I was writing at your departure on the 13th *Nivoze*; on the 27th I received the annexed answer.

"When Dalton delivered me this, he stated the readiness of the minister to confirm it by word of mouth whenever I pleased. As the latter paragraph afforded ample room for reflection, and

for consulting my friends, I would willingly have avoided the interview for some time, and professed myself perfectly satisfied as to the authenticity of the answer; but, by his eagerness in pressing the matter, I quickly perceived that the minister's 'readiness to confirm' was, in fact, a *desire* to see me on the subject. After I had read the answer through, Dalton subjoined: 'I have to add, that it is the First Consul's wish that you and Mr. O'Connor should be of that committee, and I have directions to present him a copy of this answer, leaving out the first sentence. When that committee is formed, it will give the present government the means of communicating at once with all parties of United Irishmen, and give them the certainty that whatever may be offered in their behalf will not be contradictory, and drawing in different directions.'

"He added a great deal more, &c. We took leave—he in a great hurry to procure me an interview with the minister, and I in none. One reason for this disposition besides what I already stated was, that I apprehended very strongly, as the American mediation is not yet ended, the proclamations of the committee might be an engine for terrifying England into terms; and I wished, and still wish, to waste time, until I have reason to hope that the best exertions of the committee may not be turned into a cause of mischief to our country. I therefore postponed, but was yesterday obliged to have the interview, of which I shall speak directly. You may be assured I lost no time in consulting Sweetman, M'D., and my other friends here, who all agreed that as the Consul made a point of it it could not be avoided, and they even saw considerable advantage from it provided it acts with caution.

"Before I saw the minister yesterday I had a long conversation with Dalton, the greatest part of which turned on the best mode of appointing the committee. The mode he contemplated, and with him the government, was, that O'C. and I should each name whom we thought fit; that government should add to us some person or persons if we should omit any it thought important. I said, if I were of the committee I certainly should not object to any persons of whom I thought sufficiently well, and whose presence government thought of importance, but that for myself I wished to be sanctioned by the approbation of my countrymen, which could be easily had, as they are collected at Morlaix. Against this he remonstrated with a good deal of energy, and in truth it made the principal part of our conversation. I was free to make whatever proposal I pleased, but as a friend and in confidence he advised me against that. He added some observations in no respect disreputable to our countrymen, but which I don't

consider myself free to repeat, and said, I at least had no occasion for any such scruples, as it was well known I had already the approbation of my countrymen for acting alone, and *a fortiori* for acting with others.

"At length I saw the minister, who confirmed, in the fullest manner, Dalton's paper, and assured me it was what the Consul intended to abide by, and asked me if I had thought of the committee and who would be the most proper members. On my part, I expressed the utmost gratitude to the Consul for his assurances and intentions. As to the committee, I said there was one peculiarity in the situation of most of us, which was probably unknown to the Consul, but which made the formation of that committee a matter of some difficulty: though our persons were free, the property of almost every man who might be thought eligible was in the power of the English government, and if they did anything that could be taken hold of, that property would certainly be confiscated. This was a great consideration for fathers of families; and although, under certain circumstances, when men had a full assurance that matters were come to a crisis, they might run risks, they could not feel warranted in doing so under uncertainties. To this he answered, among other things, that we should not be required to run any risks we did not think fit.

"'Form your committee; give government the body with which it wants to communicate, and manage your own affairs as you may think fit; publish your proclamations without any names, and if you think your countrymen will give sufficient credit to them, keep your names secret but from the committee.'

"A good deal more was said, that, perhaps, ought not to be repeated. Thus, however, matters stand. I will not throw any impediment in the way, but I do not intend to break my neck in trying to bring about what I do not perfectly understand the drift of. I wish you were here, and I think it probable you may be called for; but you need not fear being left behind, as the commander-in-chief of the Irish will be here also. Sweeney was very right not to offer to go to Ireland on Augereau's invitation. Let him consider if he should be asked whether he would go on any other condition different from what he has already offered. As I know there is an anxiety of transmitting the substance of the Consul's answer to me, you will see how much discretion is necessary with respect to the foregoing parts of this letter.

"You will, no doubt, be rejoiced to hear that the First Consul himself has taken the trouble of dictating the device for your colours. They are to be green in the centre—a tri-coloured circle, with R. I. The legend on the colours is to be, '*L'independence de l'Irlande—Liberté de Conscience.*' You are also aware

that your uniform is somewhat changed, on the demand of Mac-Sheehy; the amarinth is exploded, and yellow, the second national colour, substituted in its place."

"COPY OF THE FIRST CONSUL'S ANSWER TO MY MEMOIRE OF 13TH NIVOSE, DELIVERED TO ME 27TH NIVOSE :*

"Le Premier Consul a lu avec la plus grande attention, la memoire qui lui a été adressé par M. Emmet le 13 Nivose.

"Il desire que les Irlandais Unis soyent bien convaincus que son intention est d'assurer l'independence de l'Irlande, et de donner protection entière et efficace à tous ceux d'entre eux, qui prendront part à l'expedition, ou qui se joindront aux armées Françaises.

"Le Gouvernement Français ne peut faire aucune proclamation avant d'avoir touché le territoire Irlandais. Mais le général qui commandera l'expedition sera muni de lettres scellées, par lesquelles la Premier Consul declarera qu'il ne fera point le paix avec l'Angleterre, sans stipuler pour l'independance de l'Irlande, dans le cas, cependant, où l'armée aurait été jointe par un corps considerable d'Irlandais Unis.

"L'Irlande sera en tout traitée, comme l'a été l'Amérique, dans la guerre passée.

"Tout individu qui s'embarquera avec l'armée Française destinée pour l'expedition, sera commissioné comme Français s'il était arrêté, et qu'il ne fut pas traité comme prisonnier de guerre la represaille s'exercera sur les prisoniers Anglais.

"Tout corps formé au nom des Irlandais Unis sera consideré comme faisant parti de l'armée Française. Enfin, si l'expedition ne reussissait pas et que les Irlandais fussent obligés de revenir en France, la France entretiendra un certain nombre de brigades Irlandaises, et fera des pensions, à tout individu qui aurait fait partie du gouvernement ou des autorités du pays.

"Les pensions pourraient été assimilées à celles qui sont accordées en France aux titulaires de grade ou d'emplois correspondant, qui ne sont pas en activité.

"Le Premier Consul desire qu'il se forme un comité d'Irlandais Unis. Il ne voit pas d'inconvenant, à ce que les membres de ce comité fassent des proclamations, et instruissent leurs compatriotes de l'état de choses.

"Ces proclamations seront inserés dans *L'Argus* et dans les differens journaux de l'Europe, à fin d'eclairer les Irlandais, sur la parti qu'ils ont à suivre, et sur les esperances qu'ils doivent con-

* The reply of the First Consul to Mr. Emmet's "memoire" was published in the second volume of the second series of this work, at p. 123. In the fifth paragraph, however, on comparing it with the copy sent me with Mr. Emmet's papers, I find an omission of eight words, which renders it desirable to give the corrected document in its integrity, and with this view it is presented in this Memoir.

çevoir. Si la comité veut faire un relation des actes de tyranni exercées contre l'Irlande par la Gouverement Anglais, on l'insererа dans *Le Moniteur*."

It was in consequence of this answer from the First Consul, and under the full conviction that an invasion of Ireland was shortly to take place, that Dr. Macneven wrote a proclamation which was found among his papers, from which the following passages are extracted :

"FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN—The hour of your emancipation is at length arrived. We announce to you allies and arms which will enable you to throw off the English yoke. An auxiliary force of —— thousand of those illustrious warriors who have repeatedly triumphed over our enemies, with arms to equip —— thousand Irishmen, as valiant as even those warriors. These are the ample means that are offered to you for redressing the wrongs and asserting the independence of your country. United brethren, who have maintained even in servitude the dignity of freemen, by gallant though unsuccessful struggle against the tyranny of George III., we do not at this day presume to inflame your valour. Could courage alone give independence to our country, you would long since have made it free; but when virtue was unavailing to break its fetters, it was at least preserved, by your magnanimous daring, from dishonour. Placed in the dreadful alternative of resigning yourselves to despotism, or contending with its power, you proved to the world that the most intolerable evil to Irishmen is slavery.

"A consolatory task awaits you now—you will meet the foe with advantage equal to his own. On the ruins of what he acquired by oppression, rapine, and bloodshed, you will establish the happiness of millions, and you will rescue from provincial degradation the exalted character of your country.

"Cited to the field by your wrongs and by your sufferings—by the forlorn exile of your friends and by the unexpiated murder of your relations—with the sword of liberty in your hands, and the spirit of independence in your hearts, what can your enemies avail against your sacred cause and ardent enthusiasm? Another effort of national energy, made in conjunction with our victorious allies, will annihilate a calamitous domination, and establish for ever the glory and welfare of Ireland.

"Countrymen of all descriptions! where has England triumphed that ye have not bled for her victory; where is she famed that you partake of her renown? The French army comes with positive orders to act as an auxiliary force to the Irish nation—its government; but what is stronger than every other pledge—you are called on, countrymen! to embody without delay

an Irish army, under the command of Irish officers, who shall be commissioned by the Irish government, and thus to take into your own hands your fate, your honour, and your country."

The sincerity of the First Consul, as to this expedition, seems not to have been doubted by Mr. Emmet until about the month of April following. What may have taken place to have changed his sentiments I have no means of ascertaining, but from that period he seems to have given up all expectation of assistance from France.

Under date of 19th April, 1804, he writes as follows:

"My dear Macneven—By yours of the 6th, as well as by one of Sweeney's which came to-day, I find that my postscript to Mrs. G.'s letter has led you all into a very great mistake. I certainly never said, nor did I mean to insinuate, that any offer had been made to me. I had reason to conclude from two different quarters that something was in contemplation, and therefore I wished to anticipate the necessity of deciding by asking your advice beforehand; but so far from any offer—if I were to draw any conclusion from continued, I must say marked and obstinate silence, I should say none was ever intended.

"You may remember I once mentioned that you would probably meet a general at Morlaix—why you did not, will perhaps, one day, become in our own country a matter of investigation—but the person to whom I alluded has since requested me to make some applications, which I have done, but without receiving an answer. I enclosed MacSheehy's memorial, on the subject of your being considered as French citizens, to the minister on Saturday last, with a very civil note requesting an interview, in order to take his instructions, but no answer as yet.

"Under all those circumstances, I am not so foolish as to flatter myself with any very sanguine expectations. I adhere to my original plan of going to America, and do not think it probable that anything will occur to prevent me. Suppose, however, an offer should be made, I do not entirely agree with you. If I do not exceedingly alter my opinion, I will not accept either of the situations you have advised, and for reasons that, with your knowledge of my politics, you can be at no loss to guess. I am an Irishman, and, until necessity forces me to contract ties of allegiance elsewhere, I will hold no situation that is not Irish, or obviously directed to the emancipation of that country.

"If I am to contract a new allegiance, and to undertake civil duties not connected with my native land, let not the latter part of my political life be at variance with its beginning. What, then, can I accept? Nothing but what is Irish in all its objects, and, if nothing of that kind can be found or created, I am too old, too

poor, and too heavily laden, to await the issue of reiterated procrastinations. You will judge, then, what chance there is of my wintering in Europe.

"Since I began this letter, I have learned that the minister at war has set off for the camp at St. Omer, and will not probably be back for some time. As he did not answer my note that accompanied General MacSheehy's memorial, I presume I am to take no steps in that affair till his return, my instructions being that I should act under his directions."

"Saturday, 12th May, 1804.

"My Dear Macneven—I yesterday received a letter from Sweeney, enclosing a half-sheet from you: I mean to answer both, but I put off writing to Sweeney till I can tell him all his commissions are executed. In the meantime, your half-sheet would afford matter for more than one very long letter, if I could unbosom myself, and express all I think and feel on certain subjects. As to your idea, that there is no fear but that Sweeney's and the other commissions of the same date will be confirmed, I hope you are right, and my hopes are stronger than when I wrote to him, but still I am very far from having no apprehensions.

"The very day after I sent in my remonstrance against the famous paragraph in *The Argus*, I received an invitation to dinner with Augereau for the next day but one or two. As it was still undecided whether I should have any further connexion with government or not, I thought it right to accept the invitation, and went. It was a parade dinner, O'C., Truguet, Donzelot, &c. &c., and I certainly experienced every attention and civility. In the course of the evening, Donzelot, with whom I had before had some conversations on business, requested me to call on him again before he left town, to continue the conversations. I told him of the remonstrance I had just given in, and of the intention it expressed of withdrawing from all connexion with government if I were not satisfied on the subject, but assured him that if I were satisfied I would not fail to call and give him every information in my power. I was never satisfied, and I never called. The same circumstance prevented me from consulting General Augereau, with whose reception of me I had every reason to be satisfied. Even the civilities necessary for keeping up a personal acquaintance might be considered as putting in for a confidence I affected to renounce, and as I knew that my personal acquaintance was solicited on political grounds, I felt that the former was rendered unnecessary, by my declining to act on the latter if ever the opportunity occurred. I own I should not be sorry Augereau knew this, that he might not attribute to ill manners a conduct that

proceeded from very different motives. Now, however, my determination not to interfere further in French and Irish politics combined, whatever explanations, offers, or assurances may be given, is stronger than ever, and grows on every day's reflection.

"If you read attentively my last letter to Lawless, you will divine all my reasons. I am afraid my interference, if it were to produce any effect, would be injurious to my country; I think it would be injurious to my fame; I am sure it would be repugnant to my conscience; but all this is talking to the air. No motives will be held out to me to stay, and I am much mistaken if peace will not be made without any attempt at invasion. Do you think the emperor will hazard his new title and popularity by an attempt with his fleet on one country or his gun-boats on the other, which if it failed would be, either in a naval or a military point of view, tremendous and irreparable; particularly as he has no opportunity of balancing the miscarriage by brilliant success in another quarter. I am determined, however, to give your proclamation as strict a scrutiny as if I thought it would be used.

"But now that I am on the subject, let me say a little more. I have not heard from the minister; but if I thought it would be useful to my countrymen, that should not delay me for an instant, and I would at once address the Consul. But what should I solicit? That they might be made French citizens, and take oaths of allegiance to the government of this country?

"Have you learned what will be the rights and duties of French citizens under this new constitution? or what declaration you will be called on to make? When you went down, you intended to be *Irishmen*, and, as such, to fight under the French banners in your own country and for its freedom. Have you all determined now to become subjects of the French empire, and to follow a military life? If you only intend to procure an exemption from the *droit d'aubaine*, I think you are right, and I have long meditated to try and procure it for my exiled countrymen; and if my connexion with government had continued, I should have sought for it long since, and independent of the procuration; but, as to being a French citizen, I should neither wish myself to be one, nor to ask it for you and some other of my friends. I only need the procuration, to prevent a bad use being made of your name, and to influence and to prevent your being committed in character, by an act not sufficiently well considered by those among you who intend leaving France in the event of peace.

"If however you do, on due reflection, wish the claim to be pushed in its full extent, indeed, circumstanced as I am with government, and decided as to my own conduct, if you wish any

steps at all to be taken, I shall cheerfully make over the procuration to any person of respectability that may be marked out to me, and on your desiring me I will write a suitable letter to MacSheehy. But let me call the serious attention of you and some other friends to what you are doing in the bottom of Brittany, and by no means *au fait* of what is going on here in the capital. You are getting a band, and incurring a thousand expenses, very fit for military men by profession, or who count upon following it for a considerable time. Will you follow it in the event of a peace? Mark, I tell you, *there will be peace, and that soon,* unless England be actuated by the most insolent and foolish madness. This I say, not from my own reasoning merely, but from facts that have been told me *confidently* and *confidentially,* even since I began to write this letter.

"A change of ministry in England now appears certain; and this government is only waiting that change, to make such proposals as no English ministers ought to reject. It will make commercial arrangements—but I mention this only to our particular friends. What, then, will become of your band, your regimentals, and your rights of French citizenship, &c.?—Adieu."

If men like Thomas Addis Emmet and Dr. Macneven were for a short time imposed upon by the duplicity and artifice of the First Consul, it is no wonder if many of their associates were likewise deluded by them. But the most extraordinary circumstance connected with this subject is, that the youngest of them all was the person the most doubtful among them of the sincerity of Buonaparte's professions, and of his fair intentions towards Ireland.

Thomas A. Emmet embarked at Bourdeaux for America, the 27th of September, 1804.

CHAPTER IV.

ARRIVAL OF ROBERT EMMET IN IRELAND, IN OCTOBER, 1802—CONCOCTION OF HIS PLANS, AND PREPARATIONS FOR CARRYING THEM INTO EFFECT—EXPLOSION IN PATRICK-STREET—THE SEVERAL DEPÔTS IN DUBLIN.

In the month of March, 1798, the government was in possession of the secrets of the organisation of the Society of United Irishmen, and had the leaders and principal members of the executive directory in their power. Mr. Thomas Reynolds had "made the atonement" for his treasons—of one category—and having thus made a clean breast of it, the government desired to have his information corroborated by the testimony of men worthy of belief.

They, therefore, entered into the compact with the state prisoners, of which an account has been given in a preceding memoir. The state prisoners complied with all the obligations they had contracted for the fulfilment. The government unfortunately violated the terms they had undertaken to carry into effect, namely, the liberation of the state prisoners, coupled with the condition of exile. The refusal of the American minister in London to sanction the state prisoners being sent to America, was made a pretext for their prolonged detention. When the time had come for carrying into effect the terms of the compact, and the government plainly manifested their intention of violating them, by still detaining the state prisoners in confinement, and removing them to Fort George, renewed communications immediately resulted with the accredited agent of the United Irishmen in Paris, and with members of the Society of United Irishmen who had escaped to the continent, and were then sojourning in Hamburgh and Paris.

"Honesty is the best policy after all," to use a common aphorism. The English government might have been spared a great deal of the difficulties it had to encounter with French diplomacy in the latter part of 1802 and beginning of 1803, were it not for the renewed efforts of the emissaries and agents of the United Irishmen in France.

An Englishman of the name of Lawrence—a very worthy and honest man—who had been in France all through the revolution, in 1802 was settled at Andemar, between Caen and Honfleur, in Normandy, where he carried on the business of a tanner. In the year above mentioned, he stated to Mr. M'Henry, of Paris, that a stranger came to his house on a cold winter's night and asked for shelter, saying that he had been travelling on foot, and had lost his way. That stranger turned out to be Robert Emmet. He was hospitably received by Mr. Lawrence, and after a day or two his desperate enterprise was disclosed to the latter, who did all that was in his power to dissuade him from it. Emmet remained with him for some weeks, and, during that time, was dressed as a working man, and seldom ventured abroad, in order to avoid the notice of his countrymen. At length he embarked at Honfleur for England, and Mr. Lawrence heard no more of him till the tidings came of his arrest and execution. It would appear that poor Emmet's usual power of fascinating those who came in contact with him was felt by Lawrence, who never spoke of him but in terms of enthusiastic admiration and affection.

This anecdote I believe worthy of credit. Had I received it earlier it should have been embodied in the memoir. It was by this route that Russell had come over a little later.

The persons of respectability, and those of influence among the

middle classes in Dublin and the adjoining counties, who were associated with Robert Emmet in his attempt, were the following:

Thomas Russell, formerly lieutenant of the 64th regiment of foot; John Allen, of the firm of Allen and Hickson, woollen drapers, of Dame-street, Dublin; Philip Long, a general merchant, residing at No. 4, Crow-street; Henry William Hamilton (married to Russell's niece), of Eniskillen, barrister-at-law; William Dowdall, of Mullingar (natural son of Hussey Burgh, formerly secretary to the Dublin Whig Club); M. Byrne, of Wicklow; Colonel Lumm, of the county Kildare; —— Carthy, a gentleman farmer, of Kildare; Malachy Delany, the son of a landed proprietor, county Wicklow; the Messrs. Perrot, farmers, county Kildare; Thomas Wylde, cotton manufacturer, Cork-street; Thomas Lenahan, a farmer, of Crew-hill, county of Kildare; John Hevey, a tobacconist, of Thomas-street; Denis Lambert Redmond, a coal factor, of Dublin; —— Branagan, of Irishtown, timber merchant; Joseph Alliburn, of Kilmacud, Windy-harbour, a small land holder; Thomas Frayne, a farmer, of Boven, county of Kildare; Nicholas Gray, of Wexford—had been Harvey's aide-de-camp at the battle of Ross; John Stockdale, printer, Abbey-street; and John Madden, Donnybrook. There were, moreover, several persons of respectability, some of distinction, who were cognizant of his plans, and supposed to be favourably disposed towards them, but who took no prominent part in their execution. Among these were the Earl of Wycombe (a little later Marquess of Lansdowne); a brother of The Knight of Glynn; John Keogh, Esq., of Mount Jerome. I do not add to this list the late Lord Cloncurry, though he certainly was cognizant of Emmet's plans and objects, inasmuch as he has stated to me, that he did not think them likely to succeed, and had expressed that opinion to Emmet.

The persons in the humble ranks, who were looked upon as confidential agents by Robert Emmet, were the following: W. P. M'Cabe; James Hope, a weaver, a native of Templepatrick, who had been engaged in the former rebellion; Michael Quigley, a master bricklayer, of Rathcoffy, in the county of Kildare; Henry Howley, a master carpenter, who had been engaged in the former rebellion; Felix Rourke, of Rathcoole, a clerk in a brewery in Dublin, who had been engaged in the former rebellion; Nicholas Stafford, a baker, of James's-street: Bernard Duggan, a working cotton manufacturer, of the county of Tyrone, who had been engaged in the former rebellion; Michael Dwyer, the well-known Wicklow outlaw; a Mr. Malachy Dwyer (in 1813, had a secret service money pension of £52 a-year).

Robert Emmet, on his arrival in Dublin, in October, 1802, was soon in communication with several of the leaders who had

taken an active part in the former rebellion. He was likewise in communication with some very influential persons, who were cognizant of all the proceedings of the leaders, and who promoted their views, and directed their movements, behind the curtain.

There is a delicacy, I am well aware, to be observed, with respect to those whose names have not transpired hitherto, in connexion with this subject. There is, moreover, due deference to be paid to the wishes of persons who were cognizant of Emmet's conspiracy, but not actively engaged in it, who desire to be unknown as the friends of Robert Emmet—persons to whom their country, in other emergencies, have been under deep obligations. There is justice, however, due to the character of Robert Emmet; and I am fully persuaded that it behoves his biographer to give any information of an authentic kind that may be in his possession and legitimately used, tending to show that his enterprize had not been communicated only to a few desperadoes, men of no rank, character, or station in society; but had been made known to men of distinction, of cool reflection; to some men also possessed of considerable wealth.

In October, 1802, Robert Emmet dined at Mr. John Keogh's, of Mount Jerome, shortly after his arrival in Dublin, in the company of John Philpot Curran. The conversation turned on the political state of the country—on the disposition of the people with respect to a renewal of the struggle. Robert Emmet spoke with great vehemence and energy in favour of the probability of success, in the event of another effort being made. John Keogh asked, in case it were, how many counties did he think would rise? The question was one of facts and figures. Robert Emmet replied that nineteen counties could be relied on; and, turning to Curran, he said, "Would you say an attempt should not be made with less?" Curran, after a momentary pause, said, "No: if there were two counties that could be thoroughly depended on, I would think about it."

The fact of Emmet's dining at Mr. Keogh's became known to government after the arrest of the former. One evening, not long after Emmet's arrest, Mr. Keogh had all his papers brought to him, and separated several, which he said should be destroyed. Mrs. Keogh said to him, "Why not burn them?" He looked at the grate, and said, "If they came here to examine my papers, that is one of the first places they would look at, to see if anything had been burned there lately" (no fires having been used, the bars of the grate were polished). While they were conversing, some noise was heard at the gate; the separated papers were put back in the desk, and, in a few minutes, a well known magistrate (accompanied with one or two attendants) was announced, with

whom Mr. Keogh was acquainted. The object of the magistrate's visit was publicly communicated to Mr. Keogh. He came for the papers of the latter, and they were immediately delivered up to him duly sealed, and a receipt given for them.

Mr. Keogh proceeded to the Castle, and sought an interview with the secretary, who was not visible. Mr. Keogh returned to his office, and renewed his application for an interview, expressing his desire to give him the fullest information about every paper of his. He returned a third time to the office, reiterating his request to have not only his papers but himself examined. He was entreated to give himself no further concern about a mere matter of form; he had not yet seen the secretary. He intimated his intention of returning early the following day. Before he could carry his purpose into effect, his papers, with the seals unbroken, were returned to Mr. Keogh. There were papers amongst them which would have compromised him gravely had they been examined.

These circumstances were communicated by Mrs. Keogh to my informant, Dr. Breen, of Dublin. The fact of John Keogh's connexion with the Society of United Irishmen has been noticed in the former series of this work (vol. ii. p. 37). The same sagacity to which he owed his safety in 1798 preserved him from peril in 1803.

There is a singular reference in "Cox's Irish Magazine" for 1812, p. 361, which has been brought to my notice very lately, and is certainly corroborative of all the leading facts given in Dr. Breen's statement:

"In 1798, when every species of cruelty, oppression, and tyranny were inflicted throughout this unhappy land upon the Roman Catholic inhabitants; when every petty tyrant was permitted with impunity to become an accuser, a judge, and executioner; when free quarters, burning, whipping, half-hanging, and transportation were the lot of almost every honest man, you were permitted, in the midst of all these dreadful scenes, to depart for Liverpool with your family, your treasure, and your fame, there to remain or go wherever else you pleased. Thomas Braughall was thrown into a cell in Kilmainham gaol, where he was most inhumanly kept until his life was despaired of; and Edward Byrne was refused permission to go to London upon most important business, although he tendered £100,000 security that he would only be ten days absent from Ireland. . . . .

"I suppose you recollect the visit Sir William Stamer, Bart., paid you in 1803, immediately after Robert Emmet had attempted to overturn the government of this country. Sir William thought proper to revise your papers most minutely. He found amongst them a memoir of the life of your old friend, Theobald Wolf Tone,

copied with your own hand. In that memoir some mention was made of some political transactions which the baronet thought would justify his visit to Mount Jerome without the precise authority of government. He carried away this paper with many others, and delivered them at the office of Mr. Secretary Marsden, sealed with his own and your seal. Strange to relate, all your papers were returned unopened, with a very complimentary assurance that the baronet had visited you without orders. Mr. Long, the nephew of Mr. Roche, whose family has been always esteemed as most loyal and attached to the government of the country, was not so treated: he was kept upwards of two years in prison, to the great injury of his health and property, and afterwards liberated without a single charge being adduced against him. Many other equally respectable individuals were treated in a similar way, when the magistrate who dared to suspect your political attachment to the government of the country was severely rebuked. . . .

"I would likewise be glad to learn by what means than that which is attributed to you, such a prodigious increase of your fortune has taken place since the year 1789. At that time I knew those to whom you boasted of the amount of your fortune being £26,000—a very large fortune indeed to have acquired from the state of indigence you were in when you first became *clerk* to the unfortunate Widow Lincoln, of Francis-street. Since that period you had no ostensible way of augmenting it. You have a numerous, and you have often said an expensive family—how then comes it that you have now upwards of £7,000 per annum, besides a large sum in ready money? If you had not expended a farthing since the year 1789 of the property you then had (and a part of even that was locked up for a considerable period in your stock of silks, until you represented to Mr. Langdale the advantages which would flow to him if he became silk-mercer, and take them off your hands upon a very *moderate* valuation of your own), it would be impossible for it to have arisen to a sum equal to half the amount you possess."*

In justice to Mr. Keogh, I must state, that a very intimate friend of mine, the late William Murphy, Esq., of Smithfield, on the occasion of his being thus publicly assailed by his opponents, of whom he had a large number, was called on by Mr. Keogh to examine his books and accounts for the current year, with the view of ascertaining his actual profits, and the result of that examination was, it appeared, the profits of Mr. Keogh that year by his legitimate business were far beyond what his opponents had any idea of, when they ascribed his income at that period to a pension from the state.

* "Cox's Magazine," 1812, p. 361.

In Major Sirr's papers, deposited in Trinity College library, there is a very remarkable memorandum in his handwriting appended to an information respecting Robert Emmet's insurrection in 1803. In this memorandum, which I copied in the latter part of 1857, but unfortunately have mislaid, he states that the government had been apprized, previously to the outbreak, that a conspiracy was on foot for its overthrow; but the information given was discredited, and no action whatever was taken on it—such was the false security of the government of that day. But he had reason to believe that in future no similar information would be so neglected by the Irish government.

In the same collection of papers of Major Sirr, in the volume for 1803, and a succeeding volume containing miscellaneous letters, of dates from 1798 to 1803, I find various letters of spies and informers, of the old battalion of testimony of 1798, giving information to the major of treasonable proceedings, meetings, preparing pikes, &c., being in existence in the three months preceding the outbreak of the insurrection of the 23rd July, 1803. In the latter volume are many similar letters from a Roman Catholic gentleman in Monastereven, suggesting arrests to the major, and amongst others the arrest of a gentleman of some standing in society, a Brigadier Major Fitzgerald.

A month before the outbreak, notice was given to government by two members of the Merchants' Yeomanry Corps, Messrs. Hawkesley and Rutherford, respectable merchants, who had been deputed by their corps to wait on Lord Hardwicke, to acquaint him with the intended revolt. An interview was granted; and they stated that their representations were not believed. It was no wonder if they were not; for there probably had not been a week, for the last half century, when the government had not received some alarming intelligence of an intended disturbance of the peace—a tumult, a riot, a conspiracy of some kind, or an insurrection. Nevertheless, there are proofs on record that cannot be denied, that the authorities (that is to say, Mr. Wickham, the chief secretary, and Mr. Marsden, the under secretary) did know certainly, for four months previously to the outbreak, that preparations were making for an insurrection. The papers of Major Sirr, which will be found in the Appendix, can leave no doubt on that point. The parliamentary debates in 1803-4, moreover, prove that *some members* of the government unquestionably had a knowledge of the preparations. In all probability the British ministry had much ampler information on that subject from their agents in Paris, than Lord Hardwicke, at an early period, had in Ireland. The policy of the British minister seems to have been, to allow the conspiracy to go on of which he held the threads in his hand and therefore could eventually count on its defeat, in order to

derive the benefit which would accrue from the suppression of an abortive insurrection, and thus to deter the people from a similar attempt at a moment more unfavourable for England to cope with it—the moment so long apprehended of an invasion of some part of the United Kingdom. Castlereagh's practised hand was manifest enough in this procedure in 1803.

John Stockdale, of Abbey-street, the printer of *The Press*, was cognizant of Robert Emmet's plans; he was implicated in the insurrection of 1803, and charged with printing Emmet's proclamation. He remained in prison till the period of Pitt's death, without being brought to trial, or any proof ever being adduced of having had any knowledge of the offence ascribed to him. Poor Stockdale was an honest, truthful, independent-minded man—a good sample of a good class of his countrymen—a straightforward, manly Englishman. He died poor—abandoned and neglected by the survivors of his early associates.

Stockdale died the 11th of January, 1813; in 1797 he was committed to Kilmainham gaol for refusing to answer questions put to him to implicate his friends; he remained imprisoned for six months. During his confinement, his house in Abbey-street, his printing offices, with his presses and implements of trade, were visited with the sword-law vengeance of Camden's government. Alderman William Alexander, a banker, at that time chief of police, presided officially at this raide. Much of the property of Mr. Stockdale in his trade that was not destroyed was carried away by the military officers of justice.

Mr. William Connor, who lived with the Stockdales in Abbey-street for some years prior and subsequently to 1798, has a lively recollection of the parties who were in the habit of meeting at Stockdale's—of seeing there in the early part of 1798, on many occasions, Arthur O'Connor and Lord Edward Fitzgerald; and in 1803, previous to the insurrection, of seeing Robert Emmet and Dowdall there frequently; and the night of the insurrection of hearing a great commotion, and of learning the day following that Dowdall had come there to take leave of Miss Sally Stockdale, one of the daughters of Stockdale, to whom he had been paying his addresses.

Dowdall contrived to effect his escape, and died in France. He was a remarkably fine-looking young man, and of some notoriety for his great prowess as a hurler, and for his great agility and cleverness in all kinds of field sports.

The appearance of Robert Emmet was altogether different from that of Dowdall: he was rather of a slight make, of a sombre aspect, somewhat pock-pitted. He usually wore a stock, which gave him rather a soldierlike air.

Mr. Stockdale had a country house at Dundrum, at that time and some years previously, which was called Greenmount, near the church and burial place in that locality. Subsequently Stockdale took a country place at Pagestown, about seven miles from Dunboyne, and of equal distance from Dangan. There they were in the habit of going on Sundays, dining, and returning to town the day following. So far for Mr. Connor's recollections.

Richard M'Cormick, who fled to France in 1798—Tone's early friend, the Magog of his journals—was cognizant of the projected revolt of 1803, but did not approve of it or take part in it. M'Cormick was a man of a very vigorous understanding. He visited England in 1814, and shortly after returned to Ireland, where he died about 1820.

In 1814, Richard M'Cormick came over to England from France, and subsequently returned to his native country. He was visited in London, in 1814, by some of his Irish friends and his cousin, a Miss Randell, who states in a letter that she saw him at the Guildhall Coffee House, and found there with him Mr. John Sweetman and a little girl (a daughter of John Tennant) he had placed in his charge to be sent to Belfast. Miss M'Cormick, a sister of Richard, inherited all his property, and was living in extreme old age, in 1831, in a state of imbecility of mind.

Mr. Patten tells me, when he came over to Ireland he, M'Cormick, informed him, that Robert Emmet, shortly before he quitted France on his fatal expedition, in the autumn of 1802, came to him, M'Cormick, and said he had a matter of vast importance to communicate with him about. He then asked M'Cormick would he take part in a project for the deliverance of Ireland; that one was organizing and about to be put in execution. M'Cormick said: "Before I would answer that question, I would require to know the plans and the persons engaged in them." Robert Emmet urged in vain on M'Cormick a promise of support previous to that disclosure. M'Cormick declined to give that promise previously to being informed on all these points, and there the matter ended.

In the government paper, *The Freeman's Journal*, of 19th July, 1803, there is an account of a very strange circumstance that took place on Sunday morning, the 17th instant, about four o'clock, A.M. Two men were stopped by the watchmen in Patrick-street, carrying a cask. On their way to the watchhouse these men asked to be brought to some place near New-row, where all things would be satisfactorily explained. They were brought to the door of *one Palmer*, a retailer of spirits, corner of New-row, and while the watchmen were rapping at the door, the two men, having thrown down the cask, ran off and escaped. The cask was

broken by the fall—some gun-flints, and iron rings, loose powder, and ball-cartridges fell, and the cartridges were made in parcels of twelve rounds. The watchmen, on their way to the watchhouse with their capture, were assailed by a mob of about 200, and the cask with the ammunition was rescued.

On the night before, namely on the 16th of July, 1803, *The Freeman's Journal* of the 19th further states, that an explosion of gunpowder took place in Patrick-street, and goes on to describe all the circumstances elsewhere detailed by me. *The Freeman* ends its account of the two occurrences above-mentioned in these words: "From further investigations which are to take place in this very extraordinary affair, it will no doubt appear that this has been a very fortunate discovery."

John M'Intosh, examined before Major Sirr, the 3rd of August, 1803, said he lived at 26, Patrick-street, and had a lease of the house for twenty-seven years from Mr. Hugh Holmes. Kept no lodgers, but let the shop and two back rooms up stairs to James Williamson, who said he lived on the Coombe, and was a silk-dyer to William Patten, a northern.

We need not be surprised to hear that the attention of the government was turned to Robert Emmet even prior to the date of the explosion in Patrick-street, and that inquiries were actively made after him. But we may well be surprised to find the provost of Trinity College, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Elrington, D.D., acting the part of a common setter of police, and communicating to Town Major Sirr the marks, signs, and tokens by which one of the most distinguished of the pupils of that university was to be recognised, apprehended, and hanged in due season.

Reader, peruse the following letter and memorandum, and never speak one word in honour of the memory of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Elrington, provost of Trinity College:

LETTER FROM THE REV. THOMAS ELRINGTON, D.D., PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE, TO MAJOR SIRR.

"7th June, 1803.

"DEAR SIR—Miss Bell having mentioned to me that you wished for a description of Robert Emmet, I send the best I can get of what he was five years ago. I know no person who can give you an account of the alteration that may have taken place in his figure since.—Believe me, dear Sir, yours very truly,

"THOMAS ELRINGTON.

"In 1798, was near twenty years of age; of an ugly, sour countenance; small eyes, but not near-sighted; a dirty brownish complexion; at a distance looks as if somewhat marked with the small pox; about five feet six inches high; rather thin than fat, but not

of an emaciated figure—on the contrary, somewhat broad made; walks briskly, but does not swing his arms."

When Robert Emmet arrived in Dublin, in October, 1802, from the Continent, his father and mother were residing at Casino, near Miltown. There Robert remained for some weeks in seclusion, and evidently with good reasons for it. The town residence of Dr. Emmet had been given up.

SITE OF THE HOUSE OF DR. AND THOMAS A. EMMET.

The house which had been occupied by Dr. Emmet and Thomas Addis Emmet, in Stephen's-green, west, was a large mansion, formed of two houses, Nos. 109 and 110, which had undergone alterations, and, while the Emmets lived there, communicated internally—in fact, appeared a single house. The site of this place of abode of the Emmets is now (October, 1859) occupied by two houses, Nos. 124 and 125, one of them at the corner of Lamb's-lane, next house to the College of Surgeons. No. 124 is inhabited by Dr. Frazer; the other, No. 125, is inhabited by Dr. Moss. In 1798, the house which Dr. Emmet occupied was numbered 109, and the house which Thomas Addis Emmet resided in was numbered 110. Dr. Emmet came to reside at No. 109, Stephen's-green, west, in the latter part of 1779. Thomas Addis Emmet came to reside at No. 110, Stephen's-green, west, in 1793. From the former date it is evident that Robert Emmet must have been born in Molesworth-street, where his father resided from the year 1770 to the latter part of 1778, when he removed to Stephen's-green, south, and lived there for one year previously to his removal to Stephen's-green, west. Robert Emmet was born in 1778, being 25 years of age (as his family state) in 1803; hence, I conclude that he was born in Molesworth-street.

In 1770, Dr. Robert Emmett (as he then wrote his name) appears to have commenced practice in Dublin. In 1771, the name of Dr. Robert Emmett, first appears in "The Dublin Directory," and in the list of state officers as "State Physician," his place of residence "Molesworth-street"—the name is thus given, with two *t's*, till the year 1781, when it appears in the Directory for that year, "Emmet," and so continued to the last appearance of his name in the Directory for 1802. From the beginning of his career in Dublin, in 1770, he resided in Molesworth-street to the year 1778. In 1779, he had removed from Molesworth-street to Stephen's-green, south; and must have been living there from the beginning of that year—see "Dublin Directory," for 1779. In the year following, 1780, he was residing at *No.* 109, *Stephen's-green, west*, and there he continued to reside to some period in the year 1796.

In 1797, he was residing in Stephen's-street, and his place of residence continues so described to the end of his life in 1802.

The name of T. A. Emmet, M.D., first appeared in "The Dublin Directory" for 1786, in the list of physicians, but no address is given. His name and addition, M.D., appears in the Directories for 1787 and 1788, in the same list of physicians—no address, but the word "Abroad" (in both years). His name as a physician in the last-mentioned year, 1788, and the name of Christopher Temple Emmet, K.C., No. 25, York-street, called to the bar in 1781, appear for the last time. (The latter died in that year.)

In the year 1790, T. A. Emmet was called to the bar; his name first appears in the list of barristers in the Directory for 1792, but no address is given. In the Directory for 1794 his address is first given—No. 110, Stephen's-green, west. He must have been residing there from the latter part of 1793, and there he continued to reside to the period of his arrest in March, 1798.

Dr. Emmet had a country seat near Dublin, at Clonskeagh, on the Dundrum-road, not far from Miltown, which is now in the possession of Mr. Meldon. In this house Robert Emmet, for some time, had managed to elude the vigilance of the authorities, subsequently to his arrival from the Continent—for even then, it seems, he was an object of suspicion to the government.

An old and faithful servant of Dr. Emmet, Michael Leonard, a gardener, informed me, in 1836, that after the doctor's death a member of the family still resided there, and Robert Emmet remained there for some time: he had made trap doors and a passage under the boards of one of the rooms on the ground floor, which could not be detected by any one who was not aware of their existence, which he thought he would be still able to point out to me. I visited the house, then in the possession of Mr. George Stapleton, with Leonard, and found his account was in every respect true. In the ceiling, over the passage leading from the hall-door towards the kitchen, he pointed out to me the place where the boards overhead were sawed through; the square portion, thus cut, was sufficiently large to allow a person to pass through when the boards were removed which formed the trap-door, communicating from the upper part of the house to the hall. If attention had not been directed to it, no one would have observed the cutting in the boards. On the ground floor, on the left-hand side of the hall, there is a small room adjoining the kitchen, which was called "Master Robert's bed-room." In this room, Leonard likewise pointed out to me the place where the boards had been evidently cut through, in a similar way to the trap-door in the ceiling in the passage. This aperture, he said, led to a cavity

under the parlour floor, sufficiently large to admit of a person being placed there in a sitting posture, and was intended to communicate, under the flooring, with the lawn. A servant woman of Mr Stapleton said there were some old things in a cellar, which were said to have served for enabling Mr. Emmet to descend from the upper floor to the passage near the hall-door, through the aperture in the ceiling. On examining those things, they turned out to be two pullies, with ropes attached to them, nearly rotten. The house, in 1803, was inhabited by a member of the family; and a man who was employed there as a gardener at that time, of the name of John Murray, stated the house had been visited and searched by Major Sirr, for Mr. Emmet. The major was unsuccessful; he was greatly disappointed, and said, "The nest is here, but the bird has flown."

The fact of Dr. Emmet's house near Miltown, Casino, being visited and searched was correctly stated by Murray—but it was not in 1803, nor by Major Sirr; it was in the latter part of 1802, and the person who visited the house and searched the premises was Major Swan. This I state on the authority of Mr. Patten, who has recently informed me he was then staying at Casino. Major Swan came there late in the day, saw Dr. Emmet, and asked to see his son Robert. Dr. Emmet said that he had gone into town early that morning. Major Swan looked into some rooms on the ground floor, but merely, as it seemed, *pro forma;* he conducted himself in the most gentlemanly manner, and when he was going away he said in a low tone, "I am very glad I did not find your son Robert at home." To my inquiry if Dr. Emmet knew what was going on at that time—namely, that Robert was engaged in a conspiracy—Mr. Patten replied he was quite sure Dr. Emmet knew nothing of it. He thought it very likely, whenever war broke out again between France and England, that Ireland would be invaded, and T. Addis and his associates would be connected with the invasion; but of the actual conspiracy in which Robert was engaged he had no knowledge.

Dr. Emmet had strange notions about Robert: he frequently spoke to Mr. Patten of the difference of manner and appearance of Robert from his brothers. He had not the gravity and sedateness of Temple and Thomas Addis Emmet; his boyishness of air, and apparent unfitness for society, or unwillingness to engage in active intercourse with men of the world, made the poor old doctor uneasy about Robert's destiny. I take this account word for word from a statement recently made to me by Mr. Patten. On one occasion, when Dr. Emmet was talking in this strain at Casino to Mr. Patten, the latter said that he attributed the peculiarities noticed by the doctor to the extreme diffidence of Robert—he was

so modest, reserved, and retiring, that he seemed unconscious of his own powers. The old doctor said such was not the case when Robert's mind *was* made up on any point—he had no diffidence—no distrust—no fear of himself. "If Robert," said his father, "was looking out of that window, and saw a regiment passing that was about to be reviewed, and was informed the colonel had just fallen from his horse, and was incapacitated for his duty, and it was intimated to him that he might take the colonel's place, and put his taste for the reading of military tactics and evolutions to the test, Robert would quietly take his hat, place himself at the head of the regiment, and give the necessary commands without any misgivings or *mauvaise honte*."

I asked Mr. Patten what did this kind of self-confidence arise from—was it from vanity? was Robert personally vain? was he vain of his talents—of his intellectual superiority over others in any attainment, in argument or discourse? Mr. Patten's answer was in these words:

"*From vanity! Oh! dear, no—Robert had not a particle of vanity in his composition. He was the most free from self-conceit of any man I ever knew. You might live with him for five years—aye, for ten years—in the same house—in the same room even, and never discover that he thought about himself at all. He was neither vain of his person nor his mind.*"

NOTICE OF JOHN PATTEN.

John Patten, the son of the Rev. J. Patten, Presbyterian minister of Clonmel (deceased in 1787), by his marriage with Miss Colville (born in 1725), was the youngest of the children by this marriage. He was born the 16th of August, 1774, and is consequently now (in 1859) eighty-five years of age. His sister Jane, married to T. A. Emmet, was born 16th of August, 1771. His brother, William Patten, was born in 1775. Mr. John Patten married, about 1822, Miss Orr, a Scotch lady, and by this marriage had a son, John Patten, born in 1823, who died about fifteen years ago.

Mr. Patten, late librarian of the Royal Dublin Society, was the brother of Mrs. Emmet, the wife of Thomas Addis Emmet. This venerable man, now in his eighty-fifth year, still survives, and resides in Dublin, honoured and revered for his sterling worth and integrity by his fellow-citizens of all creeds and parties, and for that rare virtue of consistency that is the same in all circumstances and in either fortune. It has been exhibited by him in early life as it is found in his old age, and all who know the brother-in-law of Thomas Addis Emmet recognize in him one whose equanimity of mind is the result of practical religion—whose philosophy is

shown in the tolerance of his opinions, the moderation of his desires, the calmness of his spirit, and the contentment of a good conscience. True to his early friendships, to his simple tastes, to the interests of his country—which he espoused in youth, and clings to in his declining years with the temperate ardour of a Christian patriot, but with unshaken fidelity, after all his sufferings for them—few men have been so faithful to their principles, throughout a long and chequered career as John Patten. In July, 1803, he was thrown into prison, and remained in confinement till the 26th of November, 1805, a term of imprisonment of two years and four months. To the honour, be it said, of an Orangeman and a grand master of Orangemen, to John Claudius Berresford, he owed his office of librarian of the Royal Dublin Society.

On the marriage of Miss Maryanne Emmet, in 1800, with Counsellor Robert Holmes, poor old Dr. Emmet shared his favourite country seat, Casino, near Miltown, with his newly married daughter and her husband, and ceased to reside altogether at his town residence. After his death Mrs. Emmet left Casino; she went to reside at a place on the Donnybrook-road, which stood on the grounds belonging to and in the immediate vicinity of the Quakers' hospital.

January the 1st, 1801, poor Dr. Emmet wrote to his son, Thomas Addis:

"Long had I hoped that ere this a general peace would have secured tranquillity for the commencing century, consequently that I should have had the happiness of clasping you to my heart, and closing my course of years in the same land, if not in the same house with you, as my substitute and guardian to the dear connexions I should quit; but that prospect is now over, or at least too far removed to be reasoned upon with probability; but no more of this. 'Cheerful enjoyment of the present,' I have stated to you, is probably the best proof of human wisdom, and I am resolved to adopt the practice. Thanks to the Supreme Disposer of all things, I have a very competent share of health and wealth, the proper disposal of them depends on myself, and if I can, '*æquum mihi animum ipse parabo.*'"

In December, 1802, Thomas Addis received, at Brussels, the intelligence of his father's death, and addressed a letter to his mother on that subject, in keeping with his character, a passage from which may be recalled and read with advantage by those who have become familiar with the sneers which the biographers of Curran and Grattan have indulged in, with equal flippancy and injustice, at the character and political principles of Dr. Robert Emmet:

"That his seventy-five years," says Thomas Addis Emmet,

"were unostentatiously, but inestimably filled with perpetual services to his fellow-creatures; that although he was tried (and that severely) with some of those calamities from which we cannot be exempted, yet he enjoyed an uncommon portion of tranquillity and happiness, for, by his firmness and understanding, he was enabled to bear like a man the vicissitudes of external misfortune; and from within no troubled conscience, or compunctions of self-reproach, ever disturbed his peace."

His family circle was then broken up, and both his surviving sons lost to him; for Thomas Addis was in exile—and a warrant was in the hands of Major Sirr, on what sworn information I know not, for the apprehension of Robert Emmet, on a charge of being implicated in treasonable practices, so early as the beginning of the year 1800. This fact was only recently discovered by me in the original MS. papers of Major Sirr, deposited in Trinity College library, and it explains the cause of Robert Emmet's apprehension of arrest from the period of his return to Ireland in the autumn of 1802, when he deemed it necessary to live in strict seclusion at his father's former country seat, Casino, in the vicinity of Miltown.

I have noticed in the preceding memoir some particulars in the will of Dr. Emmet, but in this place fuller details are requisite, and are given in the following extracts from it:

WILL OF DR. ROBERT EMMET.

The following extracts are taken from the will of Dr. Emmet, in the Probate Office of the Prerogative Court, Dublin. The will is dated the 28th of December, 1802, and was proved the 10th of January, 1803, and therein the testator styles himself of Casino House, Miltown. He leaves to his son, Thomas Addis Emmet, his lands in the county Kerry, and house furniture, &c., and grounds at Miltown, subject to a provision for his widow, by an investment of £2,500, in addition to a former investment in the funds, the interest on which should secure her an income of £350 a-year, in addition to a marriage settlement, made on her, of £30 a-year, and, after her death, the interest on half the amount invested was to go to his daughter, Mrs. Maryanne Holmes, and, after her death, to any children of hers who might survive her, and in the event of their dying without coming of age, that portion of the capital to revert to his sons, Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet. The remaining portion of it, after Mrs. Emmet's death, £2,100, to revert to Robert Emmet. He bequeaths the sum of £1,500 to Catherine, daughter of his deceased son, Christopher Temple Emmet. He leaves it optional with Thomas Addis Emmet either to take the lands in Kerry and the house and property in Miltown, subject to the investment above-mentioned of £2,500, or to sell

those properties for the purpose above-mentioned, as he might think proper. And after all debts and bequests were paid, he directs the residue and remainder to be divided share and share alike between his two sons, Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet.

Dr. Robert Emmet died at his house, near Miltown, the 9th of December, 1802.

On erroneous information, it was stated in a former edition of this work that Dr. Robert Emmet was buried in one of the vaults of the church of St. Anne, in Dawson-street, Dublin. Having reason to believe that information was not correct, I made searches in several churches and churchyards in this city for the place of burial of Dr. Emmet, and at length found it in the churchyard of St. Peter's, Aungier-street, on the south side, near the wall, with the following inscription:

"Here lie the remains of Robert Emmet, Esq., M.D., who died the 9th of December, 1802, in the 73rd year of his age."

The following is a copy of the certificate of burial, duly signed and authenticated:

REGISTRY, ST. PETER'S PARISH, DUBLIN.

"This is to certify that Dr. Robert *Emmett*, late of Miltown, was interred in the church-yard of St. Peter, on the 12th day of December, 1802, as appears by an entry thereof in the Registry of this parish. Given under our hands, this 21st day of October, 1859.

"J. J. Macsorley, *Minister.*
Edward Ledwich, *Churchwarden.*"

Here also, in the same grave, are deposited the remains of Mrs. Elizabeth Emmet, the widow of Dr. Robert Emmet. There is no mention of her name on the tombstone, but I found in the registry of burials of that church an entry of her burial on the 11th of September, 1803. This poor lady died, desolate and forlorn, the 8th or 9th of September, at her new place of abode on the Donnybrook road.

COPY OF CERTIFICATE OF BURIAL OF THE WIDOW OF DR. ROBERT EMMET.—REGISTRY, ST. PETER'S PARISH, DUBLIN.

"No. 237.—This is to certify that *Emilia Emmitt*, late of Donnybrook, was interred in the churchyard of St. Peter, on the 11th day of September, 1803, as appears by an entry thereof in the Registry of this parish. Given under our hands this 17th day of October, 1859.

(Signed) "J. J. Macsorley, *Minister.*
Edward Ledwich, *Churchwarden.*"

Both the names are erroneously entered in the Registry; the

Christian name should have been Elizabeth, not Emilia—the surname, Emmet, not Emmitt. But, at the time of the burial, not one member of the family, with the exception of Mrs. Holmes, was at large, and could have attended to the funeral arrangements.

In my inquiries after registries of burials of any persons of the name of Emmet, one was sent to me on parchment by the proper authorities of the church of St. Peter's parish, duly signed by the minister and authenticated. I am wholly unable to conjecture who the "Robert Emett, late of Stephen's-green" may have been who was interred in the churchyard of St. Peter's Church, unless he was an uncle of Dr. Robert Emmet, after whom the youngest son of the doctor was called.

COPY OF CERTIFICATE.

"This is to certify that Robert *Emett*, late of Stephen's-green, was interred in this churchyard, on the 2nd day of September, 1777, as appears by an entry thereof in the Registry of this parish. Given under our hands this 5th day of May, 1859.

(Signed) "John Coghlan, *Minister*.
Edward Ledwich, *Churchwarden*."

The way the name was written in the Register—with one *m* and two *t's*—is undoubtedly the way the name was originally written, and is thus to be found in some of the oldest inquisition records in which the name is met with.

The Rev. Mr. Coghlan, curate of Peter's church, certifies that search was made by him, and "there is no entry of burial of any person of the name of Robert Emmet in the register, in the year 1803."

The resources at the command of Robert Emmet, when he determined on going to war with English power in Ireland, were very limited, probably not exceeding £1,500. While he was on the Continent his means were very limited.

In an account in my possession of all the monies of Thomas Addis Emmet, received by his brother-in-law, Mr. John Patten, 5th May, 1800, to 17th October, 1806, I find the following item:

"22nd April, 1802.—Amount of Fine from Mr. Sherlock for house in the Green, £850."

The sum above specified was the produce of the sale of the house of Thomas Addis Emmet to Mr. Sherlock, whose brewery premises were at the rere of the houses of T. A. Emmet and his father, Nos. 109 and 110, Stephen's-green, west.

There is a previous item which has reference to arrangements

entered into for the disposal of the house in the Green, which probably were not carried into effect:

"26th August, 1801.—Received of I. Jones his joint bond with Richard Norman for balance of the fine of house in the Green, £108 8*s.* 3*d.*"

In the same account current of Mr. Patten with T. A. Emmet of receipts and payments of monies of the latter, from the month of August, 1800, I find the following items of payments and remittances made to Robert Emmet:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
"1st September, 1801.—Remitted to Robert Emmet (Irish) - - - - - - -	67	15	0
10th February, 1802.—Sent to Robert Emmet (on acct. Dr. Emmet) - - - - - -	67	10	0
4th April, 1802.—Robert Emmet - - - -	101	5	10
19th July, 1802.—Robert Emmet - - - -	56	0	0
13th August, 1802.—Robert Emmet - - -	45	3	2

The resources of the power Robert Emmet had to contend with, were not only vast, but could be continually augmented.

Twenty-one days after the outbreak of the insurrection on the 23rd July, the government could count on 81,785 effective men, "fit for duty," and the number on paper was 94,785; and of this number "the garrison of Dublin consisted of about 3,000 men." (See "Memoir and Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh," vol iv. p. 320.) It was a formidable force, duly provided with artillery, arms, and ammunition, and unfailing resources at the disposal of its commissariat, to take the field against, with eighty men in arms of all weapons—a few blunderbusses, no muskets, in different depots some thousands of pikes, no artillery at all, no commissariat, no military chest.* Extracts from an official statement made to the lord lieutenant of the transactions which took place in Dublin on the 23rd of July, 1803, drawn up by Mr. Alexander Marsden, possessing all the government sources of information on the subject, of much value notwithstanding the mutilation it has undergone, will be found in the "Memoirs and Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh,' vol. v. page 316. But the original document *in extenso*, from which these extracts are taken, will be found in the Appendix.

* Mr. Marsden, in the official document above cited, states that the number of pikes was 3,000, but Emmet's associates state, the number in the different depots previously to the night of the 23rd of July, 1803, was from eight to ten thousand.

CHAPTER V.

ACCOUNT OF THE OUTBREAK AND FAILURE OF THE INSURRECTION OF THE 23RD OF JULY, 1803.—PLANS AND PROJECTS OF ROBERT EMMET.—LORD HARDWICKE'S DEFENCE OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION IN RELATION TO THEM.—PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENTI N JULY AND AUGUST, 1803.

THE 23rd July, 1803, was fixed upon by Robert Emmet for carrying his long meditated purpose into effect. It was nine months since he had arrived in Ireland with the design of renewing the efforts of the United Irishmen; and however strenuously it may be denied by some amongst them that the attempted insurrection of 1803 was part and parcel of their system, Robert Emmet's attempt must be considered as the last effort of the Society of the United Irishmen, and the death-blow to its objects. Emmet's active preparations had been carried on from the month of March. The government *appeared* to be entirely ignorant of their existence; nevertheless, events happened which could not leave them in ignorance of machinations being in progress, the aim of which was the overthrow of the government. On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the French revolution, bonfires were very general throughout the city. There was one on the Coal-quay, opposite the house of D. L. Redmond, and another in Kevin-street, near the fountain, where manifestations of a seditious kind were made which could not be mistaken. The imprudence of this display on the part of some of the subordinate leaders seems almost incredible; and yet in similar times and undertakings, where engagements of secrecy are entered into to keep designs against government concealed, we find men acting as if they had been already relieved from their obligations—that success was certain—all obstacles had been overcome—that their enemies were frightened, or to be frightened by a demonstration of their force in assemblages of a festive character, like those of the 14th of July, or in a procession, like that of "the great funeral" which took place not long before the outbreak of the rebellion of 1798. The explosion which took place in the depot in Patrick-street, on the 16th of July, 1803, was another occurrence which could not fail to excite the suspicion of government; for the premises were visited by Major Sirr immediately after the occurrence; and although he did not discover the concealed store in which the greater portion of the combustible materials were secreted, he discovered some fragments of unfinished weapons. One of the attendants of the store who had been wounded had been taken to an hospital, and fell into the hands of the authorities.

Emmet's object was to defer his attempt till the month of August, when he fully expected England would be invaded. The last occurrence determined him on making an immediate effort. He had pikes in abundance, a great deal of ammunition, few fire-arms, but a variety of combustible materials. His principal magazine contained the following warlike stores and implements: 45lbs. of cannon powder in bundles; eleven boxes of fine powder; one hundred bottles filled with powder, surrounded with musket balls, and covered with canvass; two hundred and forty-six hand-grenades formed of ink bottles, filled with powder, and encircled with buck-shot; sixty-two thousand rounds of musket ball-cartridge; three bushels of musket balls; a quantity of tow, mixed with tar and gunpowder and other combustible matter, for throwing against wood-work, which when ignited would cause an instantaneous conflagration; sky-rockets and other signals, &c.; and false beams filled with weapons; a number of blunderbusses, not less than eight or ten thousand pikes.

Emmet, after the explosion in Patrick-street, took up his abode in the depot in Marshalsea-lane. There he lay at night on a mattrass, surrounded by all the implements of death, devising plans, turning over in his mind all the fearful chances of the intended struggle, well knowing that his life was at the mercy of upwards of forty individuals, who had been or still were employed in the depots; yet confident of success, exaggerating its prospects, extenuating the difficulties which beset him, judging of others by himself, thinking associates honest who seemed to be so, confiding in their promises, and animated, or rather inflamed by a burning sense of the wrongs of his country, and an enthusiasm in his devotion to what he considered its rightful cause. Feelings such as these had taken possession of all his faculties, and made what was desirable seem not only possible, but plausible and feasible.

The following paper was found after the failure, in the depot, in Emmet's handwriting:

"I have little time to look at the thousand difficulties which still lie between me and the completion of my wishes: that those difficulties will likewise disappear I have ardent and, I trust, rational hopes; but if it is not to be the case, I thank God for having gifted me with a sanguine disposition. To that disposition I run from reflection; and if my hopes are without foundation—if a precipice is opening under my feet from which duty will not suffer me to run back, I am grateful for that sanguine disposition which leads me to the brink and throws me down, while my eyes are still raised to the visions of happiness that my fancy formed in the air."

The history of the world afforded him but a single example of

success in an undertaking of the kind he was embarked in, and sought to be accomplished by such means as were at his disposal. That example was the successful issue of the revolution in Portugal, in 1640, when about forty individuals conspired to free their country from the Spanish yoke ; and these forty men, strange to say, carried on their secret conferences for several months, without an act of perfidy on the part of any of them. Their plans were already in the course of accomplishment, the conspirators were already in possession of the palace, public offices, and residences of the ministers, when they were joined by the populace. They had already seized on the vice-queen and the Spanish authorities, and put to death the only individual of the ruling powers whose life was sacrificed in that revolution, a degenerate Portuguese, Miguel Vasconcelles, who had been the chief agent of the despotism of their foreign task masters. But that revolution was effected by a band of men who acted as if there was but one common mind in all, one common cause, and one hand alone which could crown their efforts with success. The night before the revolution the conspirators assembled—where ? in taverns, in public houses, or in each other's houses, to revel and carouse ? No ; they met in the churches of their several localities, which, by orders of the Archbishop of Lisbon, were left open for them (duly attended by approved clergymen), without being lighted up on this occasion. In these churches each man of them that night received the sacrament. Vertot makes no mention of this extraordinary occurrence. Vertot was a Frenchman, and tinctured with the French philosophy.

It has often struck me that Robert Emmet must have been familiar with the history of this revolution, one of the most remarkable to be met with in the whole range of history, ancient or modern.

The morning of the 23rd of July found Emmet and the leaders in whom he confided not of one mind : there was division in their councils, confusion in the depots, consternation among the citizens who were cognizant of what was going on, and treachery, tracking Robert Emmet's footsteps, dogging him from place to place, unseen, unsuspected, but perfidy nevertheless, embodied in the form of patriotism, employed in deluding its victim, making the most of its foul means of betraying its unwary victims, and counting already on the ultimate reward of its treachery. Portion after portion of each plan of Robert Emmet was defeated, as he imagined, by accident, or ignorance, or neglect, on the part of his agents ; but it never occurred to him that he was betrayed, that every design of his was frustrated, every project neutralized, as effectually as if an enemy had stolen into the camp of an opponent,

seduced the sentinels, corrupted the guards, discoverd the actual resources of the party, bewrayed the plans, disconcerted the projects, and then left the adversary to be forced into the field, and discomfited there.

Various consultations were held on the 23rd, at the depot in Thomas-street, at Mr. Long's in Crow-street, and Mr. Allen's in College-green, and great diversity of opinion prevailed with respect to the propriety of an immediate rising, or a postponement of the attempt. Emmet and Allen were in favour of the former, and, indeed, in the posture of their affairs, no other course was left, except the total abandonment of their project, which it is only surprising had not been determined on. The Wicklow men, under Dwyer, on whom great dependence was placed, had not arrived: the man who bore the order to him from Emmet neglected his duty and remained at Rathfarnham. The Kildare men came in, and were informed, evidently by a traitor, that Emmet had postponed his attempt, and they went back at five o'clock in the afternoon. The Wexford men came in and, to the number of 200 or 300, remained in town the early part of the night to take the part assigned to them, but they received no orders. A large body of men were assembled at the Broadstone, ready to act when the rocket signal agreed upon should be given, but no such signal was made.

It is evident that Emmet to the last counted on large bodies of men being at his disposal, and that he was deceived. At eight o'clock in the evening, he had eighty men nominally under his command, collected in the depot in Marshalsea-lane. In the neighbourhood, several of the leaders were assembled at Mr. John Hevey's house, 41, Thomas-court, and refreshments were not wanting, while messages were passing backwards and forwards between his house and the depot. At a public house in Thomas-street, kept by John Rourke, there were crowds of country people drinking and smoking, in the highest spirits, cracking jokes, and bantering one another, as if the business they were about to enter on was a party of pleasure. Felix Rourke kept constantly passing backwards and forwards between this house and his brother's, dressed in plain clothes; at no period was he dressed in the rebel uniform, as had been sworn by the approvers on his trial. About nine o'clock, when Robert Emmet was beginning to reflect on the failure of all his preparations, the holding back of the people on whom he mainly reckoned, Michael Quigley rushed into the depot,*

* This was the first but not the only act of Quigley, which caused some of the most reflecting and trustworthy of his associates to suspect his fidelity. Notice the confirmation of the statement of one of Emmet's associates, as to the false alarm at the depot the evening of the 23rd July, in Mr. Marsden's account of the insurrection.

and gave an alarm, which turned out to be a false one. He said, "We are all lost, the army is coming on us." Then it was that Robert Emmet determined to meet death in the street, rather than wait to be cooped up with his followers in his den, and massacred there or captured and reserved for the scaffold. He put on his uniform, gave his orders to distribute the arms, and, after sending up a single rocket, sallied into Thomas-street with about eighty men, who were joined there, perhaps, by as many more, before they were abreast of Vicar-street. The design of Emmet was to attack the castle. The greater part of the gentlemen leaders were not with Robert Emmet; several remained at Hevey's, others were at the house of John Palmer, in Cutpurse-row, and elsewhere, in the immediate vicinity of the scene of action—waiting, I presume, to see if there was any prospect of success, or any occasion for their services that was likely to make the sacrifice of their lives of any advantage to their cause.

The motley assemblage of armed men, a great number of whom were, if not intoxicated, under the evident excitement of drink, marched along Thomas-street without discipline, with their ill-fated leader at their head, who was endeavouring to maintain order, with the assistance of Stafford, a man who appears to have remained close to him throughout this scene, and faithful to him to the last. Between the front ranks and the rear there was a considerable distance, and it was in vain that Stafford and others called on them repeatedly, and sometimes with imprecations, to close their ranks, or they would be cut to pieces by the army. They were in this state about half-past nine, when Robert Emmet, with the main-body, was close to the old market-house. The stragglers in the rear soon commenced acts of pillage and assassination. The first murderous attack committed in Thomas-street was not that made on Lord Kilwarden, as we find by the following account in a newspaper of the day.

A Mr. Leech, of the Custom-house, was passing through Thomas-street in a hackney-coach, when he was stopped by the rabble; they dragged him out of the coach without any inquiry, it seemed enough that he was a respectable man; he fell on his knees, implored their mercy, but all in vain: they began the work of blood, and gave him a frightful pike wound in the groin. Their attention was then diverted from the humbler victim by the approach of Lord Kilwarden's coach. Mr. Leech then succeeded in creeping to Vicar-street watch-house, where he lay a considerable time apparently dead from loss of blood, but happily recovered from his wound.

The carriage of Lord Kilwarden had hardly reached that part of Thomas-street which leads to Vicar-street, when it was stopped

and attacked; Lord Kilwarden, who was inside with his daughter and his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe, cried out, "It is I, Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench." A man, whose name is said to have been Shannon, rushed forward, plunged his pike into his lordship, crying out, "You are the man I want." A portmanteau was then taken out of the carriage, and broken open, and rifled of its contents; then his lordship, mortally wounded, was dragged out of the carriage, and several additional wounds inflicted on him. His nephew endeavoured to make his escape, but was taken, and put to death. The unfortunate young lady remained in the carriage, till one of the leaders rushed forward, took her from the carriage, and led her through the rabble to an adjoining house; and it is worthy of observation, that in the midst of this scene of sanguinary tumult no injury or insult was offered to her, or attempted to be offered to her, by the infuriated rabble. Mr. Fitzgerald states that the person who rescued her from her dreadful situation was Robert Emmet.

Miss Wolfe, after remaining some time in the place of refuge she was placed in, proceeded on foot to the Castle, and entered the Secretary's office in a distracted state, and is said to have been the first bearer of the intelligence of her father's murder. Lord Kilwarden was found lying on the pavement dreadfully and mortally wounded. When the street was cleared of the insurgents he was carried almost lifeless to the watch-house in Vicar-street.

STATEMENT OF JAMES HOPE.

"On my arrival in Dublin," says James Hope, "on the 1st of November, 1803, I met an acquaintance, who had been prisoner in Vicar-street watch-house when Lord Kilwarden was brought in, after receiving his death wounds. Major Swan and some officers shortly afterwards came there, and one of those persons said, in a great rage, that he would have a gallows erected at the watch-house door to hang the villains who were then confined there. His lordship called thrice to Major Swan before he answered. 'What are you going to do, Swan?' said his lordship. 'To hang these rebels, my lord,' was the reply. His lordship said, 'Let no man be put to death but by the laws of his country.' At that instant an officer appeared, with a party of horse, and ordered the street to be cleared of all obstruction. To Lord Kilwarden's injunction, my informant says he considered he owed his life, and not only his, but every prisoner in the watch-house at the time owed his life to that good man's interference. When Lord Kilwarden," continues Hope, "was attorney-general, he had to prosecute a number of very young men who were charged with treason, in 1795; they were found guilty by the jury, but Lord Kilwarden took an oppor-

tunity of representing their youth to the judge, and spoke of them as school-boys, with a view of mitigating their punishment, and having it changed to transportation. One of the young men said he would prefer death, received his sentence, and was executed; the others were transported. A near relation of the young man who suffered death, I was informed, was present when Lord Kilwarden's carriage was stopped in Thomas-street the night of the insurrection (this man's name, Mr. Curran states, was Shannon), and, hearing his name, exclaimed, 'That is the man I want,' sprung forward, and stabbed him with his pike; others soon followed the example of this villain. 'Had I been there (says Hope) I would have risked my life to have saved Lord Kilwarden from hurt or harm.'* I once went to Lord Kilwarden's house, with a woman whose husband was in prison, to solicit his liberation. After hearing her complaint, he said, 'Poor woman, I will do what I can for you.' 'Then, my lord,' said she, 'I have no fear for my husband's safety.' Her husband was liberated."

I have made many inquiries of persons who were present when this barbarous act was committed; of others, who, though not present, were with Robert Emmet, and had been subsequently informed of the particulars of this murder. I never met with one who said he knew the persons by whom it was committed, or, from his own knowledge, who could tell what part of the country they came from; whether they were natives of Dublin, or whether the act was one of private vengeance, of unpremeditated ferocity, or of brutal drunkenness. It has been stated that his lordship was mistaken for Lord Carleton. It is likewise stated, as we find, that the relative of a convicted prisoner, who harboured malice against his lordship, was the murderer. My opinion is, there is no truth in these reports, but that the sacrifice of the most merciful, just, and humane judge in the land, and therefore the most popular, was carried into effect by monsters in the human form, who mixed in the ranks of the insurgents, but were not of them, for the purpose of bringing the greatest possible obloquy on the people, and doing the greatest possible mischief to the prospects of their leader, and the character of his undertaking.

The murder of the innocent men in the barn of Scullabogue; the massacre of the defenceless Protestant prisoners on the bridge of Wexford; the murder of Lord Mountjoy, the strenuous supporter of the claim of the Roman Catholics; the murder of Lord

* It is a curious circumstance, and a pleasing one, to observe that the same thought, and nearly in the same words, is expressed by two men who were confidential agents of Robert Emmet.—R. R. M.

O'Neil, the early advocate of the same cause; the murder of Lord Kilwarden, the most upright and humane of all the judges on the bench, and deservedly respected of the public men of his day—these are acts which are involved in mystery, which time, perhaps, will yet unveil. I do not believe the murder of Lord Kilwarden was "the unpremeditated act of a ferocious rabble." I believe it was the act of wicked men in the ranks of the insurgents—an ingenious device of Orangeism for the purpose of disgracing their proceedings. Indeed we have a slight proof of this in the admission of one of the approvers on the trial of Redmond; he swore that he was present at the attack on Lord Kilwarden, and that when Mr. Wolfe tried to make his escape he (the witness) ordered the people to bring him back. The poor gentleman was accordingly brought back and piked to death; but this latter circumstance the approver discreetly declined to touch on. There was frightful perfidy had recourse to in the encouragement of the hopes of the conspirators at the beginning, in the affected ignorance of their machinations, and in the character given to them at their close.

Emmet halted his party at the market-house with the view of restoring order, but tumult and insubordination prevailed. During his ineffectual efforts, word was brought that Lord Kilwarden was murdered; he retraced his steps, proceeded towards the scene of the barbarous outrage, and in the course of a few minutes returned to his party: from that moment he gave up all hope of effecting any national object. He saw that his attempt had merged into a work of pillage and murder. He and a few of the leaders who were about him abandoned their project and their followers. A detachment of the military made its appearance at the corner of Cutpurse-row, and commenced firing on the insurgents, who immediately fled in all directions. The route was general in less than an hour from the time they sallied forth from the depot. The only place where anything like resistance was made was on the Coombe, where Colonel Brown was killed, and two members of the Liberty Rangers, Messrs. Edmonston and Parker. The guard-house of the Coombe had been unsuccessfully attacked, though with great determination; a great many dead bodies were found there. The mayoralty house had been attacked and robbed of its arms.

Lieutenant Colonel Lyde Browne, of the 21st foot, was killed in Dirty-lane by Henry Howley, who was subsequently executed. He (Colonel Browne) left a widow and infant daughter. Mrs. Browne was the sister of the gallant Captain Rion, R.N., who was killed at Copenhagen.

In some notes of Major Sirr, at the foot of John Fleming's sworn information, dated 2nd September, 1803, the major says that Fleming had stated to him: Robert Emmet, when he sallied

out of the depot, and proceeded along Thomas-street at the head of his men, wore a green uniform with gold lace, a white waistcoat, and a cocked hat, and had a sword in his hand.

A gentleman who witnessed the execution of Robert Emmet, and was one of two persons supporting in their arms Lord Kilwarden, in Vicar-street watch-house, on the night of the 23rd of July, has given me some valuable information on these subjects. My informant, Mr. John Fisher, No. 14, Inns'-quay, is the son of Mr. William Fisher, sometime an officer of excise quartered in Dublin, who died in 1784, leaving a son, the above-mentioned John Fisher, born 1778, who, consequently, in the year of the rebellion was about 20 years of age :

"I knew Robert Emmet's person very well. In 1803, he appeared to be not more than 26 years of age, of gentlemanly appearance, possessing handsome features, inclined to a dark complexion ; not exceeding in stature five feet six inches. I saw him on the night of the 23rd July, 1803 ; was then looking out of my own drawing-room window at 89, Thomas-street ; an oil lamp was lighting immediately under me, a little on one side. Emmet came up, a crowd following him, principally Kildare men ; heard him say to the men, 'Come on, boys, we'll take the Castle ;' saw them then pass by the market-house, which lay between Francis-street and John-street."

"Lieutenant Colonel Brown, commanding the 21st Fusiliers, was killed on that night by the rebels, at the top of Dirty-lane, on his way from his lodgings on Usher's-island to his barracks on the Coombe, now partly occupied by the premises of Mr. Parks and Mr. Mahony (Nos. 110 to 112). A man of the name of Parker, one of the Liberty Rangers, met the same fate from the insurgents ; and a Mr. Edmonson, a linen-draper of High-street ; they also piked Mr. Henry Doolittle, a silk-mercer of Lower Bridge-street, but the latter recovered from his wounds. When the barracks in the Coombe were assailed by the insurgents, it is believed, about sixty of the Fusiliers were killed, and that the government made an erroneous return of the loss sustained by the military. The celebrated Justice Drury, nick-named 'Run-away-lane Drury,' a superannuated exciseman turned into a trading Justice, and a Captain of the Liberty Rangers then residing on the Coombe, distinguished himself on that occasion in a novel manner, by seeking the shelter of his house when his troops were about to assail the insurgents, and giving the word of command to the men from his windows, 'Fire away, boys !' by which fire it is certain that a great many of the rebels were killed and totally defeated. Drury was looked on with contempt by his corps for his cowardice. He was patronised however by the authorities, and considered a military

hero by the Orangemen of Dublin. Mr. Fisher saw the carriage of Lord Kilwarden assailed, and saw the pikes of the rebels round it, brandishing in all directions. When the rebels fled, and Mr. Fisher ventured forth into the street, he ascertained that the carriage was Lord Kilwarden's; that his nephew had been killed, and his lordship, badly wounded, had been carried to the watch-house in Vicar-street. Mr. Fisher, on hearing that some wine was wanted for him, brought over a bottle of his own port, and pouring some into a glass put it to his lordship's lips, but he barely touched it, he was evidently dying. Some of the military, at that moment, were vowing vengeance on the people for the atrocious act committed on his lordship. Lord Kilwarden heard their words, and raising himself up, said deliberately, 'Let no man suffer without a fair trial.' Mr. Fisher was then supporting him, and was assisted in so doing by some other person. There were eight or ten respectable persons present in plain clothes. His lordship lived for about an hour after he had been carried to the watch-house."

The Dowager Lady Kilwarden survived her husband one year and seven days. She died at Bath, the 30th July, 1804.

The Hon. Arthur Wolfe, second son of the late Lord Kilwarden, Lieutenant Colonel of the 70th Foot, died at Jersey, on the 29th July, 1805. "Having received a reprimand from the reviewing general, on a recent occasion, for some matter connected with the manœuvring of his regiment, he was obliged reluctantly to retire from the service." His retirement from the army preyed on his health and spirits. It was the opinion of his brother officers and friends that he had been hardly dealt with.

Miss Elizabeth Wolfe, youngest daughter of Lord Kilwarden, who was in the carriage with her father when he was massacred in July, 1803, died at Clifton, near Bristol, in May, 1806. Her remains were interred on the 17th of May, by the side of those of her mother, in St. James's burial ground, Bath.

Robert Emmet had arrived in Dublin from the Continent in the month of October, 1802. Where he lived immediately after his arrival, my information does not enable me to state with certainty. He was at Miltown at some period between October and the month of March following. In the latter month, he was residing at Mrs. Palmer's, Harold's-cross, under the name of Hewit.

The house in Harold's-cross where Robert Emmet lodged soon after his arrival in Ireland, and a second time, after the failure in July, is situated on the left-hand side of the road, at a short distance from the Canal-bridge. The house is a small one, a little farther back from the road-side than the adjoining ones, and had wooden palings in front of it. The owner of the house,

in 1803, was a Mrs. Palmer, whose son was a clerk in the mercantile house of the late Mr. Colville, of the Merchants'-quay. The wife of Thomas Addis Emmet was the niece of this gentleman, and first-cousin of Mr. W. C. Colville, of the Bank of Ireland.

Robert Emmet left Mrs. Palmer's in the course of the same month, and on the 27th of April got possession of a house in Butterfield-lane, in the vicinity of Rathfarnham, which was taken on lease in the name of Ellis; and while Emmet remained there he went by the name of Robert Ellis. The same contrivances which poor Emmet had recourse to in his former abode were vainly put in practice at his lodgings in Harold's-cross. In the back parlour, which was his sitting room, he made an aperture in the wall, low down, nearly on a level with the flooring, large enough to admit a man's body; the masonry had been excavated inwards, in a slanting direction; there was sufficient space thus made to enable him to draw his body in, and to place a board painted the colour of the wainscot against the open aperture, when he had thus drawn himself in. His active preparations commenced in the month of March, and the most authentic account of them that I have been able to obtain, was communicated to me by James Hope.

STATEMENT OF JAMES HOPE.

"The following account," says Hope, "is designed to give you an idea of Robert Emmet's business in 1803, from the commencement to its close and discovery:

"Mr. Emmet was not, as has been supposed, the originator of the preparations of 1803. These had been begun in Dublin, to second an effort in England, expected by some Irishmen, under Colonel Despard. This information found its way from Ireland to the British government, through the imprudence of Dowdall in Dublin, who was Colonel Despard's agent—namely, that some preparation had been begun there to second the colonel's effort. Information of Dowdall's proceedings, on the other hand, had reached the refugees in Paris, by whom Robert Emmet was sent to Dublin to ascertain the state of things then. He fell into the hands of men by whom he was advised to go on with the necessary preparations for an effectual rising, with a solemn promise of every assistance in money and advice. Mr. Emmet came over first, Hamilton next came, and Quigley about the same time. Hamilton was sent back to Paris to bring over Russell, who came over immediately, and I soon was placed in close communication with him. Mr. Emmet, soon after his arrival, had lodgings at Harold's-cross, in the house in which he was ultimately taken after having quitted

Butterfield-lane. Both Emmet and Russell were strongly opposed to the party called 'foreign aid men,' and I had been so from the beginning.

"Situated as the Irish exiles were in Paris, they were easily duped into a fresh struggle, by the information they received from some of the higher order in Ireland, who had some suspicion of what was going on, but no precise knowledge of the design.

"Some persons in connexion with Talleyrand, in 1802, gave the Irish refugees to understand that Buonaparte was in treaty with the British government to banish them from France, their residence there not being considered favourable to Buonaparte's imperial views. A fabricated letter came to the north, dated from Paris, about this time, purporting to be from a captain of a French lugger, off the Giant's Causeway, having 10,000 stand of arms on board, for the service of the United Irishmen. The letter was in bad English; the paper, however, was English manufacture—it was fabricated by our enemies. The fire of 1798 was not quite extinguished—it smouldered, and was ready to break out anew. There were persons of distinction in the confidence of our leaders, who kept up communication with them in exile, and were in league with the oligarchy at home, which Russell and Emmet, from the purity of their intentions, never suspected.

"At my first interview with Mr. Emmet, on his arrival from France, he told me that 'some of the first men of the land had invited him over;' he asked me my opinion, 'was I for an appeal to arms?' I replied 'I was.' After some further conversation, he said, 'his plan was formed.'

"On my second interview with Mr. Emmet, he told me he would require my constant assistance, and said that two stores were taken, and workmen had been selected. Mr. Emmet engaged in this attempt in consequence of promises, from the upper ranks, of assistance to make the preparation general over the island. When money failed, however, treachery in the upper ranks began to appear, as in all former struggles. No money was forthcoming, and Mr. Emmet had no alternative but to shut the stores and discharge the men, which must be attended with the worst consequences; or go to work with what resources he had, which, if properly directed, were fully sufficient to take the city and Castle of Dublin.

"On making a remark to Mr. Emmet respecting the defection of Colonel Plunket, he said: 'There were many who professed to serve a cause with life and fortune, but if called on to redeem their pledge, would contrive to do it with the lives and fortunes of others. For my part,' said he, 'my fortune is now committed; the promises of many whose fortunes are considerable are com-

mitted likewise, but their means have not been as yet forthcoming. If I am defeated by their conduct, the fault is not mine. Even my defeat will not save the system which I oppose; but the time will come when its greatest advocates cannot live under the weight of its iniquity; until which time my reasons for the present attempt will not be fully understood, except by the few who serve and may suffer with me. The elements of dissolution are gathering round the system by which these three islands are governed, and the Pitt system will accelerate its fall.'

"Having been Mr. Emmet's constant attendant for some months, on our way from the depot in Dublin to his house in Butterfield lane,* many conversations of this kind have passed, and many things that I learned from him are sealed up by his last request. In conversing on the state of the country, I expressed an opinion to Mr. Emmet on the subject of the rights of the people in relation to the soil, which, until they were recognized, it would be in vain to expect that the north would be unanimous. On expressing this opinion at some length to Mr. Emmet, his answer was: 'I would rather die than live to witness the calamities which that course would bring on helpless families; let that be the work of others—it shall never be mine. Corruption must exhaust its means before equity can establish even its most reasonable claims.'

"Russell and Hamilton were of Mr. Emmet's opinion on that subject. 'This conspiracy,' said Russell, 'IS THE WORK OF THE ENEMY; we are now in the vortex—if we can swim ashore let it not be through innocent blood; if the people are true to themselves, we have an overwhelming force; if otherwise, we fall, and our lives will be a sufficient sacrifice.' 'One grand point,' said Mr. Emmet, 'at least will be gained. No leading Catholic is committed—we are all Protestants—and their cause will not be compromised.' Shortly after the preceding conversation, I was ordered to go with Russell to the north a week before the outbreak, and on the following morning Russell and I left Mr. Emmet's house before day. When I left Dublin, Arthur Devlin was appointed in my place to attend Mr. Emmet. There was a gentleman from Cork, and also one from the county Meath, in Mr. Emmet's company the day before we left him.†

* I am indebted to Colonel Caulfield, governor of the Marshalsea prison, for the lease of the premises in Butterfield-lane, made by James Rooney and Michael Frayne, as executors of the late Michael Martin, to Robert Ellis (Robert Emmet), dated 10th June, 1803. Rent of premises, £69 7*s.* 9*d.*, and over and above said sum £25 a-year for every acre of land that shall be converted into tillage. Signatures to lease, James Rooney, Robert Ellis. Signatures of witnesses, William Dowdall, George Tyrrell.

† Hope says the only two persons of distinction he saw at Emmet's were Mr. Fitz-

"Mr. Emmet's great object was to attack the Castle, and make hostages of the viceroy and officers of government, but the Kildare men were the only men who were at hand; there was a party of Wexford men under Michael Byrne, now in France, at Ringsend, or the neighbourhood of it. Mr. Emmet relied too much on the north when he sent Russell there. The man who was to supply my place, and entrusted with the arrangements between the people of Dublin and those who were expected from Wicklow, was sent to communicate with Dwyer, but that man remained at Rathfarnham, and his doing so caused all the plans to fail, for instead of the organised party which was expected, a body of stragglers only appeared in Thomas-street, who killed Lord Kilwarden and a clergyman named Wolfe (whom they should only have detained as prisoners); and Mr. Emmet seeing nothing but disorder, and having no communication with any regular body, some of whom remained all night under arms, he, with a few friends, returned to Rathfarnham, and the people shifted for themselves. The reason he went to Rathfarnham was, that he had despatched the messenger (Arthur Devlin) to Dwyer in the Wicklow mountains, and expected him by day-light, but Dwyer got no intelligence until he heard of the defeat, or rather miscarriage of Emmet's attempts on Dublin. Arthur Devlin was a relative of Dwyer's, and went with him to Botany Bay. Another man, a cousin of his, named Michael Dwyer, had been likewise sent on a message to Dwyer, and he also neglected his orders; he pretended to go, and stopped near Dublin.

"In the several depots there was no less, to my knowledge, than forty men employed, only three or four of whom became traitors, and that not till their own lives were in danger. The men

gerald, the brother of the Knight of Glynn, and a nobleman, Lord Wycombe, the son of the Marquis of Lansdowne, who subsequently, in the county of Meath, offered him, through his steward, the means of leaving the country, which Hope declined to accept. John Henry, Earl of Wycombe, born 1765, succeeded to the title of Marquis of Lansdowne, May the 7th, 1805. His lordship married the widow of Duke Gifford, Esq., of Castle Jordan, county of Meath, in 1805; died without issue 15th November, 1809, and was succeeded by his half-brother, Lord Henry Petty, the present marquis. The Earl of Wycombe, in 1803, was thirty-nine years of age. There is no doubt that he was cognizant of Robert Emmet's plans in 1803, and privy to his preparations for insurrection while they were carrying on at the depot in Thomas-street. He was of very decided republican principles, and so was known to be in 1803 to my informant, Mr. J. Patten, the brother-in-law of Thomas Addis Emmet. James Hope, who worked in the depot in Thomas-street, and was one of the trusty and trusted friends of Robert Emmet, told me he saw Lord Wycombe there with Mr. Emmet, and also the brother of the Knight of Glynn. The notorious Higgins, of *The Freeman's Journal*, in May, 1798, was evidently on the track of the earl, and desirous of disposing of him as he had done in the case of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. He pointed him out to government as a person closely to be watched and looked after as a covert traitor.—R. R. M.

behaved with the greatest prudence, none seeming to wish to know more than concerned their own department; each man's duty was kept separate and secret from the other. I was first attached to the rocket depot in Patrick-street, and then had to superintend the ammunition in its making up and delivery, and the transporting arms and gunpowder to the country. Barney Duggan was chiefly an out-door emissary, employed in carrying on communications. I was in the habit of calling on Mr. Emmet when I wanted instructions through the day, and reporting progress at night. Mr. Emmet had arranged with H. Howley to take the store in Thomas-street in the name of the latter. In this store the pikes, fire-arms, and various implements of war were deposited. M'Intosh, a Scotchman, about forty years of age, took the house in Patrick-street for another store, for the rockets, grenades, and a depot for gunpowder.*

"Michael M'Daniel, a dyer by trade, who had some chemical knowledge, made the rockets. It was by his misconduct the explosion took place in Patrick-street. He was arrested in Wicklow, in November, 1803, and sent up from Rathdrum to Dublin. The depot of Robert Emmet, Marshalsea-lane, was at the rear of the Bull Inn, kept by Mrs. Dillon (on the right hand side of a court off Thomas-street, between the numbers 138 and 139). There was a private entrance to the depot from this inn; the chief entrance was from Marshalsea-lane.†

"Owen Kirwan," continues Hope, "was a tailor by trade, a dealer likewise in cast-off clothes, and lived in Plunket-street. Information was given against him by a neighbour, who appeared as a witness against him. When under sentence, his wife went to

* The Dublin papers of the 4th of October. 1803, state that John M'Intosh, lately convicted of high treason, was executed in Patrick-street, opposite the depot, of which he had the charge. *The London Chronicle* of 8th October, 1803, states that "M'Intosh made an important communication to Sheriff Pounden, in consequence of which Major Sirr repaired to M'Intosh's former residence (I presume the house which was the depot in Patrick-street), where he discovered a concealed door, artfully formed by bricks built in a frame, plaistered over to resemble the adjoining wall, which was covered with shelves, and turned out upon hinges and castors. Upon opening this door a tier of closet rooms appeared, communicating by trap doors and scaling ladders through the different stories of the house. They were spacious enough to conceal forty men, and were provided with air holes communicating with the outer wall. In these rooms were found from 300 to 400 pikes of a peculiar construction, having an iron hinge at about half their length, by which they doubled up; and though when extended they were six feet long, yet by this contrivance it was possible to carry one of them undiscovered under a man's coat. A quantity of sulphur was likewise found, and every appearance of much more serious preparations having gone forward in the house. Major Sirr brought away the door *as a curiosity*—it now lies at his office in the Castle."

† There is a small room in the house which was the Bull Inn, on the ground floor, where Robert Emmet was in the habit of writing, and in that room he is said to have written his manifesto, on the eve of the 23rd of July.

the gaol to take leave of him. They were a very good-looking couple, and both of them devoted to the cause for which the former was then suffering imprisonment, and soon suffered on the scaffold. The wife was heard saying to her husband, at parting with him, in reference probably to some proposal made to him, 'Owen, dear, I hope you will never disgrace your name and your family.' The young woman was dashed away with great violence, without giving her leave to say another word. The husband stripped off his coat, and threw it to his wife at the door of the cell, saying to her, 'Sell that for something for our children.' He appeared at the place of execution without a coat. His body was given up to the family. His wife, by her industry, contrived to rear two daughters respectably in Dublin. I saw them both, married women, and heard since that they all went to London.

"The extent of the preparations in Dublin will never be fully known. Considerable quantities of gunpowder were sent to the country, and one stout party in particular, who had defied the power of government for five years, in the mountains of Wicklow, was amply supplied with ammunition and arms."

STATEMENT OF BERNARD DUGGAN.

Bernard Duggan, one of the superintendents of the depots, informs me that "shortly after Mr. Emmet's arrival a message came to him by one 'Jemmy Hope,' of Belfast, to call on Mr. Emmet. Quigley had come over from France at that time; he had been one of the state prisoners of 1798. He (Duggan) is not certain whether Counsellor William Henry Hamilton came over with Quigley or before him. John Mahon and Thomas Wylde were sent down to the county of Kildare, to Naas, Maynooth, Kilcullen, and several other towns, to inform those whom they conceived might be depended on that there would be a meeting of 'the friends of Ireland' on Patrick's day, at John Rourke's,* who then kept a public-house in Thomas-street. When the time fixed for the meeting arrived, about forty or fifty persons came there, and were waiting for the business to be opened; but some of the true men to the cause, who were firmly attached to Emmet, seeing some persons there in whom they did not place implicit confidence, gave word to Emmet not to appear, and then caused it to be reported that it was all a delusion. This account was also given to the several persons who came into town, and who were met in different

* This poor man, John Rourke, now a comb-maker by trade, the brother of Felix Rourke, I lately found living in the greatest distress, with a large family, in the Liberty, in Dublin, in a place called Tripoli. He bears a most excellent character. He lost his little property in 1798, suffered years of imprisonment, and came out of jail a ruined man.

parts of the city, before they came to the house; so there was no meeting that day. Mr. Emmet began his active preparations on 21st March, 1803, having got several of the most confidential men of 1798 to join him, and to assist in the work carried on in the different depots, and in other capacities. Among them were Michael Quigley, of Rathcoffy, who had surrendered in 1798, and had gone to France immediately after the peace of Amiens; Bernard Duggan, Henry Howley, Edward Condon, George and Richard Eustace, Thomas Wylde, and John Mahon; occasionally Finerty, John Rourke, Christopher Nowlan, Owen Kirwan, Michael M'Daniel, Joseph White, M'Intosh, and the two Keenans. These men, and many others, assisted in the different depots in constructing pikes, making ball-cartridges, and several other combustibles. There was a depot in Marshalsea-lane, at the rear of the Bull Inn, Thomas-street. There was another depot in Patrick-street, another in Smithfield, another in Winetavern-street (in the vaults of an old building, formerly an inn, opposite Christ's Church), and another in Irishtown. There were no arms kept either in Winetavern-street or Smithfield. M'Intosh and the two Keenans, Kirwan and M'Daniel, were employed in Patrick-street; Joseph White, in Thomas-street; Burke, Duggan, Condon, and Quigley visited the several depots, as they were ordered, to see how the work went on there and elsewhere.

"Michael Quigley, of Rathcoffy, had been, in 1798, in business as a master bricklayer. Quigley, after having escaped from his pursuers for a long time, was at length taken. He made a full confession of all he knew of the affairs of 1798 and 1803. There was a stop to prosecutions, and no more innocent men suffered. He was imprisoned in Kilmainham till 1806.

"Henry Howley was a carpenter, born in the Queen's county; had been in the 1798 rebellion. It was he who shot Colonel Brown in Bridgfoot-street. Ned Condon, of Kildare, was a cabinet-maker; he was the person who shot Mr. Darragh, a justice of the peace, living near Athy. He came alone to Mr. Darragh's hall door, mounted on horseback.*

"Joe White was a hedge-carpenter, from Rathcoffy. He was not in the 1798 business, and was never taken up. John Burke was a carpenter from Naas. He escaped to America; he had not been in the 1798 movement. —— Dunne, a carpenter, of Naas,

* Mr. Darragh, of Eagle Hill, county Kildare, was one of the terrorists of the time. Musgrave, at page 193, gives an account of this atrocious act. Mr. Darragh is reported to have said he would wade ankle-deep in Popish blood. Mr. Darragh denied on oath having said so. In March, 1798, a man rode up to him, in front of his house, and, on pretence of presenting him with a letter, drew a pistol, and shot him in the groin; then drew another, and shot him in the back. He languished for a long time, and eventually died from the effects of the wounds he then received.

was never taken up. George Eustace, of Dirty-lane, roller-maker, was never taken up; he was not in the business of 1798. John Walsh, of Celbridge, a shopkeeper, taken up in 1803, escaped. Dick Eustace, of Naas, a carpenter, was not in 1798. The other occasional assistants were men from Palmerstown and Prosperous. M'Daniel was usually employed in the rocket depot in Patrick-street.

"In the afternoon of the 23rd, Mr. Emmet sent a sum of sixty guineas to pay for some arms, blunderbusses, and pistols, which he had bought in Dame-street, and was in immediate want of. One of Emmet's confidential men declined going, on account of fatigue; and then Michael M'Daniel, the man who was in the Patrick-street depot when the explosion took place, when making the fusees of the rockets (and drinking at the same time), offered to go for the arms. He took the sixty guineas, and never returned more to the depot with the money or arms. Even this contributed to the failure.

"Pat Finerty, who turned approver, was a carpenter. After the business of 1803, he was on board the guard-ship at Plymouth. Subsequently he was employed at Woolwich, where I lost sight of him; but I suppose he sold the secret of making rockets to Congreve. The rockets were first tried near Irishtown by Emmet and some of his companions; they went in a horizontal direction a great distance. General Coote was the first man who employed them in India—Emmet told me this, and that he had improved on them; and another has improved on Emmet's, and Congreve has improved on both. The rockets were of the same nature as those called Congreve rockets, but not so perfect. Finerty and Condon were employed a good deal in the making of the rockets, under Mr. Emmet's orders. It was after Finerty's arrest that he turned informer. I think that he would not inform if he had not been arrested. Finerty was detained in the 'stag-house,' opposite to Kilmainham gaol, a place for housing informers. He was to give evidence on Emmet's trial, but was not called.

"At my return from Lisbon, many years after, I called to see a friend of mine, that was master of arms in the *Salvador* guard-ship, in dock at Plymouth, one evening; and the first man I met in the ship was Finerty, who affected to be glad to see me. I stopped awhile with my friend, and returned to dine next day, and when I came, found that Finerty had left the ship, and gone I think to Woolwich.

"Counsellor Hamilton was appointed, with one Smith, to raise the county of Fermanagh and county Cavan; Russell and James Hope were appointed to the county Down for the same purpose; Mr. Nicholas Gray, an attorney, the aid-de-camp of B. B. Harvey

at the battle of New Ross, for the county Wexford; Dwyer for the county Wicklow; Mr. Athy for the county Galway; Quigley, Mahon, and Wylde, for Kildare; others for different counties, all depending on the taking of Dublin. The quantity of arms and ammunition was very great: a great quantity of ball cartridges, packed in chests, with various sorts of combustibles, about 70,000 pikes and muskets, blunderbusses and pistols. A quantity of these were dispersed among different persons throughout the country, as well as in Dublin; combustibles of various descriptions were prepared to explode in the streets, among the troops, when assembled. Most of the powder and ball was got from Mr. Hinchey's, but as for the money, I cannot tell how or where it was obtained. Mr. Hinchey was a grocer, and lived at the corner of Cuffe-street, and was licensed to sell powder; he got the balls run, or cast, in his own place, and a Mr. Byrne, of New-street, gave a good deal of ball.

"ALL THESE PREPARATIONS WERE KEPT A PROFOUND SECRET FROM THE GOVERNMENT AND THEIR ADHERENTS, until the very day of the turn-out. On the Saturday-night week previous to the turn-out, an explosion of some combustibles took place in the depot of Patrick-street, which gave some alarm in the neighbourhood. Major Sirr came to examine the house—previous to his coming, our friends removed the remaining powder, arms, &c., and all matters which were moveable in the place, notwithstanding some obstruction given by the watchmen. Other arms were secreted on the premises, and were not discovered until some time afterwards. It was concluded that the affair was only some chemical process, which had accidentally caused the explosion.*

"This unfortunate occurrence caused a premature rising, which proved abortive. It must be here remarked that those in charge of the depot in Patrick-street did not know or frequent the depot in Marshalsea-lane, but those in Marshalsea-lane had recourse to the depot in Patrick-street.†

"Mr. Emmet," says Bernard Duggan, "had three plans that

* The house was slightly injured by the explosion; it has been new fronted. I visited it some years ago—it is on the right-hand side of Patrick-street, going from Thomas street, very nearly opposite Patrick's Church. There are very extensive vaults, and an entrance to the house, like all the depots of Emmet's, from a dark court or narrow lane.—R R.M.

† The depot at Irishtown, alluded to by Duggan, was in charge of a timber merchant, Mr. Thomas Brangan, who resided in that village. His daughter, Mrs. Martin, informs me he was very intimate with Robert Emmet, and was engaged in the business of 1803. He had under his charge the district of Sandymount, the Rock, Merrion, and Miltown, and the intended execution of the plan to take the Pigeon House. Robert Emmet was frequently at Brangan's, and on several occasions they walked across the strand, when the tide was out, to take plans of the Pigeon House, and make observations.—R.R M.

would effect a revolution without bloodshed, if put into execution at any period; and the reason that none of them were resorted to was, the timidity of some of his own staff or advisers, the general officers of districts and counties—such as Lord Edward Fitzgerald had to contend with.

"A few evenings before the outbreak, I was informed by Robert Emmet, I would be called on a very important service—namely, to make a prisoner of the commander-in-chief, who was in the habit of walking very early every morning on the Circular-road, in the neighbourhood of Kilmainham. I was to be accompanied by another person, and six more of our associates were to be stationed at a short distance, and to be ready, when called on, to lend assistance to me and my companion. We were to accost the commander-in-chief, and inform him we had a writ against him, and that we were sheriff's officers, and, by compulsion or otherwise, we were to force him into a carriage, and carry him off to Mr. Emmet's. Emmet's staff, from timidity, upset this plan like all his others. I was told that night, when I had made all necessary preparations, that the plan had been abandoned.

"To my knowledge," continues Duggan, "Mr. Emmet *had secret friends connected with the government, who gave him intelligence of all the movements about the castle.* Mr. Emmet, during the preparations making in the depot, had a house in Butterfield-lane, near Rathfarnham; the officers of the counties and several gentlemen often had interviews with him there, but none of those connected in the depots, unless occasionally to carry a message to him, went there. Mr. Emmet went often to the head depot—both by day and by night the writer was often called to attend him, to act as a body guard through the streets, walking on the other side of the way as he went along, and occasionally some men of the former were ready at a moment's notice to defend Mr. Emmet. Previous to the turn-out Mr. Emmet remained almost entirely in the depots, continually seeing regimentals making, writing proclamations, and receiving communications from the officers of the different counties. In his expectations of assistance in the country he was totally disappointed, which was the chief cause of the failure on the night of the 23rd. It had been arranged that a number of armed men were to march in from the adjacent counties, either to join in the attack to be made that night in Dublin, or to cause a diversion, by withdrawing the troops from the city, while those collected in the depots sallied out, and distributed arms to the persons gathering in from the county of Dublin, and the adjacent parts of the county of Kildare. Dwyer promised to march down from the mountains with 500 at least that evening,

and appear near the city; likewise Mr. Nicholas Gray promised to come with a large force of Wexford men, consisting of thousands, by a different direction. All these persons failed to do so at the time appointed. In the course of the day of the 23rd, it was whispered about that there was to be a general rising that night in Dublin. The alarm reached the Castle. A Mr. Clarke of Palmerstown, a manufacturer, and a Mr. Wilcock, a gentleman, living between Palmerstown and Chapelizod, seeing a bustle among the workmen of the neighourhood, and a number of men passing from other parts to Dublin, those two gentlemen rode up to the Castle and made a report of their apprehensions of some disturbance. As they both were returning home, passing along Arran Quay, Mr. Clarke was fired at and slightly wounded, by some person who effected his escape. Both then went back to the Castle, or at least Mr. Clarke did, and a reward of £300 was immediately offered for information against the man who had fired at Clarke. In the course of an hour or so after, Henry Howley came along, in the direction of the Queen's Bridge, with one of the double coaches, which were to convey Mr. Emmet and a number of his most determined followers inside the Castle Yard, as if they were entering with persons going to a party. They were to be all well armed with blunderbusses, they were to gain possession of the Castle, and to seize on the privy council, who it was expected would have been sitting that evening, for Mr. Emmet had private information of that matter, and of every movement going on in the Castle. When Howley was coming over the Queen's Bridge, and entering Bridgfoot-street, he saw a countryman and a soldier fighting; he stopped the coach to see how the battle ended, and, in the meantime, an officer, Colonel Brown, who was passing by chance, interfered in favour of the soldier. Henry Howley, seeing this, leaped out of the coach, and cried out 'Fair play for the countryman.' Colonel Brown drew his sword, and Howley pulled out a pistol and shot him. Howley, observing a sergeant's guard coming over the bridge, thought it prudent to make his escape; he fled, and left the coach there, which caused a terrible disappointment to Mr. Emmet, who was anxiously waiting for the coaches, as Howley was the person appointed to procure them. The object was to secure the viceroy, and keep him and his family as hostages; plenty of people were ready to pour into the Castle, once possession was gained of the courtyards by Emmet and his party. Howley was to bring the coaches one after the other from Essex Bridge stand, along the quay, and over the Queen's Bridge. The drivers were to be dressed in liveries. Had the Castle been seized, the country was sufficiently prepared—all depended on the Castle.

"The plan was to attack the entrance publicly, and at the same time on the Ship-street side, from a house alongside the wall, an entrance was to be made by breaking through the wall, and a party of men were to be pushed in by this entrance. Several houses besides in that neighbourhood were secured, and were to be occupied by Mr. Emmet's people. This disappointment of the coaches, together with the failure on the part of the Wicklow and Wexford men—for Mr. Emmet counted on Dwyer's party, and also on Mr. Gray's—determined him to abandon the depot, and make the best he could of such an embarrassing situation, finding he could not conceal the business any longer. While some of the people were gathering about the depot in Marshalsea-lane and arming themselves, one of the outposts or sentinels, who was placed to watch or reconnoitre messengers or despatches coming or going between the Royal Hospital, the different barracks, and the Castle, saw a trooper coming with despatches from the Castle towards the commander-in-chief, and the trooper was shot dead by the outpost above-mentioned.

"In the afternoon of the 23rd of July, when Mr. Emmet was informed that Mr. Clarke and Mr. Wilcock were on their way to the Castle, to give information of the suspected proceedings, Mr. Emmet ordered me to set steady men to guard the different roads from the Castle to Island-bridge, where the artillery lay, and from the adjoining barracks, and from the Royal Barracks to the Castle, so that no express could pass to either of these places from the Castle, or from the commander-in-chief, who resided at the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, where I remained, watching the movements of the general, after placing guards on all the passes, from seven to eleven o'clock that night; and when I returned to the depot all were gone; the place was in darkness, as the lamps were not lit up that night—it looked dismal.

"I lost no time in quitting Dublin, and making the best of my way to Rathcoffy, in the county of Kildare, where I joined my comrades. They had sent a message to Mr. Emmet, desiring he would come amongst them, and see what could be done; but he did not then come. They remained together, to the number of fifteen, his staff (as they called themselves); but after his death, they separated, and went amongst their friends. In the meantime a great number of persons were arrested, tried, convicted and put to death; the innocent as well as the guilty. Of all they hung for that business, there were only four who knew anything of it, and numbers were put to death who had no hand in it. This they continued to do until Quigley was arrested, along with three others, in the county of Galway. A stop was then put to the executions.

"At all times Mr. Emmet seemed cool, tranquil, and deter-

mined; even to the last moment of my seeing him, which was at seven o'clock that evening of the 23rd of July. He appeared to be confident of success; he was never light or thoughtless in his manner, nor absent nor agitated in his mind. He talked familiarly with the men, but still with something of seriousness—nothing of jocularity. The men never received any pay for their services—they all acted for the cause, and not for money—their diet and lodging, and sometimes only the latter, was their sole remuneration. The people had great confidence in him; they would venture their lives for him.

"After the failure of Robert Emmet's business I escaped into Galway, remained there for eighteen months, came up to Dublin in 1805, and the second day after my arrival was arrested. I was charged with the crime of shooting at Mr. Clarke, of Palmerstown, on the afternoon of the 23rd of July, 1803. Mr. Clarke was brought to the Tower to see me, accompanied by Mr. Wilcock. Mr. Clarke said, 'You fired at me, in 1803, when you passed me on the quay, as I was riding along with Captain Wilcock.' I said to the gentleman, 'I would not have passed and fired at you, Mr. Clarke.'"

QUIGLEY.

James Hope and Bernard Duggan, in the preceding statements, refer to the part taken by Quigley in the affairs of Robert Emmet, and to some equivocal acts of his in relation to them, and finally to his arrest in the county Galway.

November 1st, 1803, Quigley and Stafford, who had been arrested about the middle of October, were arraigned *pro forma*, at the court of Oyer and Terminer, Green-street. The trial was put off, and on the following day Quigley was brought before the privy council, "and it is believed," says the *London Chronicle*, has given "the fullest and most efficient information. He is said to have stood high in the confidence of Emmet." *The London Chronicle* of the 7th of December states, that Quigley had again been examined before the privy council, and also a young man of the name of Daly, from the county Kilkenny.

Quigley remained a prisoner in Kilmainham goal till 1806.

Michael Quigley, *alias* Captain Graham, died in great poverty, in September, 1842. His widow furnished the following particulars of the last struggle "the old rebel" of Rathcoffy was engaged in, to Mr. C. G. Duffy, to whom I am indebted for them:

"Quigley held a farm at Rathcoffy, another at Raheen, in the county Kildare. A rack rent, heavy rates, failure of crops, and loss of cattle, had left him two years in arrear, and his landlord, some months since, went through the necessary juggling to en-

force his "rights." Quigley was at this time bedridden. There was a crop on the ground, value about two-thirds of the rent; and he wrote, asking to surrender all the crops and the second farm, provided his wife and children were allowed to remain on the fourteen acres that he and his family for a hundred years back had held at Rathcoffy. And in this memorial the landlord was reminded how his father-in-law, Sir F. A——'s life had been saved at Ovidstown by Thomas Wylde, brother to Mrs. Quigley, one of the most chivalrous of the peasant leaders of '98; how in 1803, he had also preserved another of the landlord's family, Mr. (since General) Cole, from the fate of Kilwarden; how she had thus strong personal claims upon his justice and forbearance. This was all in vain. Tricked into leaving the house one day, for the purpose of effecting an arrangement with the landlord, she found it in the possession of bailiffs on her return, and was denied admittance. The old man was too ill to bear removal, and to the day of his death his wife, or any of his family, save one young child, never saw him more. For several weeks of a painful illness he lay alone, suffering such aggravated agony as God only knew of, and strictly denied the access of his wife or family—to such excess did the barbarity go, that the bailiffs have repelled her from the window of his bedroom, when she was come there seeking to speak to him. So Michael Quigley died.

"The name of his landlord is A——, John A——, Captain, *&c.*, of C———, county Kildare."

No information has been hitherto published, respecting the source from which the means were procured, that enabled Robert Emmet to commence and carry on his operations. Lord Castlereagh stated erroneously in the House of Commons, that they were entirely supplied by Emmet—that he had come into the possession of the sum of £3000, by his father's death, which he had invested in his revolutionary speculation. Now the friends of Robert Emmet state, that the sum which came into his possession, on the death of his father, was under £1500. The following statement contains the most important information on that subject that has been yet laid before the public; and I am indebted for it to the late David Fitzgerald, Esq., of Fleet-street, Dublin, father of J. D. Fitzgerald, Esq., the eminent barrister. Mr. Fitzgerald was a near relative of Mr. Philip Long of Crow-street, and of the house of Roche and Long, and had the chief management of his business in 1803. He was arrested after Emmet's failure, as was likewise Mr. Long; but Mr. Fitzgerald, in consideration of his youth, was soon liberated. He was then about eighteen years of age.

Mr. Fitzgerald was a mercantile gentleman of respectability,

with the clearest recollection of the events in question of any person I ever conversed with in relation to them. His knowledge of the subject, was that of a person who was intimately acquainted with the origin and the proceedings of the prime mover of that conspiracy, and with every act in furtherance of it, on the part of the main supporter of his enterprise. This valuable information was communicated to me at several interviews, and written down by me at each communication. Many weeks had not passed over after procuring this information, which no other living person could afford, when Mr. Fitzgerald was seized with a paralytic stroke, which broke down his health; and in a few months this amiable gentleman was in the grave.

"Robert Emmet," says Mr. Fitzgerald, "came over from France, in October, 1802. Very soon after his arrival, he dined at Mr. Philip Long's, in Crow-street, of the house of Roche and Co., general merchants. Long was a first cousin of Fitzgerald, and both were intimately acquainted with Mr. Emmet. When he arrived in Dublin, he professed to have come over about his private affairs, and not about public matters. He went into society, and visited people of consequence: he dined occasionally at James Ryan's, of Marlborough-street—the gentleman who was styled Duke of Marlborough—and also at Mr. George Evan's.

"The preliminary articles of peace were signed the end of October, 1801. This had put an end to any idea of attempting a new struggle at that period; but when war was about to be declared in March, 1803, this altered the aspect of affairs in Ireland. Then Emmet began to talk seriously of preparations. Mr. Long contributed the funds. All the money transactions between Mr. Emmet and him passed through Fitzgerald's hands. Mr. Long advanced altogether to Emmet about £1,400, which passed through Fitzgerald's hands. The first money advanced to Mr. Emmet was in May, 1803. All the money thus advanced was lost. Mr. Long was then rich—he was always generous. He died in reduced circumstances, but not in absolute poverty.

"The 23rd of July, Mr. Long came to the office in Crow-street, from the country, about twelve o'clock at mid-day. He said to Fitzgerald, 'There will be a rising to-night.' He then went to his desk, and searched among his papers for his will, which he sent to Mr. Patten to keep for him. He, Mr. Long, told Fitzgerald there were three separate attacks to be made—one on the Pigeon House, another on the Castle, and one on the Park battery. There were 1500 men to come in from Kildare; vast numbers from other parts; but most reliance was placed on the men of Kildare. The Kildare men were to be formed in Thomas-street, and marched to the Castle, which was to be attacked and

seized on. This plan was objected to by Fitzgerald. He said he could not see what use there could be in parading along Thomas-street—why not begin the attack from Palace-street, where there was a waste house, close to the Castle-yard. This was however no time for new proposals. The expectation of the country rising generally, when the Castle was taken, was not an idle one. That day a number of strange people came to Mr. Long's. Dowdall came there six or seven times. Clarke, of Palmerstown, had been in, to the government in the course of the day, on the 23rd of July. His men had demanded their wages in the morning, instead of the evening. This caused him to suspect and to watch their movements; he was shot at, coming along the quay, by some unknown person. When he came to the Castle, the viceroy and commander-in-chief were absent. He saw Mr. Marsden, and informed him of his suspicions; he had done so before, and Mr. Marsden treated it as a joke.

"The privy council was summoned. Lord Kilwarden,* living at Newlands, county of Kildare, was sent for. He got the communication at six o'clock in the evening; he started for Dublin soon after, and was passing through Thomas-street when he was attacked, about nine. When attacked, Emmet was at Corn-market, with his men in full march, without having encountered any opposition. Emmet being informed that a gentleman and lady had been attacked by the rear body, instantly halted his men, and returned to stop the work of murder. He took the lady out of the carriage, and placed her in safety near the corner of Vicar-street; he returned to his men, and by this time, numbers had drawn off; and Stafford, the baker, who subsequently married John Hevey's sister, refused to let Emmet go on—'there was no use in his going on.' Stafford was taken long after, and was to have been tried, *but a flaw was discovered in the indictment.* He and *Quigley* were to be tried together, but in consequence of that flaw the indictment was quashed; they were to have been tried again, but never were. The two fittest men for the work were Stafford and Allen—the two most unfit were Emmet and Long. Emmet had no knowledge of the world. He placed trust in every man; but he was the most honest and single-minded of human beings. Mr. Long was an excellent man in council, a good speaker, a good reasoner, and a good writer, a strong-minded man; but in action he wanted nerve—he was easily frightened. He was most devotedly attached

* Lord Kilwarden was the nephew of the celebrated Theobald Wolfe, one of the eminent lawyers of his day, the gentleman after whom T. W. Tone was called. The seat of Lord Kilwarden, Newlands, on the Naas Road, was about 4½ miles from Dublin. When the summons reached him he was spending the evening at Corkagh, the seat of Colonel Finlay, adjacent to his own demesne.

to his country, and most honest to its cause—he would have made any sacrifice for it. He never went to the depot in Thomas-street—neither did Fitzgerald, nor Mr. Allen. Meighan was a fellow-clerk with Fitzgerald, in the service of Mr. Long. He was a young man of great determination, had a turn for military affairs, and subsequently entered the army. He took a deep interest in the business of the 23rd of July.

"On that night, sixteen of the leaders were supping with Hevey, in St. Thomas-court, opposite Mass-lane, when the firing commenced. In fact, when they ought to have been with their men, they were carousing with Hevey. While the preparations were going on, Allen's warehouse, in College-green, opposite King William's statue, was a rendezvous for the initiated.

"At half-past seven in the evening of the 23rd of July, Fitzgerald *walked through the Castle-yard. There were no preparations; the place was perfectly quiet and silent; the gates were wide open!*

"At half-past five in the evening, he had visited the old Custom-house barracks; saw General Dunn apparently employed in taking precautions; and heard him ordering some soldiers to put the women out of the barracks, and to allow no men in: he then galloped off. Fitzgerald and Meighan were present when he gave the orders and rode off.

"At half-past seven, a body of workmen, linked two and two, about twenty-four in number, attacked the Mansion-house, seized the arms, and came away, marching down Dame-street, and passing by the lower Castle-yard and the Exchange, on their way to Thomas-street.

"On the 23rd of July, Robert Emmet sent to Mr. Long for £500. Mr. Long sent Fitzgerald to Robert Fyan, an eminent merchant then living on Usher's Quay, for the money, which was due by Fyan to Long. Much delay ensued in giving a draft for the amount; and when given, the bank was closed—the business hours were past. Fyan knew the runners of the bank; and he went with Fitzgerald to the runners' office, where they are accustomed to be after bank hours, to receive payment of bills before handed over to the public notary. At six o'clock precisely, Fitzgerald received the money, and was just going out of the bank, when one of the runners said *news of an intended insurrection had reached government: the guards were doubled.* The Castle gates, nevertheless, were wide open at half-past seven. In consequence of this intelligence, the money was not taken to Emmet, and he never received it.

"The explosion of the depot in Patrick-street took place on the 18th of July. The roof was partly blown off; one man was

killed and another wounded and taken to the hospital. The day of the explosion, Robert Emmet, William Dowdall, John Allen, John Hickson, John Hevey, and John Madden,* were dining at Joe Alleyburne's at Kilmacud. Mr. Long went to them, to inform them of the explosion. All the materials saved were conveyed to John Palmer's of Cutpurse-row; but in the removal of a bag of flints, a great number had dropped out of the bag near his door, and on the following Monday Palmer was arrested on suspicion by Justice Bell, and released the day following. In one of the Orange Dublin papers, some days after the explosion, that affair was noticed: 'The government,' it said, 'was sleeping over a mine; for what purpose but for insurrection were these combustibles preparing?' Government took no steps.

"Emmet's intention was not to commence for some months later, waiting till the greater part of the troops should be drawn off for the French war. He counted on the accomplishment of Buonaparte's threat to invade England. Mr. Long, after the explosion, hid himself for some time in the house of William Cole, a shoemaker, on Ormond-quay.

"The proclamation by common report assigned to Emmet, was written by Mr. Long in his own house in Crow-street; it was dictated by him to Meighan.† It was written on Friday evening, the 22nd of July, and was printed at Stockdale's in Abbey-street, and the porter waited till they were struck off, and carried a basket of the proclamations to Long's. Old John Palmer, of Cutpurse-row, was frequently employed carrying messages from Mr. Emmet to Crow-street. A great deal of money passed through his hands.‡

"Miss Biddy Palmer, his daughter, was a confidential agent both of Emmet and Russell. She was sister to young Palmer who took a prominent part in the affairs of 1798. Biddy Palmer was a sort of Irish Madame Roland; she went about when it was dangerous for others to be seen abroad, conveying messages from Emmet, Long, Hevey, Russell, and Fitzgerald, to different parties. When Russell was concealed, she came to Fitzgerald and said Russell wished to see him; that he wanted money to take him off. Fitzgerald sent forty guineas to him by Miss Palmer, and either

* The late Mr. John Madden, of Donnybrook, a cousin of the author, was engaged in Emmet's projects and cognizant of all his movements, from the period of his return to Ireland to his arrest.

† This proclamation is a totally different document to that one headed "Manifesto of the Provisional Government."—R. R. M.

‡ He had been imprisoned in 1798 for three months, for having a seditious pamphlet in his possession. His son John, who was drowned in Holland, had to fly the country for the part he took in 1798. The father's business was ruined by his long imprisonment, from 1803 till 1806; and the daughter ten years ago was living in poverty in Cumberland street, Curtain-road, London.

that day or on the next, Russell was arrested; but in the meantime Russell sent a gentleman to Fitzgerald, and that gentleman said that Russell had received neither message nor money from him.

The gentlemen chiefly in Emmet's confidence were Allen, Long, Russell, Dowdall, Norris of the Coombe, and J. Hevey.*

"Mr. Putnam M'Cabe came over to Ireland first in 1801. He came over again in 1802; his wife followed him over about June, 1802; he stopped about a month at Long's. There was a subscription set on foot for him. M'Cabe wanted to borrow a sum of £300 to set up a factory in France. His wife went sometimes by the name of Mrs. Maxwell, and at other times by the name of Mrs. Lee; she was then young and handsome. Long gave her letters of credit on England; she drew £250; and besides this sum, Mr. Long gave her £500 in England when he went over.

"Mr. Long was arrested three weeks after the outbreak, 13th August, 1803. He was in goal two years and seven months, never having been brought to trial. He was liberated the 8th of March, 1806.

"Fitzgerald was arrested the 23rd of November, 1803, and was liberated the 1st of June, 1804. He was confined in Kilmainham, and Long likewise. Before Fitzgerald's arrest, he was visiting Mr. Long in Kilmainham, when Robert Emmet was brought into the gaol and seemed greatly agitated. When he noticed Fitzgerald in the passage, he approached and shook hands with him, saying, 'How is our friend Long—is he here?' After that Fitzgerald visited the prison frequently, and suggested to Robert Emmet a plan for his escape. That suggestion was conveyed to him in a note describing the means to be employed. Robert Emmet returned an answer on the back of the same note, 'I have another and a better plan.' The turnkey, M'Sally, communicated to Fitzgerald his readiness to effect the escape of Emmet; he, Fitzgerald, refused to listen to him, fearing treachery. The first proposition made to Emmet, for a sum of money for the purpose in question, was made to him by M'Sally.†

"Mr. Philip Long died in 1814, aged 42; he was a native of Waterford; a Catholic; he was not married: his remains were buried in James's-street. Meighan indulged his military taste—he entered the British army—served with distinction on the Continent—was at the battle of Salamanca—he was wounded at Waterloo, and raised to the rank of captain."

* A man of the name of Barrett, of Cutpurse-row, is said to have been a liberal contributor to the objects of the men of 1798 and 1803.—R. R. M.

† M'Sally was the first person who intimated to Robert Emmet the possibility of effecting his escape.—R.R.M.

With respect to Mr. Long—in *The Freeman's Journal*, 13th March, 1806, we find the following notice:

"On Saturday last, the following state prisoners were brought up from Kilmainham gaol before Judge Day, by a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, viz., William Hamilton, Henry Hughes, Phil. Long, Arthur Hinchey, Dan. Menly, Charles Keane, Edward Kennedy, and Arthur Devlin. Previous to their departure, his lordship addressed the prisoners in a very handsome short speech; he complimented several of them on their respectability and talents, and the influence such men must have in society, which influence he trusted would be used in future for the benefit of their common country, in whose ranks he hoped to find them yet most forward. His lordship entreated them to return to the bosom of their families divested of any rancour against the government, which their long confinement might have generated, appealing to their own feelings, and the state of the country at the time they were apprehended, and the well-known humanity of Lord Hardwicke, who never wished to adopt a single harsh measure against any person. And although he was not prepared to say they were all innocent, yet, from the difficulty of being able to discriminate at such a period, it was highly probable many of them were of that description. His lordship's admonitions seemed to have a sensible effect on these unfortunate men, some of whom appeared greatly emaciated from long imprisonment.

"Mr. Long, on behalf of his fellow-prisoners, acknowledged the force of his lordship's advice, and returned their thanks for the humane attention of his lordship on all occasions when they had reason to complain of those who had the direction of the prison. His lordship then wished them all every happiness, when they severally retired.

"The remainder of the state prisoners will, it is said, be immediately liberated. The state of the country, we are happy to say, is such as not to require the continuance of any harsh measures towards the subject.

"Mr. Hevey was, on Monday, a second time brought up before Judge Day; his liberation was, however, opposed by the attorney-general on the ground that bills of indictment were found against him by a grand jury in 1803. He was in consequence remanded."

DAVID FITZGERALD.

A few weeks had only elapsed after my last interview with the upright, truthful, self-reliant, and consistent man to whom I am indebted for so much valuable information—Mr. David Fitzgerald, formerly of the house of Long and Roche of Crowe-

street—when I received the intelligence of his death, which took place the 22nd of July, 1843, in his sixtieth year, having survived the insurrection with which he was so intimately acquainted exactly forty years.

Major Sirr, in a memorandum dated 29th July, 1803, on the back of one of the official papers respecting some of the gentlemen implicated, or denounced as so being, in Emmet's insurrection, notes the ages of three of them—David Fitzgerald, aged eighteen; Robert Holmes, aged thirty-seven; Thomas Cloney, aged thirty.

A daughter of Mr. Fitzgerald informs me she had learned from the present Judge O'Brien, that his grand-uncle, Mr. Roche, the partner of Mr. Long, being anxious for the liberation of the latter, who was his nephew, and to whom he had intended to have left his enormous wealth, made an application to Lord Chancellor Clare in behalf of Mr. Long, and stated his readiness to give any amount of security that might be required on his liberation. Lord Clare in reply said: "My dear Roche, your nephew is far better and safer as he is. Do not trouble yourself about his liberation now." Mr. Roche then said: "Well, you can't refuse bail for that child, David Fitzgerald, whom he has involved in all this trouble." Lord Clare replied: "Child, indeed! We have had 'that child' for two hours under cross-examination before the privy council, and although the young fellow is quite cognizant of all their plans, not a word can we elicit from him. If we had many such *children* it's a short time *I'd* be here."

The connexion of Mr. Long with Emmet led, it is said, to the dissolution of the partnership of Messrs. Roche and Long.

A very remarkable letter was addressed by Judge Day, in May, 1804, to the attorney-general, the Hon. Standish O'Grady, subsequently Lord Guillamore, for the use of which, and memoranda accompanying this document I am indebted to a daughter of Mr. Fitzgerald—Mrs. Moylan:

"I enclose you a copy of Judge Day's letter to the then attorney-general, O'Grady (afterwards Lord Guillamore), soliciting my father's liberation when a state prisoner at Kilmainham.

"The charge against my father arose out of the following circumstances: My father, then a lad of seventeeen, had but recently returned from Stoneyhurst College, where he was educated, and went to reside with his relative, Mr. Long. Mr. Long had been engaged in the purchase of a considerable quantity of materials for the manufacture of military stores, &c., for which he passed bills. Long had paid those bills, which were amongst his papers at the time of his arrest in 1803. Whilst his house was being searched by Major Sirr, my father contrived to get possession of the bills, and *swallowed them*—Sirr being present at the moment, no other

means of destruction presenting itself. It was known that he had got possession of some important papers which it was supposed he had concealed. He was arrested and conveyed to Birmingham Tower, and detained there for some time. Sirr endeavoured in vain to procure by terror the disclosure he desired. Failing in this, he resorted to different means, and frequently came to sup with my father whilst a prisoner, and endeavoured to lead him into intoxication. Disappointed in procuring the much coveted information, his prisoner was sent to Kilmainham, where he remained for a period of *ten months*.

"O'Grady's reply to Judge Day's letter was a verbal one: '*God forbid we had many such boys to deal with.*' Eventually the judge's application met with success.

"Emmet and my father were most intimate friends. I have often heard my grandmother say: 'Robert used to dine with me often three days in the week.'"

COPY OF A LETTER FROM JUDGE DAY TO THE RIGHT HON. THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

"Loughlinstown House, 28th May, 1804.

"My dear O'Grady—The success of a former intercession which I made with you encourages me to try another of the same complexion. The present is not founded like the former, upon judicial grounds, and therefore, I own, does not approach you with equal authority, but it proceeds from a firm persuasion of merit, from a deep conviction of the hardships of the case, and that the object of this application, however criminal he might be, has by punishment more than expiated the crime which he committed.

"The person I speak of is young Fitzgerald, and his crime (so I understood from Mr. Wickham) was the spoliation of a document furnishing strong circumstantial evidence against Long. But supposing Long to be the arch traitor, which he is charged to be, and which I feel a disposition to dispute, and supposing this lad to have spoliated paper which would have *hanged Long*, is this act, however criminal, so inexpiable as to entitle this young offender to endless imprisonment? The purpose of confining him was to extort by terror that bill of exchange, and no doubt the experiment was not only proper to be tried but was called for in the hope of obtaining an end so desirable—but the experiment *has failed;* it has had a *full* and *fair trial* in all conscience—no less than seven months—and it has utterly failed, and probably for the best reason in the world—that the bill was not only spoliated but destroyed, and cannot of course be now produced. Then look at this act as an abstract crime. Is it after all a crime for which a youth of seventeen should be doomed to perpetual imprison-

ment? That he had been active, and even artful and astute to save from shame and death his *uncle**—the man with whom he and his widowed mother resided. But he was a member of the famous 'Hurling Society,' instituted no doubt to bring together without alarm or hazard, and to recruit for traitors. True, and if every member of that society who now walks the streets were to be incarcerated, where would you find gaols capacious enough to receive them? Nothing so unlikely as that every member of that infamous society—that every person, young and old, who hurled with them was admitted to the arcana of their institution. Nothing so unlikely as that a young creature should have been entrusted, privy to, and a partner in their guilty schemes. *I* cannot conceive Long or his associates so lost to all discretion and prudence as to confide their lives, and what they valued more, the event of their conspiracy, to the garrulity of a giddy boy, for at that time he was no more.

"If, however, I am but half informed upon the subject, and that you know the lad to be guilty of treason, God forbid that I should step between a traitor and the just vengeance of the law. But if it be not so—then, my dear attorney, I will not say that you will confer on me great obligation, for these are *not* subjects for personal obligation; but you will do a thing grateful to your own virtuous feelings and creditable to our good Lord Hardwicke's government, by accelerating the moment of that poor youth's emancipation.

"Mr. Wickham, the week before his departure, gave me reason to expect it shortly. I enclosed his letter at that time to Marsden, who (by-the-bye) has kept it ever since; from which, and from his never favouring me with an answer, I have been looking every week since for his enlargement.

"The health and constitution of this growing lad are undermining; a prison is *not* the most eligible seminary for his education; and the little substance which he has accumulated by his industry and assiduity under the favour and parental protection of Long, is crumbling fast away. He is ready to give the best security for his good behaviour, and I might almost flatter myself that *my* interference thus warmly for him would make a lasting impression on his young, plastic mind, and give a him a new and better direction.

"I trust you will have pleasing intelligence for me next Friday, and beg you will believe me always, very dear O'Grady,

"Most truly yours,

"Robert Day."

* So written in Judge Day's letter—but Mr. Long was only *first* cousin to Fitzgerald.

To be enabled to form an opinion of Robert Emmet's conspiracy there are two kinds of evidence to take into consideration—namely, that which is to be found in government documents adduced in its defence, and that which is to be found in Emmet's statement of his plans. And first let us refer to the official documents above noticed.

In an original document, marked No. 1, now first published *in extenso* in the appendix (No. I.) to this volume, much valuable information exists. And whoever compares this document with the extracts from Mr. Secretary Marsden's official statement to the lord lieutenant, published in the Castlereagh Memoirs and Correspondence, will see there can be very little doubt but that the original document drawn up by Mr. Marsden, is that which is inserted in the appendix to this volume.

Here it is only necessary for me to call attention to a few passages in that published official statement made to the lord lieutenant by Secretary Marsden (see vol. iv. p. 316, "Memoir and Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh"), thus headed: "Extract from a statement made to the lord lieutenant in the month of August last, respecting the transactions which took place in Dublin, July 23rd, 1803." Signed A. M.:

"The commander of the forces I knew was to be with your excellency by appointment, on other business, in the Phœnix-park at two o'clock on that day, and at the same time that I wrote to your excellency, informing you of the apprehensions which I entertained, I recommended to you to bring General Fox to the Castle in your excellency's carriage; stating at the same time 'that I made this request upon no light grounds.' At the same time, I wrote also to Major-general Sir Charles Asgill, who commanded in the district of Dublin, requesting him to call upon me at the Castle.

"At this interview I could not pronounce that the danger was absolutely certain; nor did I apprehend that any attempt could be made which would not readily be defeated. I therefore thought it best to state the particulars of the information which I had received, especially as General Fox had returned from the country but a day or two before (much of which had from time to time been communicated to your excellency); submitting to the judgment of the persons whom I addressed the probable result, and at the same time showing it to be my opinion that a rising, that night, was much to be apprehended.

"Among other things, I recollect having stated that a person in the north of Ireland, who formerly gave me information, had by letter assured me that Dublin and Belfast were to be attacked at the same time on the Saturday or Sunday following; and also that

a gentleman who had come from the north informed me he had heard the same thing.

"To the first I did not attach implicit credit, for reasons which I then explained, and Mr. Atkinson had his intelligence two or three degrees removed. I mentioned, however, that a person who was in the secrets of the disaffected, and with whom I frequently communicated, had come to me very soon after I reached the Castle that morning in much alarm, and assured me that the danger was imminent. . . . . .

"It was known to General Fox that the garrison at Naas had been under arms the night before, from an apprehension of being attacked by the townspeople who had quitted the place. These, I was informed by others as well as by Colonel Wolfe and Mr. Aylmer, had come, some into, and others towards Dublin.

"The latter gentleman had left Naas at eight o'clock in the morning; the town was then deserted by its inhabitants. As he came to Dublin he had not seen any men, but had met many women going from thence. The fact was beyond question, and so I stated it to be, that an extraordinary number of people had come into town. This circumstance scarcely left a decision with the leaders, who, I think I mentioned, were at that time divided in their councils whether or not an attempt should be made.*

"Your excellency and General Fox paid every attention to this statement, occasionally making observations upon it. It was impossible to represent the extent of the disturbance which it was supposed would take place.

"No apprehension was entertained of any degree of success of the insurgents, on account of the several military posts stationed in the city; and from the strength of the Castle guard, and its vicinity to the barracks in Parliament-street, where the 62nd regiment was stationed, it could not be imagined that the Castle or the public offices in its neighbourhood were to be attacked. . . .

"Soon after this the alarm increased, and several magistrates and captains of yeomanry came to the Castle, desiring to be informed how they were to act. It was thought prudent to restrain the yeomen from assembling their men and by their so doing increasing the alarm; as well because it was known that few of the yeomen had arms and none of them ammunition (no general delivery having been made to the corps), as because it was conceived that the troops in the barracks of Dublin and at the several posts had received orders to hold themselves in readiness, and were probably at the instant engaged. . . . .

* "It is now known that it was only on the night of 22nd July the rising was determined upon, and that at two o'clock on the 23rd the Kildare leaders declined to act, and left the city."—A.M.

"Several accounts reached the Castle of the number of the mob increasing in Thomas-street and James's-street. A magistrate, who had left the Castle a short time before it grew dark, returned, he having been fired at and wounded near the Queen's Bridge. Not long after this it was reported that Lord Kilwarden and his nephew had been killed, and also that a dragoon had been piked. . . .

"For the actual safety of the Castle no apprehension of danger was entertained. Early in the evening the usual guard, sufficiently strong, was reinforced by thirty men, which Major Donnellan, of the 2nd regiment, brought from that regiment, consisting of about 600 men, quartered at the Old Custom House, within two hundred yards of the Castle. Two pieces of cannon were got to the gates, and the yeomanry, beginning to assemble, came to the Castle for ammunition and arms. The quantity there was, however, inconsiderable. . . . .

"One of the first concerns felt was for your excellency and your family, who were in the Park, as the ordinary guard stationed for the protection of the lodge was by no means sufficient for your safety. A request was sent both to the Royal Hospital and the barracks that a reinforcement might be despatched to your excellency's lodge, which was immediately done.

"At about eleven o'clock an account was brought to the Castle that a firing had commenced. This was from a party of the 21st regiment, belonging to the barracks in Cork-street, which had been sent to escort an officer of the regiment from his lodgings to the barracks. This party fell in with the mob in Thomas-street, and firing upon them, as afterwards proved to be the case, routed them from thence.

"At eleven they were again fired upon by a party belonging to the guard on the Coombe, in which direction the mob had fled after quitting Thomas-street; and they did not afterwards appear anywhere in a body throughout the night.

"While the mob remained in force in the street, it was hoped at every moment that an account would arrive of the army having marched from the barracks. Between nine and twelve o'clock several letters and notes were addressed to Sir Charles Asgill and the officer commanding at the barracks, both by Sir E. Littlehales and myself, urging, in the most earnest manner, that the troops should be sent into the streets. A note from Sir Charles Asgill, dated half-past one o'clock, gave the first intimation that they had done so. Two hours before that the mob had been finally routed.

"The army and the yeomen patrolled during the rest of the night; and, after clearing the streets, searched suspected places, and discovered many persons who had been concerned in the violent scenes of the night, as well as concealed pikes and other weapons.

The principal depot of arms in Bridgefoot-street had been discovered before, about the time that Colonel Browne was killed nearly opposite to it, as he walked, attended only by a servant, towards his barracks. It was not till about one o'clock that Lord Kilwarden's body was known to have been found, nor for a considerable time after that of his nephew, Mr. Wolfe.

"It is very doubtful whether those in arms exceeded 300. Great efforts were used by their leaders to rally them, but the numbers decreased as the night advanced; *and had not a false alarm* on that evening occasioned them to break forth when they did, it is supposed that the numbers at a later hour would have been still fewer. . . . .

"Of the insurgents, it is supposed that about twenty-nine were killed—few of the wounded were found in Dublin, but according to the usual proportion they must have been considerable. Colonel Browne, of the 21st regiment, was killed as he walked the streets; Cornet Cole, passing in a carriage from the Canal Harbour, was dragged out and badly wounded; two dragoons of the 16th regiment, carrying expresses, were killed; and a private of the 21st, who was attacked by one of the pikemen, is since dead of his wounds.

"The yeomen could not assemble so as to make any attack in a body, and therefore were not engaged until the mob was routed; but, most unfortunately, Messrs. Edmonson and Parker, of the Liberty Rangers, were killed as they endeavoured to join a party of their friends; and three others were wounded.

"A. M."

[The next part of Mr. Marsden's statement, in which his views of Emmet's plans and preparations are given, is headed,]

"GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE MATTERS RELATING TO THE INSURRECTION OF THE 23RD OF JULY, 1803.

"It is now known that the design of the attempt, which was afterwards made in July, was conceived in France about the middle of the last winter. . . . .

"There is reason to think that the ill-judged exaggerations of mail robberies, and particularly of the disorderly scenes which took place in the county of Limerick, were relied upon by Mr. Emmet as sufficient proofs of a revolutionary disposition ready to act and generally pervading the country.

"Many exiled Irish were then on the Continent; but it appears that Mr. Emmet did not succeed in getting more than Russell and Quigley to engage in the expedition to Ireland. . . . .

"Russell engaged his nephew, a Mr. Hamilton, a man who, it now appears, had served in the French armies, to join him, and

measures were settled for the journey of the whole party to Ireland. Emmet and Russel reached Dublin early in the year. Hamilton gave Quigley and two others, his companions from Kilmainham, ten guineas each to bear their expenses to Ireland. They proceeded as far as Rouen, where Quigley's two companions left him, and returned to Paris; he was, however, joined there by Hamilton, and they travelled together to Ireland, where they arrived early in the month of March. On their arrival in Dublin they met Emmet, and the three together consulted on their future operations. From that time it does not appear that they were joined by any others of the exiled Irish. Neither Emmet nor Hamilton were of this class, and they appeared here openly. The former was connected with a most respectable merchant in Dublin, who gave the strongest assurances of the proper demeanour of his relation.

"The report of Russell's return attracted attention, and Quigley's having gone into the county of Kildare soon made his arrival public. Large rewards were offered for his apprehension, and repeated communications had with the gentlemen of the county on the means of having him taken. . . . .

"Mr. Emmet was a very young man; he had been expelled from the university of Dublin, during the time of the rebellion of 1798, for seditious practices. He fled from the country, and had not until this year returned. He conceived the design of providing arms for those whose assistance he relied upon, and full of the opinion that the disposition to revolt was as strong amongst the lower orders of the people as in his own mind, he relied upon it that the whole would be effected if he could secure a magazine, from which on a sudden the mob might be armed. The scene of this exploit was fixed in Dublin, and although he held communication with parts of Ireland more distant, it does not appear that they were organized, or that he had made connexions with more than a very few of the rebels of 1798. . . . .

"While the favourite object of constructing this depot was thus forwarded by Emmet's zealous friends, he also made connexions among the disaffected here, who were known to himself or to his brother on the former occasion. Soon after Lord Whitworth's return in May, it was perceived that some cabal had commenced among men who were before suspected, and whose conduct soon attracted a stricter observation. *One of this party held a direct communication with government*, and meetings and conversations were often reported, but they led to nothing material; no organization nor system was attempted—no person who could be seized and detained by law could be discovered—and nothing but general expression of hopes, and an increased rumour of danger could be learned. . . . .

"It is a matter much to be regretted, and almost complained of, that this depot was not early discovered by the immediate agents of government or by the police. It can only be accounted for by the great secrecy with which it was conducted; that the persons admitted to it were closely attached to their leader or to his cause; that living for the most part withinside of it they avoided observation and that intercourse which, by the most accidental circumstances, leads to detection; but particularly Mr. Emmet had an advantage which few conspirators are so fortunate as to possess—he had a command of money. His father died in December last, and left him a sum of about £2,000. This money was paid to him in March; and there is reason to think that the whole was expended before the middle of July. He was thus his own treasurer. . . . .

"Although it is sufficiently certain that Mr. Emmet had made connexions with some persons not in the lowest orders of life, of this, however (with very few exceptions), no decided proof appears; and it has not been very easy to distinguish between those who, having been formerly partizans of a revolution in this country, still bore good will towards it, and those who were actually embarked in the visionary projects of Mr. Emmet. This branch of the subject cannot however be fully entered upon, as the utmost extent of such connexions is still to be ascertained.

"In the counties of Ireland, with the exception of Kildare and Wicklow, it now appears that very few had been gained over by the conspirators. In the north it is evident that but little preparation was made. . . . .

"According to Quigley's testimony, nothing had been done in Connaught. With the people of Wexford, Emmet had had communications; he was offered support from but one barony of that county, and he gave up the hope of a rising in that quarter. Both Emmet and Quigley concur in stating that Meath (a county by no means considered as secure) would not rise. In the midland counties, and in Limerick and Cork, persons resided with whom Emmet communicated, and who were informed of the intended rising a few days before it took place—little exertion, however, had been made to prepare for a rising in those places. . . . . It was assumed, however, and positively not without sufficient reason, that had the attack in Dublin succeeded, risings would have taken place in many other quarters.

"To aid the attack in Dublin, it now appears that only Kildare, Wicklow, and Wexford were relied upon. From the latter county Emmet supposed that 300 came in, but it does not appear in any way that such was the case. Dwyer from Wicklow, was to have aided, but by the mistake of a messenger, or more probably from

doubts entertained by Dwyer of the success of the enterprise, no move took place in that quarter. From Kildare many came into Dublin, as well as from the small towns which lay on that side of Dublin.

"In the week which followed this explosion in Patrick-street, Emmet determined to attempt an insurrection; he sent into the country notices to this effect, and concurrent circumstances indicated that something was speedily to be attempted by the disaffected.*

"It was however too late to recede, and he decided upon a prompt effort, against the opinion of some of his associates. At two o'clock on Saturday, the persons from Kildare, on whom he most relied, met him at an inn in Thomas-street. They required him to satisfy them as to his means of being able to go on with the insurrection; they required him to show them the fire-arms and the men, which he could not do, and, not being satisfied with a speech which he made to them, they quitted him to return home to the country; some remained behind, and many of the lower orders were mixed with the Dublin mob in the excesses of the night.

"At nine o'clock, as near as it can be ascertained, Emmet and his associates sallied forth from the depot in Mass-lane. Pikes were delivered out in large quantities from this secret magazine, but they wanted men and order, and a plan which was practicable with such raw troops and rude implements. Emmet and his party paraded, with their swords drawn and firing pistols, in Thomas-street. He could count but eighty followers at the time he left the depot, and when he reached the market-house in Thomas-street nearly the whole had deserted him, except about twenty. Upon seeing himself thus abandoned, he quitted the street—and with ten or twelve of his lieutenant-generals and colonels, as he fancied to call them (himself and some others being in green uniform), he proceeded by Francis-street out of the town, and to the mountains.†

"A. M.

"November 15th, 1803."

In the fourth volume of "The Memoirs and Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh" (p. 294) we find a letter (marked "private and most confidential") from Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh, dated from Dublin Castle, 14th August, 1803, in answer to inquiries after

* "Wilde was not sent into the county Kildare, to announce the period of the intended rising, till the Thursday evening, or early on the Friday morning, the day preceding Saturday the 23rd."

† "Memoirs and Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh," vol. iv., from p. 316 to 336.

the actual state of the military strength of Ireland. In reply, Mr. Wickham states that on the 1st of August, 1803, the state of the military force in Ireland was as follows:

"Infantry of the line, 26 regiments; *on paper* numbering 16,961 men; fit for duty, 13,930, rank and file. Of these 26 regiments, five were in Dublin.

"Cavalry force, 7 regiments; *on paper*, 3,298 men; fit for duty, 2,755 men.

"Militia, 36 regiments; *on paper*, 17,339 men; fit for duty, 15,100 men.

"NOTE.—The militia are dispersed over the whole country in nearly the same proportions as the troops of the line.

"So that the whole force that can be put in motion on the appearance of an enemy amounts only to: regular infantry, 13,900; cavalry, 2,755; militia, 15,100. Total, 31,785. . . . .

"With respect to our yeomanry, we have now 63,000 men *on paper*. We can increase them in two months to 80,000, perhaps 90,000. . . . .

"With respect to the yeomanry, you also know very well that the system here is full of *job*, and that we cannot count on the numbers that we have on paper.

"We have, however, done a great deal to correct the evil, and we carry to a military account none but those who are actually inspected in the field, of which number I think we have full 50,000, or shall have in the course of this week."

This statement of Mr. Wickham gives a very different idea of the military strength of Ireland, in 1803, to that which a statement, made by Lord Castlereagh, in 1799, affords of the military force then in Ireland—namely, 137,500.

In detail, it was as follows:

The Regulars were - - - -	32,281
The Militia - - - - -	26,634
The Yeomanry - - - -	51,274
The English Militia - - -	24,201
Artillery - - - - -	1,500
Commissariat - - - -	1,700
	137,590

We take these figures from a report of the parliamentary proceedings of the 18th of February, 1799. They are introduced in a speech of Lord Castlereagh, prefacing a motion on military estimates. He did not think that one man could be spared of the 137,590, though the rebellion was completely over, and though he

had to deal with a population only *one-half* of the present. We have not at hand the means of ascertaining the force of the year 1800, but there is ground for concluding that it was over that of 1799, though the time of the rebellion was still farther off by a year. In the "Summary Report on the State of the Poor of Ireland," issued in 1830, the military expenditure of several years is stated, and amongst others, the following:

1798 - - - - -	£2,227,454
1799 - - . - - -	3,246,228
1800 - - - - -	3,528,800
1801 - - - - -	4,011,783
1802 - - - - -	3,305,421

These are amounts under one head alone, and they do not, therefore, include the whole of what may be called the military expenditure of one of these years. But the reader sees that the payments increased in 1800 and 1801, though the era of the Rebellion was all the while receding; and we are therefore to conclude that in these years the military force exceeded 137,590.

Earl Hardwicke's administration, in relation to Emmet's insurrection, was defended, evidently by an authorised person, in an able statement, avowedly written by "a late member of the Irish parliament," a few extracts from which will serve to make the proceedings in parliament, in July and August, 1803, more easily understood. Lord Hardwicke's defender says:

"A concise and candid statement of the occurrences which took place the night of the 23rd of July, 1803, and of the transactions which preceded it, may not be unacceptable to the public.

"It is very well known, that the treasonable principles which produced the rebellion of 1798 had been fomented and disseminated, ever since that period, with unceasing *sedulity* and considerable success; and nobody can doubt but that the general and indiscriminate impunity which the disaffected had experienced from Lord Cornwallis, tended to encourage them.

"For some months preceding the 23rd of July, the Irish government were apprised that some perturbed spirits were disseminating sedition and forming plans of insurrection, but they could not procure such information of it upon oath as would enable them to issue warrants for arresting them. They therefore very wisely applied to the English government to have the *Habeas Corpus* Act suspended in Ireland. But they hesitated to comply, from a laudable desire of adhering to the strict principles of our very excellent constitution. . . . .

"For some days previous to the explosion of the plot on the 23rd of July, government had received information that an insur-

rection was meditated, but the discoveries made to them were so vague and contradictory, that credulity itself could not attach any belief to them, till Saturday morning, when Mr. Marsden received some communications which induced him to think that measures of precaution were necessary. He therefore wrote to the commander-in-chief, on the morning of that day, to come to the Castle with the viceroy, who was expected there on business of importance; and he accordingly complied. Mr. Marsden then, in the presence of his excellency, communicated to General Fox the whole of the intelligence which he had received, and submitted to him what measures should be adopted for the preservation of the metropolis. This statement, so far, is universally admitted and never has been contradicted. . . . .

"I have been assured that his excellency said, when General Fox was on the point of retiring, 'For God's sake, let everything be done with as little alarm as possible!'

"General Fox alleges, in his defence, that Mr. Marsden said he did not believe the information which he had received of an intended insurrection. This is a matter still at issue, *adhuc sub judice lis est.*

"Mr. Marsden proved by his conduct that he was far from totally disbelieving the communications made to him; for though he had all the summer dined and slept in the country, he remained that day and night at his post in the Castle. He reinforced the Castle guard, and ordered the troops stationed in Essex-street to be on the alert, which he did, not without hesitation, because he feared that it might be considered as an officious intrusion on the province of General Fox. Having left the disposal of the military to the commander-in-chief, he ordered the officers of the police to use the utmost vigilance for the preservation of the metropolis, and sent frequent messages to them for that purpose. Lord Hardwicke ordered a reinforcement to the guard at his residence in the Park, which evinced beyond contradiction that he believed there was some foundation for the information which government had received.

"Now it will appear that the guards posted in different parts of the town, particularly where the insurrection took place, were more than sufficient to prevent it, had the commander-in-chief ordered them to be on their arms, which might have been done in half-an-hour. There were 600 men in Essex-street barrack, within 150 yards of the seat of government. One guard at the Castle, to which Mr. Marsden had ordered a reinforcement between 8 and 9 o'clock. There were also guards at James's-street, the Coombe, Cork-street, at each of the gaols, the Bank, Kilmainham Hospital; and the body of military stationed at the barrack could not have been less

than 3000; but why General Fox did not order any portion of them to repair to those places where the insurrection took place, till it was completely put down, never has been explained.—Nobody can doubt of the malignant intentions of the conspirators, and that they meant to have taken possession of the metropolis, but their very feeble exertions to accomplish it, and the facility with which they were discomfited and dispersed, unquestionably prove that they would not have dared to rise had the different guards which I have mentioned been on their arms. The insurgents were dispersed in about a quarter of an hour, and peace was perfectly restored in one hour at farthest, by a few soldiers of the 21st regiment posted at the Coombe, some of the Liberty Rangers, and two small parties of the police; one under Mr. Wilson, the other under Lieutenants Coultman and Brady.

"Major Swan arrived at the scene of action, with a party of the Castle guard, in about three quarters of an hour after; but why no part of the garrison at the barrack appeared there till about three hours after the insurgents had been completely dispersed, remains to be accounted for. The barrack is so near the place where the insurrection took place that every shot which was fired was heard there, and some gentlemen who had gone to the barrack to alarm the garrison, assured me that the soldiers expressed the most earnest desire to be led against the insugents. It is very fortunate that their ardour was restrained, because it might have occasioned an indiscriminate slaughter—but had a large detachment of them been posted in the Liberty, as a measure of prevention, the insurrection never would have taken place."

On the 29th of July, 1803, two bills were brought into parliament, and read in both houses the first, second, and third time, and received the royal assent the same day, the 29th of July, 1803—the one for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act in Ireland, the other for enabling the lord lieutenant, with the advice of the chancellor, to try persons by martial law. The chancellor of the exchequer, in the debate on those measures in the House of Commons, spoke of the attempted insurrection of the 23rd as "a violent and malignant rebellion then existing in Ireland." Mr. Windham said it was difficult for the house to decide what it ought to do, as no information of the state of the country had been laid before the house. Its capital might be in a few hours in possession of the rebels; and the government there might be overturned.

Mr. Sheridan said it was of the utmost importance that the capital should not be in, or supposed to be likely to fall into the hands of insurgents; and therefore he thought the promulgation of such opinions would be giving encouragement to rebellion and treason in every part of the United Kingdom. Lord Castlereagh

said it had been insinuated that Dublin had been within an ace of falling into the hands of the rebels; he was sure that no information had reached this country which at all afforded any foundation for such an assertion. From what he himself knew on this subject, he could state with confidence that the danger had been greatly exaggerated. It had been attempted to be stated that government was taken completely by surprise, that they had not any adequate means of preparation against the insurgents. *He begged leave to contradict this assertion in the strongest terms; government was aware, several days before the atrocious crime which had given rise to the present deliberation was perpetrated, that some convulsion was in contemplation,* and their measures of precaution had corresponded to what they conceived would be the magnitude of the danger. The chancellor of the exchequer eulogised the conduct of Mr. Sheridan; he had covered himself with immortal glory, and had secured to himself a name in history which would never perish.

Mr. Windham expressed a hope that the honourable gentleman, Mr. Sheridan, would not be backward in supporting those who were so profuse in their expression of their favourable opinions. Mr. Sheridan said he was influenced solely by the love of his country—a country which in his soul and conscience he believed contained the best, wisest, and happiest community in the "universe."

In the discussion of the National Defence Amendment Bill, on the 4th of August, 1803, Mr. Sheridan made a vehement speech in defence of the ministry and the war party in the house; which was replied to by Mr. Windham, who said that "The honourable gentleman seemed to be actuated with all the zeal of a new convert, or rather he conducted himself with all the precipitancy of a raw recruit, for he had no sooner fallen into the ranks (Mr. Sheridan sat on the treasury bench) than he fired off his musket without waiting for the word of command; as the honourable gentleman however began, he must not be surprised to find his fire returned. After years of war, in which he and they had possessed opposite principles and held opposite language to those of the majority of the country, they now wheeled suddenly about, and claimed great merit for doing their duty. After ten years of war, in which the honourable gentleman had by his orations almost set the four quarters of the world on fire, he now came and said, 'I am the only man that can save you—I will, with my little bucket, my thimbleful of water, extinguish this mighty conflagration.'" Mr. Sheridan said, "The right hon. gentleman had accused him of the precipitancy of a raw recruit, but the right hon. gentleman was so eager to return the fire that he forgot to put a bullet into his piece, for he merely heard the report, but felt nothing."

Colonel Hutchinson, on the 11th of August, moved an address to his majesty, praying to have information laid before the house concerning the late rebellion. He said, "In order to make the Union take deep root amongst them, there should be no distinction known between Irishmen and Englishmen.

"It had been remarked in 1782, by Lord Auckland, now a noble peer, 'that the British parliament might as soon attempt to make the river Thames flow over Highgate-hill, as to make Ireland have a parliament of their own.' He abhorred the idea of government having recourse to shedding of blood, to prevent such unhappy rebellions in Ireland. There were many grievances to redress. It was insulting to be told we had the power of redressing those grievances. The last act *of power* of the government had been likewise held an impossibility."

Sir William Elliot said, that with respect to the late insurrection, "*the government had received intimation from many quarters in Ireland, and from gentlemen of his own particular acquaintance, that a rebellious conspiracy was going forward, to which communication they paid no attention.*"

Lord Castlereagh defended the conduct of government, in the suppression of the rebellion of 1798, as well as that of the insurrection of 1803. With respect to the former, "NEVER WAS THERE A REBELLION OF SUCH EXTENT PUT DOWN WITH SO MUCH PROMPTITUDE, OR SO LITTLE DEPARTURE FROM CLEMENCY ! !"

Mr. Robert Williams said he had been seven years an aid-de-camp in that country, and never knew an instance of the guards having been doubled but on the evening of the 23rd of July; they had doubled all the guards, and had a powerful garrison under arms. "The Irish government was not taken by surprise."

"Lord Temple denied that the rebellion in Ireland could in any respect be considered as a religious rebellion, or as a rebellion of the cottage against the palace. If the attack lately made in Dublin by rebels there was made by surprise on the government, ministers deserved to be impeached,* for not being aware of, or not having known it; and if they had known it, he would ask why the rebels were allowed even for an hour to be in arms."

On the 2nd of December, Mr. Secretary York brought in a bill for continuing the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act in Ireland. He said, that notwithstanding what one of the leaders of the conspiracy said at his death, his majesty had proof that the Irish

* This doctrine was denounced as the most absurd one imaginable, that the government was to be punished for the supposed secrecy of the plans of the conspirators. This was the doctrine, however, of the members of the opposition; but not one word was said about impeaching the ministry for the wickedness of conniving at the discovered plans of those conspirators, and thus suffering innocent people to be inveigled into them.

rebels were connected with their traitorous countrymen in France, if not directly with the rulers of France themselves. These traitors in the confidence of the French government came over to Ireland for the very purpose of stirring up insurrection. They calculated upon the renewal of hostilities between this country and France. Mr. C. H. Hutchinson made a long speech against the measure, and voted for it!

The 5th of December, on the second reading of the Irish Martial Law Bill, Mr. Secretary York, in reply to Mr. Elliot's objections to the introduction of the bill in the absence of information showing the necessity of it, said, "The Irish government were not taken by surprise and unprepared, on the 23rd of July, as it had been suggested. There was a garrison of four regiments of foot, besides the 16th Dragoons, in Dublin—a force sufficient to crush an insurrection ten times more formidable than that of the 23rd of July. The march of the rebels was only from their head-quarters in Dirty-lane to Cutpurse-row. The affair did not last an hour. The peace establishment of Ireland was then 25,000 regulars."

Colonel Crawford said he disagreed with the right hon. secretary, that the affair was only a contemptible riot, that all proper precautions had been taken, and that the government was aware of the intended insurrection—if so, how did it happen that on that day the viceroy went as usual to his country house, where the lord chancellor dined with him. It was evident Lord Kilwarden had no knowledge of it, or he would not have exposed himself as he had done. He, Colonel Crawford, was informed that such was the miserable state of preparation, that the regular troops had only three cartridges each, and the yeomanry could get none at all; and that ten men out of every company in the garrison had been allowed that day to go into the country to look for work.

Mr. W. Poole said there were sixty rounds of ball-cartridges on the 23rd of July for every man in the Castle, and in the depot in the Phœnix Park three millions of ball-cartridges ready to be given out on the first alarm. This he stated from his own official knowledge of the subject.

Mr. Windham said, the contradictory account of the insurrection given by ministers was like the answer of a student of the college, who when asked whether the sun revolved round the earth or the earth round the sun, said "sometimes one and sometimes the other." If the lord lieutenant had any knowledge of the intended insurrection, would he have left town that night? It was not communicated to the lord mayor, nor to the commander of the forces. He would vote however for the measure.

The chancellor of the exchequer said that instructions had

been given early on the day before the disturbance took place, and *to all the necessary officers*. If the lord lieutenant had not gone to his country house, *the city of Dublin might have been put into a state of alarm*.

On the 7th of March, 1804, Sir John Wrottesley moved for the appointment of a committee of inquiry into the conduct of his majesty's government on the 23rd of July last. Sir John, among various proofs of the remissness of government, brought forward the circumstance of the viceroy having been, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 23rd of July, guarded by one officer and twelve men; at seven o'clock, by thirty men; and at eleven at night, by having fifteen hundred horse and foot under arms. Lord Castlereagh said Emmet was only backed by about eighty rebels. The government knew an insurrection would break out on the 23rd of July, *but not before it was dark* (this was utterly at variance with what his lordship stated on a previous debate). With respect to the men being without ammunition, it was his duty to state that General Fox, the commander-in-chief, had ordered sixty rounds to be issued to each man some days before, and if they had not that store of cartridges with them, it certainly was not the fault of General Fox.

Mr. Secretary York stated he imputed no blame to General Fox. The principle on which his brother was directed to act was, *that of trusting as little as possible to the rumours and accusations circulated against each other by the parties which distracted Ireland*. In justice however to his brother he stated, that long before the 23rd of July, 1803, he had expressed his opinion to the government of the expediency of repealing the *Habeas Corpus* Act.

Mr. Fox said, an honourable relation of his (Admiral Berkley) gave notice of a motion concerning the recall from Ireland of General Fox, which however he afterwards declined bringing forward, having stated that it was not the wish of that officer to have any inquiry entered into concerning him, if a declaration were made on the part of his majesty's government that his conduct was approved of. Such a declaration has been made, and made in a manner which to him is satisfactory. If infamy or blame therefore rest in any quarter, it does not rest with him; he stands clear of it by the judgment which ministers have pronounced on his conduct. As no blame therefore attaches to the commander-in-chief, do his majesty's ministers now defend themselves or the lord lieutenant? Suppose it should be said that no blame could attach either to the lord lieutenant or the commander-in-chief—be it so for argument. But he (Mr. Fox) must say that a coolness did take place between them, which made it impossible for both to continue together in Ireland; and it required that either the one

or the other should retire from his situation. It was necessary to observe that for many days, not only previous to, but after the 23rd of July, they were under the best understanding with each other. But as soon as the lord lieutenant found that the conduct of the Irish government, on the occasion of the insurrection, was loudly complained of and censured all over England, he was unfortunately advised to throw the blame of the transaction off himself, and lay it on the commander-in-chief. It was then coolness began, and then the resignation of his honourable relative took place. Though this retirement from his situation was called a resignation, he would say it was not a voluntary resignation. The language his relative used was this: "I desire you would recall me from my command if the lord lieutenant say I ought to be recalled." He was actually recalled, and he did not come away voluntarily. But what was the effect of such recall? Nothing less than giving the public to understand that the commander-in-chief had neglected his duty. Mr. Fox then complained of several most illiberal and unfounded reflections cast upon his brother in *The Dublin Journal* (Mr. Giffard's paper), which was as much under the control of the Castle as the *Moniteur* was under the direction of the French government. "When I see," continued Mr. Fox, "such things as these published in a government paper, which dares not insert them without authority, what inference can I make than except that they were designedly published in order to remove a great degree of odium from one party by throwing it on another?"

The Algerine bills, to which the preceding discussions have reference, were said to have been rendered necessary by the late troubles in Ireland. These troubles, however, had been suppressed in less than an hour, with the loss of five or six men on the part of the king's troops, and about five-and-twenty on that of the insurgents. The public tranquillity, in fact, could hardly have been said to have been disturbed out of the immediate precincts of the *emeute*, from two points, not calculated by their names even to add to the prestige of the attempt, from the corner of Dirty-lane to that of Cutpurse-row. But the fact is, the introduction into Ireland of similar measures was seldom in consequence of insurrections, but in consequence of plots and conspiracies got up by the Orange adherents of government to create or to foment them. We have the clearest proofs of the fact in the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act in Ireland, in 1801, which went through all its stages in one night, with little opposition except on the part of Lords Moira and Holland. Lord Grenville, in voting for it, said he never gave a vote with more satisfaction to his conscience. These great British statesmen had two consciences, like Launcelot Gobbo, one made of Indian rubber, exceedingly elastic, for stretching to

any shape or size when liberty in Ireland was to be restrained; the other of good tough materials, like the timbers of British ships, tight and sound, brought into action when any attempt was made hostile to liberty and dangerous to the rights of Englishmen.

Previous reference has been made to the debate on Sir John Wrottesley's motion for an inquiry into the conduct of the Irish government relative to the insurrection of the 23rd of July, on the 7th of March, 1804; but some extraordinary admissions of Lord Castlereagh, elicited on that occasion, are worthy of notice; and some statements of other members with respect to the attempt, which was, in the words of Lord Castlereagh, "only the wild and contemptible project of an extravagant young man." "Though he agreed with the hon. baronet that preventive measures were preferable to punishment, he thought that principle might be carried too far, *and it was material not to urge the rebels to postpone their attempt by any appearance of too much precaution and preparation. The hon. baronet might laugh, but it was expedient that the precautions should not have been carried to such an extent as to alarm the fears of the rebels, and thereby induce them to delay their project. Besides, it was desirable that the measures afterwards applied for to parliament should be claimed on ostensible, not on arguable grounds!*"

This was worthy of his lordship. In 1798, he boasted that *measures* (in plain English, cabin burnings, tortures, and free quarters) had been taken to cause a rebellion to explode prematurely. In 1803, to use the words of Mr. Windham on that occasion, he "maintained the monstrous doctrine that rebellion was to be fostered till it came to a head, that the cure might be radical. This might be good policy for a general against an open enemy: he might watch him, and let him march into toils, taking care to be too strong for him. But it was infamous in a government against rebels."

Lord Castlereagh, in stating the precautions that had been taken, admitted that a week before the outbreak delegates from Kildare had come to Dublin to ascertain the state of his resources, and having been taken by Emmet to the depot, to let them see the preparations, they had returned with a bad report. "The conduct of administration in Ireland, both at the time and since, was that of a wise, provident, and vigorous government."

Lord Temple said, "It appeared in evidence on the state trials, also, that the whole weight of the government devolved on the under-secretary, *Mr. Marsden, who gave no information to the lord lieutenant of the important intelligence communicated to him by Mr. Clarke, a very great manufacturer, till Saturday, the fatal day on which the rebellion broke out.*"

And when General Fox was quitting the lord lieutenant on Saturday afternoon he said, "Whatever you do, be sure you do not cause any alarm. *Ruat cælum*—but no alarm. Do everything in your power, but let it be with as little alarm as possible."

General Tarleton said he had been on the staff in Ireland, and had made many inquiries amongst official and military men. The colonel of the 62nd regiment told him he had informed the secretary of the existence of one of the depots, but no notice was taken of the information, and it was not discovered till after the insurrection had broken out. He had been informed in Naas that government had received intelligence from that place, but it was not attended to; he was also aware that "the conspiracy had extended to the south, beyond Cork, where the conspirators learned by means of telegraphic fires the ill success of the insurrection in Dublin, before the king's officers knew it in Cork. *It was by this information only* that the insurrection was prevented from being general over the country."

Mr. Fox said, when the explosion took place in Patrick-street (a week before the outbreak), the commander-in-chief was then sent for to the Castle, and the bare fact was communicated to him without any instructions or further information. "Why was he not made acquainted with all the circumstances which had come to the knowledge of the government?" "The lord lieutenant had an allowance of £60,000 a-year for secret-service money, in order to enable him to procure information of any conspiracy that might be carried on."

Lord de Blaquiere said the insurrection had occasioned the loss of thirty lives in the course of a quarter of an hour. The day after the explosion, some of the stores there had been removed by the conspirators to another depot. Lord Castlereagh had said there were only between 2,000 and 3,000 pikes found in the depot in Thomas-street. "He (Lord de Blaquiere) was one of the officers appointed to examine them, and he would declare there could not be less than 12,000 pikes."*

The part taken by the gentleman "on whom the whole weight of the government devolved," and the keeping back of information from the Lord Lieutenant, throws some light on this subject. In Spencer's "State of Ireland, written dialogue-wise between Eudoxus and Ireneus," the former speaks of "one very foul abuse, which, by the way, he may not omit—and that is, in officers who, notwithstanding that they are specially employed to make peace, through strong execution of war, yet they do so dandle their doings and dally in the service to them committed, as if they would not have

* Report of the Debate at full length. Published by Mahon. Dublin, 1804.

the enemy beaten down, for fear lest afterwards they should need employment, and so be discharged of pay."

After detailing at much length how the officers, for colour sake, send "some heads eftsoons to the governor for a commendation of their great endeavour, telling how weighty a service they performed by cutting off such and such dangerous rebels," Eudoxus asks, "Do you speak of under magistrates or principal governors?" Ireneus replies, "I do speak of no particulars, but the truth may be found out by trial and reasonable insight into some of their doings. And if I should say there is some blame thereof in the principal governors, I think I might also show some reasonable proofs of my speech."

The plan of fomenting conspiracies outlived the days of the gentle author of the "Faerie Queene." The following choice specimen of the iniquitous policy will show that it reached those of Lord Carhampton in 1798, and the speech of Lord Castlereagh in March, 1804, can leave no doubt that it had been in full operation in the last insurrection.

In a letter of the Earl of Carhampton to Lord Camden, cited in an Orange publication in 1798—"Considerations on the situation to which Ireland is reduced by the government of Lord Camden," we find the following exordium:

"My Lord—If it shall please your excellency to permit them to go to war with us, and will permit us only to go to law with them, it will not require the second sight of a Scotchman to foretel the issue of the contest."

How little had the spirit of that dreadful policy varied from Spencer's time to that of Carhampton and Castlereagh! The first-named worthy, recommending "a good plot," to inveigle a troublesome chief, one Feagh Mac Hugh, into its meshes, puts the following words into the mouth of Ireneus: "Surely this seemeth a plot of great reason and small difficulty, which promiseth hope of a short end. But what special directions will you set down for the services and risings out of these garrisons?" To which Eudoxus replies: "None other than the present occasion shall minister unto them, and as by good *espials*, whereof there they cannot want store, they shall be drawn continually upon him, and sometimes all at one instant baiting him."*

This was poor Robert Emmet—ministered to by good espials, drawn continually upon him, and baiting him at the ring of treason, till they brought their noble victim to the scaffold, and the plot of great reason and small difficulty came to a short end!

What were the chances of success on which Robert Emmet counted? What were his plans, and what were, in his opinion,

* Spencer's View of the State of Ireland, 18mo. Edit. p. 141.

the causes of its failure? These matters can be best explained in Robert Emmet's own words. The following statement of his plans and intentions was drawn up by Robert Emmet, and addressed in the form of a letter to his brother, T. A. Emmet, written after his conviction. That letter was never transmitted to Thomas Addis Emmet, and the latter complained in bitter terms of its being withheld from him.*

In a publication ascribed to the under secretary, Mr. Marsden, a sort of *resumée* of the state trials of 1803, it is stated Mr. R. Emmet embraced Dr. Trevor at parting with him, when going to execution, and committed to his charge two letters, one addressed to his brother, enclosing a statement of his plan of insurrection, and the cause of its failure, and another addressed to Mr. Alexander Marsden, who then filled the office of under secretary in the civil department of the chief secretary's office. (The chief secretary to the lord lieutenant then was the Hon. William Wickham.)

"ACCOUNT OF THE LATE PLAN OF INSURRECTION IN DUBLIN, AND CAUSE OF ITS FAILURE.†

"The plan was comprised under three heads: *Points of Attack—Points of Check—and Lines of Defence.*

"The points of attack were three—the Pigeon-House, the Castle, and the artillery barracks at Island-bridge.

"The attack was to begin with the Pigeon-House; number of men 200—the place of assembly, the strand, between Irishtown and Sandymount—the time, low water—the men to divide into two bodies—one to cross by a sandbank, between the Pigeon House and light-house, where they were to mount the wall; the other to cross at Devonshire Wharf; both parties to detach three men with blunderbusses, and three with jointed pikes concealed, who were to seize the sentries and the gates for the rest to rush in. Another plan was formed for high water, by means of pleasure or fishing boats going out in the morning, one by one, and returning in the evening to the dock at the Pigeon House, where they were to land. A rocket from this was to be the signal for the other two, viz:

* The late Mr. W. H. Curran informed me that the gentleman to whom T. A. Emmet addressed those complaints had inquiries made after the detained letter of his brother. One side of the letter was discovered at the Castle by an eminent legal functionary, the late Baron Wolfe; and, strange to say, the missing portion was found in London, in the Irish Office, by the gentleman whom T. A. Emmet had addressed on the subject. The authenticity of the document there is no doubt of; indeed, its appearance in Mr. Curran's work is a sufficient proof of that fact.

† Annexed to the copy from which the above has been transcribed is the following memorandum in the handwriting of a gentleman who held a confidential situation under the Irish government: "The original of this paper was delivered by Mr. EMMET, on the morning just before he was brought out to execution, in order to be forwarded to his brother, THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, at Paris."

"The Castle—the number of men 200. The place of assembly, Patrick-street depot. A house in Ship-street was expected, also one near the gate. A hundred men to be armed with jointed pikes and blunderbusses, the rest to support them, and march openly with long pikes. To begin by the entrance of two job coaches, hackney coachmen, two footmen, and six persons inside, to drive in at the upper gate into the yard, come out of the coaches, turn back and seize the guard (or, instead of one of the job coaches, a sedan going in at the same time, with two footmen, two chairmen, and one inside); at the same moment a person was, in case of failure, to rap at Lamprey's door, seize it, and let in others, to come down by a scaling ladder from a window, on the top of the guard-house; while attacks were made at a public-house in Ship-street, which has three windows commanding the guard-house; a gate in Stephen-street; another at the Aungier-street end of Great George's-street, leading to the ordnance; another at the new house in George's-street, leading to the riding yard; and another over a piece of a brick wall near the Palace-street gate. Scaling-ladders for all these. Fire-balls, if necessary, for the guard-house of the upper gate. The *lord lieutenant and principal officers of government*, together with the bulk of artillery, to be sent off under an escort to the commander in Wicklow, in case of being obliged to retreat. I forgot to mention that the same was to be done with as much of the Pigeon House stores as could be. Another part, with some artillery, to come into town along the quays and take post at Carlisle bridge, to act according to circumstances.

"Island Bridge, 400 men. Place of assembly, quarry-hole opposite, and burying-ground. Eight men with pistols and one with a blunderbuss to seize the sentry walking outside, seize the gates—some to rush in, seize the cannon opposite the gate; the rest to mount on all sides by scaling ladders; on seizing this, to send two cannon over the bridge facing the barrack-road. Another detachment to bring cannon down James's-street, another towards Rathfarnham, as before. To each of the flank points when carried reinforcements to be sent, with horses, &c., to transport the artillery. Island-bridge only to be maintained (a false attack also thought of, after the others had been made, on the rere of the barracks, and if necessary to burn the hay stores in rere).

"Three rockets to be the signal that the attack on any part was made, and afterwards a rocket of stars in case of victory; a silent one of repulse.

"Another point of attack not mentioned, Cork-street barracks, if the officer could surprise it and set fire to it; if not, to take post in the house (I think in Earl-street, the street at the end of Cork-street leading to New-market, looking down the street with

musketry, two bodies of pikemen in Earl-street), to the right and left of Cork-street, and concealed from troops marching in that street. Another in (I think) Marrowbone-lane to take them in the rere. Place of assembly, fields adjacent or Fenton-fields.

"Points of Check.—The old Custom-house, 300 men—gate to be seized and guard disarmed, the gate to be shut or stopped with a load of straw, to be previously in the street. The other small gate to be commanded by musketry, and the bulk of the 300 men to be distributed in Parliament-street, Crane-lane, and those streets falling into Essex-street, in order to attack them if they forced out. The jointed pikes and blunderbusses lying under great coats rendered all these surprises unsuspected: fire-balls, if necessary, and a beam of rockets.

"An idea also was, if money had been got, to purchase Rafferty's cheese-shop, opposite to it, to make a depot and assembly; and to mine under and blow up a part of the Custom-house, and attack them in confusion, as also the Castle. The miners would have been got also to mine from a cellar into some of the streets through which the army from the barracks must march. The assembly was at the Coal-quay.

"Mary-street barracks, sixty men. A house-painter's house, and one equally removed on the opposite side (No. 36, I believe), whose fire commands the iron gate of the barracks, without being exposed to the fire from it, to be occupied by twenty-four blunderbusses; the remainder, pikemen, to remain near Cole's-lane or to be ready in case of rushing out to attack them. Assembly, Cole's-lane market, or else detached from Custom-house body.

"The corner house in Capel-street (it was Killy Kelly's) commanding Ormond-quay, and Dixon, the shoemaker's (or the house beyond it), which open suddenly on the flank of the army, without being exposed to their fire, to be occupied by blunderbusses; assembly detached from Custom-house body.

"Lines of Defence.—Beresford-street has six issues from Church-street, viz., Coleraine-street, King-street, Stirrup-lane, Mary's-lane, Pill-lane, and the quay. These to be chained in the first instance by a body of chainmen; double chains and padlocks were deposited,* and the sills of the doors marked. The blockade to be afterwards filled up; that on the quay by bringing up the coaches from the stand, and oversetting them, together with the butchers' blocks from Ormond-market. The houses over the chains to be occupied with hand-grenades, pistols, and stones. Pikemen to parade in Beresford-street, to attack instantly any person that might penetrate; the number 200. Assembly, Smithfield depot, where were 800 pikes for reinforcements. The object was to force

* In the original a sketch is given of these double chains.

the troops to march towards the Castle, by the other side of the water, where the bulk of the preparations and men to receive them were.

"Merchants'-quay. In case the army, after passing the Old Bridge, marched that way, Wogan's house, and a Birmingham warehouse next to it, to be occupied with musketry, grenades, and stones; also the leather crane at the other end of the quay; a beam to be before the crane, lying across the quay, to be fired at the approach of the enemy's column. A body of pikemen, in Winetavern-street, instantly to rush on them in front; another body in Cook-street to do the same by five lanes opening on their flank, and by Bride-street in their rere. Another beam in Bridge-street, in case of taking that rout, and then Cook-street body to rush out instantly in front, and the quay on the flank.* A beam in Dirty-lane; main body of pikemen in Thomas-street to rush on them instantly on firing the beam. The body on the quay to attack in the rere; in case of repulse, Catherine's Church. Market-house, and two houses adjacent that command that street, occupied with musketry. Two rocket batteries near the Market-house, a beam before it; body of pikemen in Swift's-alley and that range to rush on their flank, after the beam was fired, through Thomas-court, Vicker-street, and three other issues; the corner houses of these issues to be occupied by stones and grenades; the entire of the other side of the street to be occupied with stones, &c.; the flank of this side to be protected by a chain at James's-gate, and Guinness's drays, &c.; the rere of it to be protected from Cork-street, in case their officer there failed, by chains across Rainsford-street, Crilly's-yard, Meath-street, Ashe-street, and Francis-street. The quay body to co-operate by the issues before mentioned (at the other side), the chains of which would be opened by us immediately. In case of further repulse, the house at the corner of Cutpurse-row, commanding the lanes at each side of the Market-house, the two houses in High-street, commanding that open, and the corner houses of Castle-street, commanding Skinner-row (now Christ-church place), to be successively occupied. In case of a final retreat, the routes to be three—Cork-street, to Templeogue; New-street, Rathfarnham; and Camden-street department. The bridges

* "There was also a chain higher up in Bridge-street, as well as diagonally across John-street and across New-row, as these three issues led into the flank of the Thomas-street line of defence, which it was intended only to leave open at the other flank, as it was meant to make them pass completely through the lines of defence. Wherever there were chains the houses over them were occupied as above, and also such as commanded them in front. For this reason the Birmingham warehouse, looking down Bridge-street, was to be occupied if necessary. There was also to be a rocket battery at the crane, on the quay, and another in Bridge-street. The number of men 300; assembly, Thomas-street depot."

of the Liffey to be covered six feet deep with boards full of long nails bound down by two iron bars, with spikes eighteen inches long, driven through them into the pavement, to stop a column of cavalry, or even infantry.

"The whole of this plan was given up by me for the want of means, except the Castle, and lines of defence; for I expected three hundred Wexford, four hundred Kildare, and two hundred Wicklow men, all of whom had fought before, to begin the surprises at this side of the water, and by the preparations for defence, so as to give time to the town to assemble. The county of Dublin was also to act at the instant it began; the number of Dublin people acquainted with it, I understand to be three or four thousand. I expected two thousand to assemble at Costigan's mills—the grand place of assembly. The evening before, the Wicklow men failed, through their officer. The Kildare men, who were to act (particularly with me), came in, and at five o'clock went off again, from the Canal harbour, on a report from two of their officers that Dublin would not act. In Dublin itself it was given out, by some treacherous or cowardly person, that it was postponed till Wednesday. The time of assembly was from six till nine; and at nine, instead of two thousand, there were eighty men assembled. When we came to the Market-house they were diminished to eighteen or twenty. The Wexford men did assemble, I believe, to the amount promised, on the Coal-quay; but three hundred men, though they might be sufficient to begin on a sudden, were not so when government had five hours' notice by express from Kildare.

"Add to this, the preparations were, from an unfortunate series of disappointments in money, unfinished—scarcely any blunderbusses bought up.

"The man who was to turn the fuzes and rammers for the beams forgot them, and went off to Kildare to bring men, and did not return till the very day. The consequence was that all the beams were not loaded nor mounted with wheels, nor the train bags of course fastened on to explode them.

"From the explosion in Patrick-street I lost the jointed pikes which were deposited there; and the day of action was fixed on before this, and could not be changed.

"I had no means for making up for their loss but by the hollow beams full of pikes, which struck me three or four days before the 23rd. From the delays in getting the materials they were not able to set about them till the day before: the whole of that day and the next, which ought to have been spent in arrangements, was obliged to be employed in work. Even this, from the confusion occasioned by men crowding into the depot from the country, was almost impossible.

"The person who had the management of the depot mixed by accident the slow matches that were prepared, with what were not, and all our labour went for nothing.

"The fuzes for the grenades he had also laid by, where he forgot them, and could not find them in the crowd.

"The cramp irons could not be got in time from the smiths, to whom we would not communicate the necessity of dispatch; and the scaling ladders were not finished (but one). Money came in at five o'clock, and the trusty men of the depot, who alone knew the town, were obliged to be sent out to buy up blunderbusses, for the people refused to act without some. To change the day was impossible, for I expected the counties to act, and feared to lose the advantage of surprise. The Kildare men were coming in for three days, and after that it was impossible to draw back. Had I another week—had I one thousand pounds—had I one thousand men, I would have feared nothing. There was redundancy enough in any one part to have made up, if complete, for deficiency in the rest, but there was failure in all—plan, preparation, and men.

"I would have given it the respectability of insurrection, but I did not wish uselessly to shed blood. I gave no signal for the rest, and they all escaped.

"I arrived time enough in the country to prevent that part of it which had already gone out with one of my men—to dissuade the neighbourhood from proceeding. I found that by a mistake of the messenger Wicklow would not rise that night; I sent off to prevent it from doing so the next, as it intended. It offered to rise even after the defeat if I wished it, but I refused. Had it risen, Wexford would have done the same. It began to assemble, but its leader kept it back till he knew the fate of Dublin. In the state Kildare was in it would have done the same. I was repeatedly solicited, by some of those who were with me, to do so, but I constantly refused. The more remote counties did not rise, for want of money to send them the signal agreed on.

"I know how men without candour will pronounce on this failure, without knowing one of the circumstances that occasioned it; they will consider only that they predicted it. Whether its failure was caused by chance, or by any of the grounds on which they made their prediction, they will not care; they will make no distinction between a prediction fulfilled and justified—they will make no compromise of errors; they will not recollect that they predicted also that no system could be formed—that no secrecy nor confidence could be restored—that no preparations could be made—that no plan could be arranged—that no day could be fixed without being instantly known at the Castle—that government only waited to let the conspiracy ripen, and crush it at their pleasure—

and that on these grounds only did they predict its miscarriage. The very same men that after success would have flattered, will now calumniate. The very same men that would have made an offering of unlimited sagacity at the shrine of victory, will not now be content to take back that portion that belongs of right to themselves, but would violate the sanctuary of misfortune, and strip her of that covering that candour would have left her.

"R. E."

A great number of arrests were made immediately after the outbreak of the insurrection, some a little later, and several subsequently to the arrest of Robert Emmet.

Messrs. Philip Long, John Hickson, John Hevey, St. John Mason, Nicholas Gray, James Tandy, Henry Hughes, William H. Hamilton, John Palmer, D. Fitzgerald, John Patten, Bernard Coyle, Malachy Delany, William M'Dermott, Daniel Dolan, Daniel Brophy, and Denis Cassin, were arrested and committed to Kilmainham; and in a house opposite that gaol, Messrs. Cloney, Carthy, Dickson, Holmes, &c., were imprisoned.

The gaols were filled with suspected criminals. In the provost of Major Sandys alone, in the month of August, 1803, there were upwards of five hundred people confined, enduring sufferings less deadly, but not much less dreadful than those endured in the Black Hole of Calcutta. The 12th of October, the government issued a proclamation, setting forth that William Dowdall, of the city of Dublin, gent.; John Allen, of do., woollen-draper; William H. Hamilton, of Enniskillen, gent.; Michael Quigley, of Rathcoffy, bricklayer; Owen Lyons, of Maynooth, shoe-maker; Thomas Trenaghan, of Crew-hill, Kildare, farmer; Michael Stafford, of James's-street, baker; Thomas Frayne, of Boven, Kildare, farmer; Thomas Wylde, of Cork-street, cotton manufacturer; John Mahon, of Cork-street, man servant, who, being charged with high treason, had absconded. A reward was offered of £300 for the arrest of each of the following persons: Messrs. Dowdall, Allen, Hamilton, Quigley, Lyons, and Stafford; and £200 for the discovery of Thomas Frayne, Thomas Wylde, and John Mahon.

A reward of £1,000 was likewise offered for the discovery of the murderers of Lord Kilwarden, or his nephew, Mr. Wolfe—and £50 for each of the first hundred rebels who had appeared in arms in Dublin on the 23rd of July, who should be discovered and prosecuted to conviction.

This was, if not an extensive premium on perjury, certainly a very large temptation to it. It produced the effect, I will not say intended, but most assuredly that might be expected from it. A number of miscreants of the class of Mr. James O'Brien again

skulked into public notice, crept into places of public resort, sneaked into court, and swore away the lives of men, who, if faith is to be put in the solemn assurances of individuals of the families of their victims, at this distant date from the period in question, were guiltless of the charges brought against them. Two of the worst of those miscreants were persons of the name of Mahaffey and Ryan. A vast number, moreover, of gentlemen of respectability were taken up; a few were liberated, but the majority were kept in close confinement for nearly three years.

The conversion of national, scientific, and commercial establishments (no longer needed in Ireland) to military purposes, we have a curious account of in *The London Chronicle* of August 25th and 27th, 1803. From Dublin, August 21st, "The *ci-devant* parliament house, and the celebrated academy house in Grafton-street, are converted into barracks. The market-house in Thomas-street has been lately fitted up, with a view to impede the progress of an enemy from the west-end of the town, and to command the different avenues in that quarter—the 93rd regiment has been appointed its garrison. The arches of the house are filled up, and a balcony is constructed on the first floor, upon which the soldiers can draw up, and fire with the best effect. The Royal Exchange has also been purchased by government, for the purpose of barracks, and it is intended to place some cannon on that part of it which fronts Parliament-street, Essex-bridge, and also that which is opposite to Castle-street.

"Barriers are to be erected at the entrances into Francis-street, Meath-street, James's-street, &c.—the whole city to be surrounded by an oak paling of considerable height—and gates to be erected at all the principal entrances into town."

On the 21st of August, 1803, the lord mayor issued a proclamation, commanding all persons, except military men in their uniforms, the members of the privy council, and judges, to keep within their dwellings from nine o'clock at night until six o'clock in the morning; and all persons to affix to their doors a list of the persons inhabiting the same, and any person found in a house not included in that list, would be treated as an idle and disorderly person.

August 16th, 1803, the Dublin papers state that Mr. Philip Long had been arrested and committed to Kilmainham; also, on the 10th of August, that a barrister, Mr. St. John Mason, who had arrived at Nenagh on the 9th, in his own carriage with four horses, had been arrested and sent to Dublin.

In *The London Chronicle* of September the 3rd and 6th, 1803, the following notice appears, taken from the Dublin papers, dated the 29th of August:

"A Mr. Houlton, a naval officer, was arrested in Dundalk, and brought up to Dublin in a chaise and four—a suit of rebel's uniform was found on him. When arrested, he was dressed in his naval uniform, but this was removed, and he was arrayed in the rebel uniform, and thus brought to the Castle."

The above notice of Houlton's arrest is deserving of particular attention. This man was employed by the authorities in a most atrocious conspiracy against the people. The particulars of it will be found in Plowdens's "Post Union History," vol. i. p. 223. "A miscreant of the name of Houlton, of the broadcloth class, speculating on the wickedness and weakness of the government, applied for an interview with Mr. Marsden, and by the latter was brought before the privy council, Lord Redesdale presiding at it. Houlton said he had private information that there were several of Russell's northern adherents embarked in fishermen's boats and some smuggling craft, with the design of surprising the Pigeon-House. He offered his services to government in any way that they might be made useful to the state, and accordingly it was determined by government to send him down to the north, where he was to pass off as a rebel general. Mr. Houlton was equipped with a suit of rebel uniform, and a superb cocked hat and feathers, provided by the government; for the latter alone they paid seven guineas. Houlton made no stipulations for reward; for his expenses he consented to receive £100. Lord Redesdale, pleased with his modesty, no less than his zeal in the service of government, in the first instance spoke of five hundred guineas being at his disposal. When the government had fully equipped Mr. Houlton in his rebel uniform, he was sent on his mission," says Plowden, "to Belfast, to tempt, to proselytize, to deceive, and to betray. Instructions were sent down to Sir Charles Ross, who then commanded in Belfast, to apprise him that the rebel general was a confidential servant of the Castle, and was not to be interrupted or interfered with, but was to be aided and assisted as he should desire and suggest; the express was forwarded by an orderly dragoon. Houlton, however, had set off in a post-chaise-and-four, and arrived in Belfast long before the dragoon, and immediately after his arrival commenced business in a tavern in the town, where he talked treason in so undisguised a manner as to excite astonishment. Information was given to the commanding officer, Sir Charles Ross—the man was arrested, and, by Sir Charles Ross's orders, he was dressed in his rebel uniform, and paraded round the town, and was then committed to gaol. At length Sir Charles Ross received the instructions of the government. The plot was marred—it only remained to send the ill-starred informer back to his employers under a military escort, and on his arrival

he was punished for his failure, to his utter astonishment, by being committed to Kilmainham. There he frankly acquainted the state prisoners with the whole of his unlucky mission; after some time he was liberated, and rewarded with an inconsiderable appointment on the coast of Africa." In the pamphlet entitled "Pedro Zendono," this unfortunate wretch is spoken of as being in confinement in Kilmainham in 1804, as having been originally brought forward, chosen for his mission by Dr. Trevor, and, after its failure and his imprisonment, as having menaced Trevor with unpleasant disclosures, which caused his being treated for some time with extraordinary severity. In Major Sirr's correspondence with the informers of 1798 and 1803, it will be found he was in communication in both years with a midshipman in the navy, who went by the name of Morgan.

CHAPTER VI.

R. EMMET AND HIS ASSOCIATES AFTER THE FAILURE OF THE ATTEMPT ON THE NIGHT OF THE 23RD OF JULY, 1803, AND THEIR FLIGHT FROM DUBLIN—NARRATIVE AND NOTICE OF ANNE DEVLIN—THE TORTURE OF WOMEN IN 1798 AND 1803—THE HOUSE OF THE CONSPIRATORS IN BUTTERFIELD LANE—FLIGHT OF EMMET AND SOME OF HIS ASSOCIATES TO THE WICKLOW MOUNTAINS.

SIXTEEN years ago, when my inquiries were particularly directed to the subject of this memoir, there was probably but one person then living who could give a correct account of the events which transpired the night of the 23rd, after the flight of the leaders and the rout of their followers, so far as regarded the principal person among them. That person was Anne Devlin, in 1803, a young woman of about 25 or 26 years of age, the daughter of a man in comfortable circumstances for one in his station in life, a cow-keeper on a large scale, in the neighbourhood of Butterfield-lane; his establishment and the land he occupied were in sight of the house tenanted by Robert Emmet. Anne Devlin was a niece of the Wicklow outlaw or hero, Michael Dwyer; her cousin, Arthur Devlin, was one of Emmet's right-hand men; and a brother of hers was likewise one of his agents. When Emmet took the house in Butterfield-lane, Anne Devlin was sent by her father to assist in taking care of it, and act as servant to Mr. Emmet. It was not without much difficulty I found out her place of abode in the year 1842. She was then living in John's-lane, in a stable-yard, the first gate-way in the lane on the right hand side leading from New Row, and next to the rere of the premises formerly occupied by Mr. Henry O'Hara.

Her husband, a decent poor man of the name of Campbell, as well as herself, I found had some knowledge of my family, and I needed no other introduction. Mrs. Campbell, whom I will continue to call by her best known name, Anne Devlin, was then far advanced in years, contributing by hard labour to the support of her family. Will the prestige of the heroine fade away when it is told that she was a common washerwoman, living in a miserable hovel, utterly unnoticed and unknown, except among the poor of her own class.

STATEMENT OF ANNE DEVLIN.

"On the 23rd of July, at about eleven o'clock at night," Anne Devlin says, "Robert Emmet, Nicholas Stafford, Michael Quigley, Thomas Wylde, John Mahon, John Hevey, and the two Perrotts from Naas, came to the house, at Butterfield-lane. She first saw them outside of the house, in the yard; she was at that moment sending off a man on horseback with ammunition in a sack, and bottles filled with powder. She called out, 'Who's there?' Robert Emmet answered, 'It's me, Anne.' She said, 'Oh, bad welcome to you, is the world lost by you, you cowards that you are, to lead the people to destruction, and then to leave them.' Robert Emmet said, 'Don't blame me, the fault is not mine.' They then came in; Quigley was present, but they did not upbraid him. Emmet and the others told her afterwards that Quigley was the cause of the failure.

"Michael Quigley had been constantly in the store in Thomas-street. On the 23rd his conduct was thought extraordinary; he rushed into the depot shortly before nine o'clock, and said he had been looking down Dirty-lane and saw the army coming; he ran in, exclaiming, 'All is lost—the army is coming.' Robert Emmet said, 'If that be the case we may as well die in the streets as cooped up here.' It was then he rushed out, and the rout took place. Robert Emmet ran down Patrick-street and the Coombe, crying out 'Turn out, turn out;' but no one came out. He was attacked by some soldiers on the Coombe, but got off. They stopped at Butterfield-lane that night and next day, and at night, about ten o'clock, fled to the mountains, when they got information that the house was to be searched. Her (Anne's) father, who kept a dairy close by, got horses for three of them, and went with them.

"Rose Hope, the wife of James Hope, had been there keeping the house also.* The reason of their stopping there that night

* Rose Hope resided also at Butterfield-lane, and assisted in keeping the house for Mr. Emmet; she was then nursing a baby—her other children were in Dublin, and she had to go back and forwards between Butterfield-lane and the place where her children were taken care of. Anne Devlin was in the same capacity in the house in Butterfield lane at different periods. Rose Hope was a Presbyterian, but had four of her children baptized by a Roman Catholic clergyman.

was, that Emmet expected Dwyer and the mountaineers down in the morning by break of day, but Dwyer had not got Emmet's previous letter, and had heard of Emmet's defeat only the next day, and therefore did not come. Mr. Emmet and his companions first went to Doyle's in the mountains, and thence to the Widow Bagenell's. Anne Devlin and Miss Wylde, the sister of Mrs. Mahon, two or three days after, went up to the mountains in a jingle with letters for them. They found Robert Emmet and his associates at the Widow Bagenell's, sitting on the side of the hill; some of them were in their uniform, for they had no other clothes.

"Robert Emmet insisted on coming back with her (Anne) and her companions; he parted with them before they came to Rathfarnham, but she (Anne Devlin) knows not where he went that night, but in a day or two after he sent for her to take a letter to Miss Curran; he was then staying at Mrs. Palmer's, at Harold's-cross.

"Major Sirr had positive information of Robert Emmet's place of concealment at Harold's-cross; he was directed to give a single rap at the door, and was informed that he would find Mr. Emmet in the parlour. She (Anne Devlin) overheard a conversation, while in confinement in Kilmainham, in which it was stated that the major's informer was a person who had been with Robert Emmet in the morning.* Biddy Palmer was very intimate with him, but she would never have been untrue to him. The day after the gentleman went away from Butterfield-lane a troop of yeomen came with a magistrate, and searched the house. Every place was ransacked from top to bottom. As for herself (Anne Devlin) she was seized on when they first rushed in, as if they were going to tear down the house. She was kept below by three or four of the yeomen with their fixed bayonets pointed at her, and so close to her body that she could feel their points. When the others came down she was examined. She said she knew nothing in the world about the gentlemen, except that she was the servant maid; where they came from, and where they went to, she knew nothing about; and so long as her wages were paid she cared to know nothing else about them.

"The magistrate pressed her to tell the truth—he threatened her with death if she did not tell; she persisted in asserting her total ignorance of *Mr. Ellis's* acts and movements, and of those of all the other gentlemen. At length the magistrate gave the word to hang her, and she was dragged into the court-yard to be executed. There was a common car there—they tilted up the shafts and fixed a rope from the back band that goes across the shafts, and while these preparations were making for her execution, the

* The allusion, I believe, is to a person of the name of Lacey.

yeomen kept her standing against the wall of the house, prodding her with their bayonets in the arms and shoulders till she was all over covered with blood (a young woman then of about twenty-six years of age), and saying to her at every thrust of the bayonet, 'Will you confess now; will you tell now where is Mr. Ellis?' Her constant answer was, 'I have nothing to tell, I will tell nothing!!!'

"The rope was at length put about her neck; she was dragged to the place where the car was converted into a gallows; she was placed under it, and the end of the rope was passed over the back-band. The question was put to her for the last time, 'Will you confess where Mr. Ellis is?' Her answer was, 'You may murder me, you villains, but not one word about him will you ever get from me.' She had just time to say, 'The Lord Jesus have mercy on my soul,' when a tremendous shout was raised by the yeomen; the rope was pulled by all of them except those who held down the back part of the car, and in an instant she was suspended by the neck. After she had been thus suspended for two or three minutes her feet touched the ground, and a savage yell of laughter recalled her to her senses. The rope round her neck was loosened, and her life was spared—she was let off with half-hanging. She was then sent to town, and brought before Major Sirr.

"No sooner was she brought before Major Sirr, than he, in the most civil and coaxing manner, endeavoured to prevail on her o give information respecting Robert Emmet's place of concealment. The question continually put to her was, 'Well, Anne, all we want to know is, where did he go to from Butterfield-lane?' He said he would undertake to obtain for her the sum (he did not call it reward) of £500, which he added 'was a fine fortune for a young woman,' only to tell against persons who were not her relations; that all the others of them had confessed the truth—which was not true—and that they were sent home liberated, which was also a lie."

The author said to her with becoming gravity, "You took the money, of course." The look the woman gave was one that would have made an admirable subject for a painter—a regard in which wonder, indignation, and misgiving of the seriousness of the person who addressed her, were blended—"Me take the money—the price of Mr. Robert's blood! No; I spurned the rascal's offer."

"The major," continued Anne Devlin, "went on coaxing and trying to persuade her to confess. He said everything had been told to him by one of her associates. Nay, what's more, he repeated word for word what she had said to Mr. Robert the night of the 23rd, when he came back to Butterfield-lane—'Bad wel-

come to you,' &c. One of the persons present with him then must have undoubtedly been an informer. After she had been some time in Kilmainham, Mr. Emmet was arrested and sent to that prison. Dr. Trevor had frequently talked to her about him; but she never 'let on' that she had any acquaintance with him. At this time she was kept in solitary confinement for refusing to give information. One day the doctor came and spoke to her in a very good-natured way, and said she must have some indulgence, she must be permitted to take exercise in the yard. The turnkey was ordered to take her to the yard, and he accordingly did so; but when the yard-door was open, who should she see walking very fast up and down the yard but Mr. Robert. She thought she would have dropped. She saw the faces of people watching her, at a grated window that looked into the yard, and her only dread was that Mr. Robert on recognising her would speak to her; but she kept her face away, and walked up and down on the other side; and when they had crossed one another several times, at last they met at the end. She took care, when his eyes met hers, to have a frown on her face, and her finger raised to her lips. He passed on as if he had never seen her—but he knew her well; and the half smile that came over his face, and passed off in a moment, could hardly have been observed, except by one who knew every turn of his countenance. The doctor's plot failed; she was taken back to her cell, and there was no more taking of air or exercise then for her.

"She was in Kilmainham, a close prisoner, when Robert Emmet was executed. She was kept locked up in a solitary cell, and indeed always, with a few exceptions, was kept so during her confinement the first year. The day after his execution she was taken from gaol to the Castle, to be examined, through Thomas-street. The gaoler had given orders to stop the coach at the scaffold where Robert Emmet was executed. It was stopped there, and she was forced to look at his blood, which was still plain enough to be seen sprinkled over the deal boards.

"At the latter end of her confinement, some gentlemen belonging to the Castle had come to the gaol and seen her in her cell. She told them her sad story, and it was told by them to the lord lieutenant. From that time her treatment was altogether different; she was not only allowed the range of the women's ward, but was permitted to go outside the prison, and three or four times, accompanied by her sister and Mrs. Dwyer and one of the turnkeys, was taken to the Spa at Lucan for the benefit of her health; for she was then crippled in her limbs, more dead than alive, hardly able to move hand or foot.

"At length Mr. Pitt died; it was a joyful day for Ireland.

The prisons were thrown open, where many an honest person had lain since the month of July, 1803."

The whole family of the Devlins, with the exception of a boy, James Devlin, and a girl of tender years, had been thrown into prison at the same time that Anne Devlin was arrested. The old man, Bryan Devlin, his wife, son, and daughter, were at one time all inmates of Kilmainham gaol. By Dr. Trevor's orders, Anne Devlin was kept constantly in solitary confinement; and the plea for the continuance of this rigorous treatment was the abusive language which the prisoner never failed to address to Dr. Trevor when he made his appearance at the door of her cell. She admits that this was the fact; that she knew he was everything that was vile and bad, and "it eased her mind to tell him what she thought." On some occasions when he left the prisoner, the wife of the gaoler, an Englishwoman, used to come to her cell, let her out privately, and bring her to her own apartments for an hour or two at a time, and give her wine and nourishing things. This kept her alive and helped her to recover her senses. Without the kindness of the gaoler's wife she never could have recovered. On one occasion Dr. Trevor came unexpectedly and discovered that she had been let out of her cell. His rage was dreadful. He cursed her, and she returned his maledictions curse for curse.

In the latter part of 1804, on some pretence of enforcing sanatory regulations, Anne Devlin was removed from the new prison at Kilmainham, where her father was then confined, and sent to the old gaol, and after some time was brought back to Kilmainham. Some communications between the father and daughter had been discovered, and in this way an end was put to them. The poor old man had still one comfort left to him. A young lad, his favourite child, had been permitted for some time to remain in his cell with him. An order came from Dr. Trevor, in the month of March, 1805, to separate father and child. The latter, then sick of fever, was torn from him one night, and forced to walk more than a mile to the other prison; and the pretence for this removal was that the boy had visited his sister in the old prison, and this was an infringement of the sanatory regulations of the prison. The boy was sent to the old gaol, and, as Dr. Trevor asserted, was humanely permitted to remain with his sister Anne. The poor boy had nowhere to go; his father and mother, and nearly all his relatives, were in gaol. He had not been long removed when he died in the old gaol, under Dr. Trevor's care. Mr. Edward Kennedy, one of the state prisoners, characterised the occurrence in question as "a very foul transaction." Dr. Trevor, in his reply to the charge, brought forward his man, George Dunn, the gaoler, to swear

an affidavit for him, as he was wont to do on any occasion when the doctor's credit was damaged or endangered.* He likewise produced a turnkey and a gaol apothecary to swear to his humanity. The latter swore that after the death of the boy, when Dr. Trevor came into the cell, Anne Devlin was violent in her abuse; she cursed the doctor when he spoke to her of examining the dead body of her brother.

The state prisoners of Kilmainham gaol addressed a memorial to the viceroy, Lord Hardwicke, the 12th of August, 1804, complaining of the hardships they suffered, and of the barbarous and tyrannical conduct of the Inspector of Prisons and Superintendent in particular of Kilmainham, Dr. Trevor. This memorial was signed by fourteen of them, amongst others by Messrs. Patten, Hickson, Tandy, Long, and Mason. The following passage refers to the treatment of Anne Devlin: "His treatment of all, but especially of one unfortunate state prisoner, a female, is shocking to humanity, and exceeds credibility. He drives, through exasperation, the mind to madness, of which instances have already occurred."†

Mr. James Tandy states, during his imprisonment, "Two of the state prisoners were discharged in a state of the most violent delirium;" and a third, from the cruelty of incarceration, was for a length of time in a strait waistcoat.‡

The extraordinary sufferings endured, and the courage and fidelity displayed by this young woman have few parallels, even in the history of those times which tried people's souls, and called forth the best, occasionally, as well as the basest of human feelings. She was tortured, frightfully maltreated, her person goaded and pricked with bayonets, hung up by the neck, and was only spared to be exposed to temptations, to be subjected to new and worse horrors than any she had undergone, to suffer solitary confinement, to be daily tormented with threats of further privations, till her health broke down, and her mind was shattered, and after years of sufferings in the same prison, when others of her family were confined without any communication with them, she was turned adrift on the world, without a house to return to, or friends or relations to succour or to shelter her. And yet this noble creature preserved through all her sufferings, and through forty subsequent years, the same devoted feelings of attachment to that being and his memory which she had exhibited under the torture, in her solitary cell in Kilmainham gaol, in her communications with the terrorists and the petty tyrants of the Castle and the gaol.

* *Vide* "Dr. Trevor's Statement," p. 22.

† Memoir of St. J. Mason's Imprisonment, p. 11. Dublin: 1807.

‡ "Appeal to the Public," by James Tandy, p. 72. Dublin: 1807.

And yet the heroism of this woman is a matter for Irishmen of any rank—ay, of the highest rank—to be proud of. The true nobility of nature displayed by this poor creature of plebeian origin under all her sufferings—the courage exhibited in the face of death, in the midst of torture, by this low-born woman—the fidelity and attachment of this menial servant to a beloved master, proof against all fears, superior to all threats and temptations—will not be forgotten. The day will come when the name of Anne Devlin, the poor, neglected creature who, when I knew her, was dragging out a miserable existence, struggling with infirmity and poverty, will be spoken of with feelings of kindness not unmixed with admiration!

In the summer of 1843, accompanied by Anne Devlin, I proceeded to Butterfield-lane, to ascertain the fact of the existence or non-existence of the house in which Robert Emmet had resided for some months, in 1803. For a length of time our search was fruitless. The recollection of a locality at the expiration of forty years is a very dim sort of reminiscence. There was no house in the lane the exterior of which reminded my conductress of her old scene of suffering. At length her eye caught an old range of buildings at some distance, like the offices of a farm-house. This she at once recognized as part of the premises of her father, and she soon was able to point out the well-known fields around it, which had once been in her father's possession. The house, alongside of which we were standing, on the right-hand side of the lane going from Rathfarnham-road, she said must be the house of Mr. Emmet, though the entrance was entirely altered; however, the position of an adjoining house left little doubt on her mind. We knocked at the door, and I found the house was inhabited by a lady of my acquaintance, the daughter of a Protestant clergyman who had been, strange to say, the college friend and most intimate acquaintance of Robert Emmet, the late Dr. Hayden, of Rathcoole.

The lady of the house, in whom I discovered an acquaintance, left us in no doubt on the subject of the locality—we were in the house that had been tenanted by Robert Emmet. The scene that ensued is one more easily conceived than described. We were conducted over the house—my aged companion at first in silence, and then, as if slowly awaking from a dream, rubbing her dim eyes, and here and there pausing for some moments when she came to some recognized spot. On the ground-floor she pointed out a small room, on the left-hand of the entrance—"That's the room where Mr. Dowdall and Mr. Hamilton used to sleep." The entrance has been changed from about the centre to the right-hand end; the window of a small room there has been converted into the door-way, and the room itself into the hall. "This," said

Anne Devlin, "was my room; I know it well—my mattress used to be in that corner." There was one place every corner and cranny of which she seemed to have a familiar acquaintance with, and that was the kitchen. On the upper floor, the principal bed-room at the present time attracted her particular attention; she stood for some time gazing into the room from the door-way; I asked her whose room it had been. It was a good while before I got an answer in words, but her trembling hands, and the few tears which came from a deep source, and spoke of sorrow of an old date, left no necessity to repeat that question—it was the room of Robert Emmet. Another on the same floor was that of Russell.

They slept on mattresses on the floor—there was scarcely any furniture in the house; they often went out after dark, seldom or never in the day-time. They were always in good spirits, and Mr. Hamilton used often to sing—he was a very good singer; Mr. Robert sometimes hummed a tune, but he was no great singer, but he was the best and kindest hearted of all the persons she had ever known; he was too good for many of those who were about him. Of Russell she spoke in terms hardly less favourable than those in which she expressed her opinions of Emmet. She mentioned the names of some gentlemen who occasionally visited them, some of whom are still living. At the rear of the house, in the court-yard, she pointed out the spot where she had undergone the punishment of half-hanging, and while she did so there was no appearance of emotions, such at least as one might expect recalled terror might produce, but there were very evident manifestations of feelings of another kind, of as lively a remembrance of the wrongs and outrages that had been inflicted on her, as if they had been endured but the day before, and of as keen a sense of those indignities and cruelties, as if her cowardly assailants had been before her, and those withered hands of hers had power to grapple with them.

The exterior of the house she could not recognize—some of the windows had been altered, an addition had been built to it at one end, the wall round the court-yard is new, and the outer gate near the garden wall was not where it formerly stood. A considerable quantity of ammunition and some pikes, on the night of the 23rd, or the night following, were buried in the adjoining fields, but of the precise spot where, she had no recollection.

In the former edition of this work I made an ineffectual appeal to the public in behalf of Anne Devlin. I ventured to remind my readers that she was then living in poverty, and that those (whatever might be their politics) who thought that fortitude in the midst of terrors, and unshaken fidelity to a master in the time of adversity, were manifestations of noble qualities and worthy of

commendation, might also remember that they were entitled to some recompense. No reward could compensate their possessor for her sufferings, but some assistance might contribute to her comfort for the short time she had to live. The only assistance she ever got from any person, from the day of Robert Emmet's death, she told me, was subsequently to her liberation, when a sum of money, somewhere about £10, was subscribed for her, she knew not by whom, but it came into her hands through Mr. Edward Kennedy, a timber merchant of New-street, who had been confined in Kilmainham.

Anne Devlin died, after a long life of drudgery, in a wretched house in the Liberty, in September, 1851. I had occasionally seen her, and assisted her from time to time, to a very small extent, indeed, and at long intervals of years of absence from Ireland. About the middle of September, 1851, on my return from the Continent, I went to her former place of abode, but found she had left it some months before, and there were no tidings of her except that she was living somewhere in the Liberty. At length I ascertained her place of abode, and the result of my inquiries is stated in the following extract of a communication of mine which appeared in *The Nation* newspaper of the 27th of September, 1851:

"Four years ago an appeal was made in *The Nation* on the behalf of Anne Devlin, which was in some small degree responded to—very, very inadequately, however. Afterwards we lost sight of her entirely. So, it seems, did others of her friends, until it was too late. But last week, a gentleman who always took the warmest interest in this noble creature, was informed that she was still living in a miserable garret of No. 2, Little Elbow-lane, a squalid alley running from the Coombe to Pimlico. On this day week he sought that wretched abode; but she had died two days previously, and had been buried in Glasnevin on the preceding day. A young woman, with an ill-fed infant in her arms, apparently steeped in poverty, but kindly-looking and well-mannered, in whose room Anne Devlin had lodged, said—'The poor creature, God help her, it was well for her she was dead. There was a coffin got from the Society for her, and she was buried the day before.' To the inquiry, what complaint she had died of, the answer was—'She was old and weak, indeed, but she died mostly of want. She had a son, but he was not able to do much for her, except now and then to pay her lodging, which was fivepence a-week. He lived away from her, and so did her daughter, who was a poor widow, and was hard enough set to get a living for herself. About ten or twelve days ago a gentleman (she believed of the name of Meehan) called there, and gave the old woman something. Only for this she would not have lived as long as she did. *She was very badly off, not only*

for food, but for bed-clothes. Nearly all the rags she had to cover her went, at one time or another, to get a morsel of bread.'"

My next inquiry was after her remains. Thanks to the admirable mode of burial registration in the cemetery of Glasnevin, and the facilities afforded me by the secretary of the committee, the spot was speedily ascertained—in that portion of the cemetery set apart for pauper burials. In a few days, the assistance of four friends enabled me to have her remains removed to that part of the cemetery which is in most request, very near the spot where the remains of O'Connell are deposited. The usual fees paid for such removals were remitted on this occasion, and for permission to have a monument erected over the grave, not unworthy of the place or the person, it seemed to me desirable should not be forgotten.

Over the inscription, the most suitable of all emblems, the cross, is sculptured, and underneath the inscription there is a device that is thought an appropriate one on the tombstone over the grave of the faithful servant of Robert Emmet—an Irish wolf-dog, couching on a bank of shamrocks, with an earnest look and a watchful expression. The following are the words inscribed on the tomb of Anne Devlin; and few graves in that cemetery are more visited and gazed on by visitors with deeper interest, than that in which the remains of this poor old woman are deposited:

To the memory of Anne Devlin (Campbell),
The faithful servant of Robert Emmet,
Who possessed some rare and noble qualities:
Who lived in obscurity and poverty, and so died,
The 18th of September, 1851,
Aged 70 years.

When Emmet fled to the mountains, he found the Wicklow insurgents bent on prosecuting their plans, and making an immediate attack on some of the principal towns in that county. Emmet, to his credit, being then convinced of the hopelessness of the struggle, had determined to withhold his sanction from any further effort; convinced, as he then was, that it could only lead to the effusion of blood, but to no successful issue. His friends pressed him to take immediate measures for effecting his escape, but unfortunately he resisted their solicitations; he had resolved on seeing one person before he could make up his mind to leave the country, and that person was dearer to him than life—Sarah Curran, the youngest daughter of the celebrated advocate, John Philpot Curran. With the hope of obtaining an interview with her, if possible, before his intended departure—of corresponding with her—and of seeing her pass by Harold's-cross, which was the road from her father's country-house, near Rathfarnham, to Dublin, he returned to his

old lodgings at Mrs. Palmer's. During the time he remained there, he drew up a paper which he intended to have transmitted to the government, in the hope of inducing it to put a stop to the prosecutions and executions which were then going on. The rough draught of this paper was found in the room he occupied when he was arrested.

The contents were as follows: "It may appear strange, that a person avowing himself to be an enemy of the present government, and engaged in a conspiracy for its overthrow, should presume to suggest an opinion to that government on any part of its conduct, or could hope that advice coming from such authority might be received with attention. The writer of this, however, does not mean to offer an opinion on any point on which he must of necessity feel differently from any of those whom he addresses, and on which, therefore, his conduct might be doubted. His intention is to confine himself entirely to those points on which, however widely he may differ from them in others, he has no hesitation in declaring, that as a man he feels the same interest with the merciful part, and as an Irishman with at least the English part of the present administration; and, at the same time, to communicate to them, in the most precise terms, that line of conduct which he may hereafter be compelled to adopt, and which, however painful it must under any circumstances be, would become doubly so if he was not conscious of having tried to avoid it by the most distinct notification. On the two first of these points, it is not the intention of the undersigned, for the reason he has already mentioned, to do more than state, what government itself must acknowledge—that of the present conspiracy it knows (comparatively speaking) nothing. That instead of creating terror in its enemies or confidence in its friends, it will only serve, by the scantiness of its information, to furnish additional grounds of invective to those who are but too ready to censure it for a want of intelligence which no sagacity could have enabled them to obtain. That if it is not able to terrify by a display of its discoveries, it cannot hope to crush by the weight of its punishments. Is it only now we are to learn that entering into conspiracy exposes us to be hanged? Are the scattered instances which will now be brought forward necessary to exemplify the statute? If the numerous and striking examples which have already preceded were insufficient—if government can neither by novelty of punishment nor the multitude of its victims, impress us with terror—can it hope to injure the body of a conspiracy so impenetrably woven as the present, by cutting off a few threads from the end of it!

"That with respect to the second point, no system, however it may change the nature, can affect the period of the contest that

is to take place; as to which, the exertions of the United Irishmen will be guided only by their own opinion of the eligibility of the moment for effecting the emancipation of their country.

"That administration——," *cetera desunt.*

On the 25th of August Emmet was arrested at Mrs. Palmer's, at Harold's-cross, at about seven o'clock in the evening, by Major Sirr, who, according to the newspaper accounts, "did not know his person till he was brought to the Castle, *where he was identified by a gentleman of the College.*"* . The writers of those accounts knew little of the "*finesse*" of an Irish Fouché, and the police-office refinement of his conduct towards his informers on such occasions. Sirr played the same game precisely in Russell's case, at a later period.

The major's account of the arrest of Emmet, as subsequently given in evidence on his trial, was to the following effect. On the evening of the 25th of August, he went to the house of one Palmer, at Harold's-cross; had heard there was a stranger in the back parlour; rode there, accompanied by a man on foot, who knocked at the door; on its being opened by a little girl, the daughter of Mrs. Palmer, the major alighted, and ran immediately into the back parlour; he desired the woman and the little girl to withdraw, and then asked the prisoner his name; he said his name was Cunningham. The man who accompanied the major was then left in charge of the prisoner by the major, while he went into the next room to make inquiries of Mrs. Palmer, who said the prisoner's name was Hewitt. The major went back and asked him how long he had been there; he said he came that morning. He had attempted to escape before the major returned, for he was bloody, and the man said he had knocked him down with a pistol. The major then went to Mrs. Palmer, who said the prisoner had lodged there for a month. He judged he was a person of importance. When the major first went into the back parlour there was a paper on a chair which he seized (the paper intended to have been transmitted to the government). The major then went to the canal bridge for a guard, having desired them to be in readiness as he passed by. He planted a sentry over the prisoner, and desired the non-commissioned officers to surround the house with sentries while he searched it. The major then examined Mrs. Palmer and took down her account of the prisoner, during which time he heard

* Dr. Elrington, *Provost of Trinity College*, had been previously applied to by the major, through *a lady*, for a description of Emmet's person, and that description was furnished by him!!! A provost scanning the features of the students of the college over which he presided, and furnishing the agents of police with the results of his observations, with the view of getting a particular *alumnus* clapped into gaol, and in due course of law hanged, has something exceedingly revolting in it, and more disgusting than many of the vilest acts of even Sirr himself.

a noise as if an escape was attempted. He instantly ran to the back of the house, as the most likely part for him to get out at; he saw him going off, and ordered a sentinel to fire, and then he pursued the fugitive, regardless of the order. The sentry snapped, but the musket did not go off. He overtook the prisoner, and he said "I surrender." The major searched him, and found some papers upon him.

On the major's expressing concern at the necessity of the prisoner's being treated so roughly, he (the prisoner) observed "that all was fair in war." The prisoner, when brought to the Castle, acknowledged that his name was Emmet.*

Leonard, the old gardener of Dr. Emmet, told me the informer against Mr. Emmet was generally supposed by the friends of the latter to have been one of the state prisoners, of the name of Malachy, who had been implicated in the rebellion of 1798, and was let out of Newgate, where he was confined, for the purpose of finding out and disclosing Emmet's retreat; and that Malachy had got information from a French emigrant, who was acquainted with Robert Emmet, of his being at Harold's-cross. There is an account in the Dublin papers, and in Major Sirr's correspondence, of the arrest of a French emigrant on the night after the outbreak, in Dame-street, by Major Sirr. Who the person of the Christian name of Malachy is, referred to by Leonard, I have not been able to ascertain. A Mr. Malachy Dwyer was in the receipt of a secret-service pension of £52 a-year.

The London Chronicle of October the 8th and 10th, 1803, cites the following paragraph from the Dublin papers of the 4th of October:

"Malachy Delany, Esq., of the county of Kildare, who was tried and acquitted at the last assizes of the county, was arrested on Friday last, in consequence of information given to Major Sirr, and committed to Kilmainham gaol."

In the appendix of the first series will be found a notice of Malachy Delany, and it is only necessary to state here, that there appear to me to be no solid grounds for the suspicions of his integrity which have been entertained.

There was a gentleman of the name of Daniel Carty, or Carthy, arrested soon after the outbreak in July, of whom Mr. Hickson, one of the state prisoners, made mention, in an account given me of some of the persons in confinement whom he had previously met at Mr. Long's in Crow-street. Mr. Hickson informed me, that some time previously to the 23rd of July, he had supped at Philip Long's with Emmet, Cloney, Carthy, Allen, Gray, and Hughes. Carthy had been engaged in the former rebellion; he was a

* Ridgeway's Report of the Trial of Robert Emmet, p. 75.

sort of gentleman. Trevor, in Kilmainham gaol, one day when in conversation with Mr. Hickson, was very desirous of getting an admission from him of his knowledge of the parties engaged in Emmet's business. Mr. Hickson was protesting his ignorance of the plans of the former when Trevor, in a whisper, said, "With whom did you sup at Long's on such a night?"—naming the particular occasion above referred to. Mr. Hickson was astonished, and well might be so. Carthy was then kept in confinement in a house where informers used to be domiciled in 1798; but in 1803 many persons of a very different kind had been confined there: this place was called the "Stag House;" it was opposite to Kilmainham gaol. Carthy, however, was not suspected, but another individual was, Mr. C—ney, who was then confined in the gaol. A convict of the name of Darby used to wait on the state prisoners; this man told some of them that a certain person in the gaol, on a particular day, had been writing a statement for Dr. Trevor, containing information respecting the insurrection. This person was invited into their mess-room, and Nicholas Gray, after the punch had circulated freely, took the copy of the paper from the pocket of the gentleman in question, who was called "the general."

Mr. Leonard M'Nally, the barrister, is said by some others—on what grounds I know not—to be the person from whom the information of Emmet's place of concealment was obtained. In times like those which are referred to, when treason in all its motley forms is in active operation, it necessarily happens that men, bewildered by the proofs of perfidy which are constantly brought before them, without knowing from what quarter the treachery proceeds, in proportion as they have been credulous, become distrustful, and fly from one extreme to another. Hence their suspicions are often groundless, and the parties who have violated confidence often remain not only undiscovered but unsuspected, while those who have continued faithful are looked upon with doubt, and not unfrequently with something more.

It may tend to turn those ill-founded suspicions to a quarter where perfidy, duly recognized and recompensed, is officially recorded, to show who were the parties who were receivers of secret-service money in 1802-3. The following are some of the items in the secret-service money list:

	£	s.	d.
6th February, 1802.—Major Sirr, for John Beckett, three others, and Dan Car, in full of their claims on government, - - - - - - -	328	8	9
20th February, 1802.—Major Sirr, for Mrs. O'Brien, John Neile, Francis Devlin, and two others, in full of their claims, - - - - - -	300	0	0

	£	s.	d.
2nd May, 1803.—Mr. Marsden, for Quigley, - -	40	0	0
13th June, 1803.—Major Sirr, for Hayden, - -	22	15	0
25th August, 1803.—Mr. Pollock, for L. M., -	110	0	0
14th September, 1803.—Mr. Marsden, for L. M., -	100	0	0
13th October, 1803.—Dr. Trevor, for Ryan and Mahaffey, - - - - - - - -	100	0	0
15th October, 1803.—Major Sirr, for informer for Howley and Condon, - - - - -	56	17	6
1st November, 1803.—Finlay and Co., account of Richard Jones, - - - - - -	1000	0	0

The last-mentioned item, there can be little doubt, was the reward for the apprehension of Robert Emmet, on the 25th of August, 1803, paid into Finlay's bank to the account of the person named Richard Jones, to be handed over by him to the informer. The circumstance of lodging the money, in this case, in the hands of a banker, leads to the conclusion that the informer was not a person in an humble rank of life. There are persons who would be able to state who the gentleman was of the name of Richard Jones, who had an account open in Finlay's bank, in 1803. Who the informer was remains unknown. The only object in desiring that he should be known is that the names of persons suspected unjustly should be rescued from unfounded suspicion.

Previously to the trial of Robert Emmet, an attempt was made to effect his escape from prison. Arrangements had been made, in the event of the success of this attempt, to have him conveyed on board a vessel called the *Erin*, from which he was to have been landed at some continental port.

The principal agent through whom the negotiations were carried on in Kilmainham was Mr. St. John Mason, the cousin of Robert Emmet. From that gentleman I received the following information of the attempt and its failure. The documents which are subjoined to this account, disclose the whole proceedings of the persons who were parties to the proposed attempt. One of these documents, bearing the signature of "*Verax*," there can be no impropriety now in stating, was written by Mr. St. John Mason. It is needless to offer any comment on the barbarity of the conduct of those persons who suffered the hopes of the unfortunate prisoner to be raised, and when they had been wound up to the highest pitch of expectation, dashed them to the ground, and claimed the merit of a faithful adherence to their duty. Where could this wickedness have been perpetrated and rewarded, except in Ireland?

Mr. St. John Mason informs me that he received a note from Robert Emmet, stating that he wished him to offer George Dunn, one of the turnkeys, a sum of money, from £500 to £1000,

on the condition of his favouring and effecting his (Robert Emmet's) escape.

Mason made the communication to G. Dunn, to which the latter agreed. The idea originated with Trevor and George Dunn, and by some means (by one of the turnkeys, named M'Sally, I am informed by another of the state prisoners) was communicated to Emmet. Mason wrote to Robert Emmet to recommend him to have the money not given at once to Dunn, but to have it secured to him, and not to think of Dunn's accompanying him. The project fell to the ground; all the letters of Mason were sent to the Secretary of State, by the head gaoler of Kilmainham, Mr. John Dunn.

Extract from *The Times*, 9th December, 1841:

"ROBERT EMMET AND THE GAOLER OF KILMAINHAM.

"TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE TIMES.'

"Paris, 2nd December.

"SIR—The London newspapers which arrived here on Monday contained the following article:

"'Extract of a letter from Dublin, 27th November.—Mr. G. Dunn, the governor of Kilmainham prison, Dublin, for the last forty years, expired on Thursday, leaving a numerous family behind him. When Emmet was under his charge for high treason, an immense sum of money, by way of bribe, with an offer of a free passage to America, was made him, if he allowed his prisoner to go free; but the honesty of Mr. Dunn spurned the bribe.'

"Mr. George Dunn, the person above-mentioned, had *not* been the governor of Kilmainham prison, Dublin, for the last forty years. The rest, about Robert Emmet, is pure invention. The facts which suggested this posthumous praise of George Dunn are these:

"Robert Emmet was taken from the bar of the Court-house, Green-street, Dublin, to the prison of Newgate, at (if I remember rightly) about nine o'clock at night, of the — of October, 1803, after having been sentenced to death. Immediately on his entrance within the walls of the prison, the then governor (Gregg) either from precaution, excess of zeal, or stimulated by a brutal disposition, loaded him with irons, and, I believe, placed him in a cell. At half-past twelve o'clock, however, an order arrived from the Secretary of State (the late Mr. Wickham) that the prisoner be removed to Kilmainham gaol, ostensibly to bring him nearer to the intended place of execution (Thomas-street, opposite Bridgefoot-street), but in reality for safe keeping.

"The governor of Kilmainham prison at that day was a person named John Dunn, uncle of him mentioned in the above extract, who was then only a turnkey. Dunn, the governor, was a man

apparently rough and savage, but at bottom humane and kind. Robert Emmet had scarcely been committed to his custody, when his eyes fell upon the fetters with which the prisoner (a slight young man) was loaded. The tears burst from his eyes; for he saw that the irons had cut through the silk stockings worn by Emmet, and to the bone—his ancles were bathed with blood.

"Dunn's kindness did not stop here. He ordered refreshments for his ill-fated, but deeply-interesting charge—of which he stood much in need, after a trial of eleven hours, during the whole of which time he stood, and not having, from an early hour in the morning that preceded it, tasted food. He ordered him to be placed in one of the best rooms of the prison, and directed that every comfort he desired should be supplied him, and continued his kindness up to the moment when the prisoner, thanking him for his humanity, left the prison for the scaffold.

"I wish not to refer to certain incidents in the after life of George Dunn, now so indiscreetly brought before the public. It will be enough for me to remind your readers, that his name occurred in the proceedings against Brock and Pelham in the first mayoralty or shrievalty of Alderman Matthew Wood of London.

"The alleged offer of a bribe to that or any other person to connive at the prisoner's escape, is obviously an untruth. In the first place, Emmet was removed unexpectedly and after midnight from Newgate to the custody of Dunn the elder, and brought out for execution only ten hours afterwards. (Justice was promptly executed in those days.) No time remained, therefore, for tampering with the gaoler after the fact of the prisoner's removal to Kilmainham could have become known to his friends; and, in reality, the nearest friends and connexions of Robert Emmet (Mr. H——, the barrister, Mr. P——, and others) capable of making that effort were themselves inmates of Kilmainham gaol, on suspicion of guilty knowledge of the conspiracy which burst forth into insurrection on the 23rd of July previously. . . . .

"I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.,

"B. W."

Extract from a letter of St. John Mason, under the signature of *Verax*, published in *The Times*, February, 1842.

"ROBERT EMMET AND THE GAOLER OF KILMAINHAM.

"TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE TIMES.'

"Bath, 12th February, 1842.

"SIR—The writer of this letter begs leave to state, that in several recent numbers of *The Times*, certain extracts from Dublin newspapers have been inserted, concerning the unfortunate Robert

Emmet and the late George Dunn, gaoler of Kilmainham, to the following effect:

"'That when Robert Emmet was under the charge of Mr. Dunn for high treason, an immense sum of money, by way of bribe, with an offer of a free passage to America, was made him, if he allowed his prisoner to go free; but the honesty of Mr. Dunn spurned the bribe.'

"Those extracts having so appeared in *The Times*, and being substantially perversions of facts, it is respectfully submitted that, in fairness, the truth should be spread commensurately with the misstatement; and that it should likewise go forth to the public through the same great organ of intelligence and its vast circulation, whereby that misstatement had been already so widely diffused.

"The matter of present consideration is, the conduct of George Dunn as to the attempted escape of Robert Emmet, in relation to which, manifold have been the laudations squandered upon the memory of Dunn. The following is the truth:

"A proposition was unquestionably made to George Dunn, and a certain sum of money—a bribe, no doubt—was offered for his aid and instrumentality towards effecting the escape of Robert Emmet. But, contrary to the statements in the newspapers, that proposition and that bribe were not 'spurned at by Dunn.' The proposition was entertained, and a positive assurance given by him, that he would 'do everything in his power to effect the escape.' There is no individual living, nor has there ever been any other, save Dunn himself, who had personally known, or who at present knows those facts, but he who now states them, and who freely admits, as he has always admitted, that he did make that proposition. No third person was ever present, no money was ever paid to Dunn, and no offer was ever made of a free passage to America. But, in fact, throughout the transaction, Dunn, so far from acting with integrity, practised the foulest perfidy. The transaction itself occurred, not after the trial of Emmet, but several days before it; and Dunn had neither the power nor the means of accomplishing the escape, though he had given reason to suppose that he possessed both, and had, with the semblance of sincerity, faithfully promised, if possible, to effect it. He was, in fact, at the time, neither the gaoler of Kilmainham nor even the confidential turnkey at the entrance gate—he was merely the turnkey and attendant of the interior department where the state prisoners were confined. But even if he had been the gaoler he could not have effected the escape; for there was another person, since dead, who, in the guise, and under the 'covert and convenient seeming' of a doctor, had a paramount authority in the prison—a man who appeared there

as the inspector (or rather the haunting spectre) of the gaol—an incubus sojourning therein day and night, about sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, and who, also acting as the government overseer or superintendent of the state prisoners, commanded even the gaoler.

"The gaoler at that time was John Dunn, and though a namesake, was not the uncle of, nor in any way related to George Dunn; the former having been a native of a midland county in England, the latter of Berwick-upon-Tweed. On the death of John Dunn, two persons named Stephenson and Simpson successively filled the gaolership previously to George Dunn. He could not, therefore, as gaoler have had the custody of Robert Emmet, and could not consequently have had the ability ascribed to him of effecting the escape; and in his own station such was impossible, though his inability was not then so well known as afterwards.

"But properly to understand this question, which is actually one of official intrigue and peculation, it is requisite, in regard to the machinations which in conjunction with others Dunn practised on the attempted escape of Robert Emmet, again to refer to the personage already alluded to as the superintendent of the state prisoners, and who was at that period well known as the celebrated Pedro Zendono, the inquisitor of Kilmainham.

"Of this man's inhuman conduct towards the state prisoners this writer had bitter knowledge and experience for more than two years; which brutal conduct has, before three of the supreme judges, been verified by the solemn oaths of more than twenty state prisoners, and afterwards, by the exertions of this writer, became the subject of parliamentary investigation by Sheridan. And the deeds of this prison tyrant, together with those of his helpmate, Dunn, are now among the records of parliament.

"This individual, to whom Downshire had the honour of giving birth, having become enamoured of a handsome female, certain circumstances made it desirable that the young woman should speedily become a wife, and he accordingly bestowed her upon his brother soldier, George Dunn, then a pedestrian campaigner in a militia regiment—with the condition, however, that the lover and the husband of this spotless wife should alike participate in her favours; and also with the further stipulation that the lover should, on the first occasion which offered, obtain a post for the husband in the gaol of Kilmainham, and if possible have him in time advanced to the gaolership.

"Those little interchangeable acts of friendship having continued during the life of the happy lady, both without and within the prison—where the bower of bliss was the sheriff's execution room—George Dunn accordingly became the turnkey of the state prisoners, and in fulness of time the gaoler of Kilmainham.

"At the period of the present transaction George Dunn, though only a turnkey, was from his position in the prison admitted to the honours of the sittings with the grand inquisitor and the nominal gaoler, John Dunn, who, though otherwise a good man, then weakly lent himself to the machinations of the other parties. Accordingly, about one week before the trial of Robert Emmet, it was planned that George Dunn should have a conversation with him respecting his escape. Whereupon several communications by open slips of paper, in the handwriting of Robert Emmet, were conveyed to this writer, and answers returned by an under turnkey, a convicted felon, whom the inquisitor craftily used as the bearer instead of Dunn; in one of which slips of paper Robert Emmet requested this writer, then in an adjoining cell, to apply to George Dunn, specifically naming him, and in conspicuous characters, and to offer him a certain sum of money, as stated in such slip of paper, if he (Dunn) would effect his liberation—the sum so offered to be well and faithfully secured to Dunn, and payable only when the liberation should have been effected.

"The writer of this paper saw the peril and difficulty, not only of the attempt itself on the part of Robert Emmet, but he also saw his own peril in making the application. He saw that he was about to commit himself as principal in a case of high treason, the consequences of which were not and could not be unknown to him. However, upon receiving that particular communication, he did not for a single moment hesitate as to what he should do; and the very first opportunity which offered he made the application.

"In doing so he admits his legal guilt, but as to any moral guilt he feels but little compunction. His only regret is that he failed in the attempt. What were his motives? Robert Emmet was his first cousin, and the ties of nature are not easily broken. He had a great and noble heart. He shared with the rest of his family those transcendent talents which have acquired for the name of Emmet an imperishable renown. But, above all, he was then upon the threshold of the grave—the finger of death was almost upon him; and where lives the man, having a human heart within him, who would not under such circumstances have made a similar attempt? If the writer of this was a criminal, he feels proud that he was equally so with a Hutchinson and Wilson.

"However, Dunn received the proposition, including the specification of the sum which would be given, in a way which showed, as soon after proved, that he had been previously trained by his employer to expect it. He entertained that proposition, and he treacherously promised to effect the escape.

"The sum of money which had been actually offered to Dunn is, in the Dublin extracts, magnified into that of £6,000, as a strengthening proof of his incorruptible integrity. But if only one-fourth of that sum had been stated it would have come nearer to the truth. However, the mere amount is not the question—the treachery of Dunn is the point; and except as regards that, the refusal or non-refusal of any sum is altogether immaterial. He was to receive his reward only upon the condition of accomplishing a particular object—and that object, he well knew, was impracticable; so that even if he had refused the bribe (which he did not), where would have been his merit? He would then have refused a reward which he knew that he never could obtain, except by the performance of a condition which he also knew that he never could accomplish.

"But in promotion of the plans concerted by the triumvirate, the inquisitor, knowing the relationship between Robert Emmet and this writer, permitted a degree of intercourse to exist between them. He permitted the correspondence already stated. He permitted Robert Emmet to receive from this writer, through Dunn, a supply of clothes, which were in fact those that he wore upon his trial. He also permitted him, under the conduct of Dunn, to stop in the passage leading to this writer's cell, which was purposely in the immediate neighbourhood of his kinsman; and with the eye and ear of Dunn vigilantly watching, he permitted Robert Emmet to converse from the passage, and to shake hands with this writer through the grated window of his cell. And all this was done, not from any congenial kindness of the inquisitor, but as a snare, not only for discovering whether any allusion would be made to the insurrection, as showing the privity thereto of this writer, but also to provoke in the presence of Dunn some proposition as to the escape, which they could wrest into a proof of a conspiracy and plot between the prisoners, which their own previous conspiracy had laboured to effect.

"In furtherance of their schemes, the correspondence which by slips of paper was perfidiously permitted to pass between the two prisoners, through the convict turnkey, was, in every stage, daily waylaid and conveyed by the overseer to Mr. Chief Secretary Wickham, and Alexander Marsden, the Under Secretary. And without referring to other proofs thereof, that correspondence was afterwards, in their defence, by them presented through the Castle to the House of Commons, and printed in its proceedings.

"The cravings of the Cerberi were soon after fully satisfied by that sort of pabulum which they sought for their safe keeping of the prison-gates. For the overseer, according to parliamentary documents, swore before the three judges who sat in the prison

upon the commission obtained from government by this writer, that he (the overseer) had prevailed upon the government to increase the salary of George Dunn, on account of his fidelity in preventing this writer from effecting the escape of Robert Emmet. Thus did those conspirators take advantage of their own wrong for purposes of pecuniary fraud and personal aggrandizement. And as to the overseer, he, by means of the present transaction and other acts equally base, and likewise by a long course of prison peculation, from having been an obscure and needy adventurer, became a man of wealth.

"But as to George Dunn's conduct in this transaction, it is plain that he was not the man of probity, the incorruptible servant of justice which the newspaper extracts report him to have been; but, on the contrary, that he was a confederate leagued with the other parties for inveigling Robert Emmet and this present writer into a perilous conspiracy; and, with the blackest perfidy, that he was all along plotting and working for his own aggrandizement, and that of his unprincipled employer—of that base individual who was the prime instigator of the transaction, the pivot upon which the machinery moved—that salaried and sycophantic peculator, who, as the chief inquisitor of the prison, conspired with and delegated his Mosca, his familiar, to decoy his victims into a snare, in promotion of his own infamous objects; and that on this occasion George Dunn was merely his working instrument—the rope in the hands of the hangman.

"One word more, and in conclusion, concerning the insurrection in which poor R. Emmet was involved, and also concerning himself. That insurrection must indeed be viewed only with absolute and unqualified condemnation. But as to Robert Emmet individually, it will surely be admitted that even in the midst of error he was great, in principle untainted, in courage dauntless. And when upon his trial, with the grave already open to receive him, that the burst of eloquence with which he shook the very court wherein he stood, and caused not alone 'that viper whom his father nourished' to quail beneath the lash, but likewise forced even that 'remnant of humanity,' one of those who tried him, to tremble on the judgment-seat, was, under all the circumstances, an effort almost superhuman—a prodigy: not only when he hurled upon them that withering defiance and memorable castigation, but also when he advocated the grounds upon which he had acted, exhibiting altogether a concentration of moral integrity, talent, and intrepidity unparalleled in the annals of the world.

"VERAX."

COPY OF DISPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND, CONTAINING THE CASE OF MR. ST. JOHN MASON, WITH AN APPENDIX:

Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 2nd June, 1812.

"Dublin Castle, 1st December, 1811.

"DEAR SIR—Having been directed to furnish such information as I could collect relative to the causes of the arrest and imprisonment of St. John Mason in 1803, and for some time after, I proceeded to investigate the case with all the diligence in my power; but I found few original papers on the subject, no official project or memorandum, and even the information collected by inquiry has been in many parts very vague and unsatisfactory. Nor can this appear surprising when it is recollected that he was arrested during the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and while the country was in a state of insurrection, and that since his arrest a period of eight years has elapsed—that in that time there have been seven chief-secretaries, three under-secretaries, and three attornies-general; that notwithstanding changes of administration, and former complaints and inquiries as to his treatment in prison, Mr. Mason has now for the first time desired a scrutiny into the causes of his arrest and detention (at least to my knowledge) whereby that part of the subject has been forgot. The case, as far as I have been able to discover it, was this:

"St. John Mason was first cousin to Robert Emmet; *his* trial is in print, and the reading of it might be no bad preparation for any gentleman who wished to understand the state of Dublin at that time, and the views and feelings of government; Emmet's concern in the insurrection of 23rd July, 1803, appeared by the papers which on that night were found in the rebel depot in Mass-lane and sent to the Castle, some of which were proved on his trial; so far the government was fully informed; but what the extent of their information in other respects was, it is perhaps impossible now to discover; we must endeavour to ascertain the facts, and suppose them to have been known at the time.

"For some months previous to the insurrection Emmet had lived in or near Dublin, occupied chiefly in preparations for that event. At the time of the insurrection, and for some time before, but how long does not appear, St. John Mason, the first cousin and intimate friend of Emmet, resided at Sea Point, a genteel boarding-house, about four miles from the city, to which Emmet probably had made frequent visits, though this does not appear; I cannot find any evidence of any intercourse having taken place between them during this time; but it seems natural, that in the alarm, doubt, and suspense which followed the 23rd July, it

should have been at least strongly suspected that such intercourse had existed. Mason certainly took no part in the murders in Thomas-street; the insurrection in that quarter took place about nine o'clock in the evening, at which time he was in a large company at the house of a very respectable gentleman who resided about —— miles from town, and —— from Sea Point. Even this, however, did not tend to exempt him from all suspicion, as it was generally said that the company were surprised at his not coming till eight o'clock (though a dinner-party), and at his arriving there, not from Sea Point, but from town. On that night Mason lay at Sea Point; on the next or the following night he lay at an hotel in James's-street, almost adjoining the spot where the insurrection had broken out; and from thence proceeded by various modes of travelling as far as Nenagh, that being the direct way to Kerry, where Mason's connexions lay; there he was arrested (it does not appear on what day) by ——, a magistrate of the county, in consequence, as he states, of an order for that purpose from the then under-secretary. In Mason's letter-case were found some letters, particularly one directed to him, concerning which he expressed considerable anxiety, saying that it was from a female in London. This letter the magistrate read, and forwarded with the rest, and the prisoner, to the Castle. It cannot be found, but the magistrate's account of it is, that it purported to be from a woman, but was expressed as if it had some covered meaning; mentioned a longing till her nails should grow so long as to tear flesh and draw blood, and in more than one place expressed a wish to draw blood. On the whole, the magistrate states his opinion to have been at the time that the letter was written by Emmet.

"Mr. Mason was transmitted to Dublin, where, on the 9th of August, he was, under the chief secretary's warrant, committed to Kilmainham.

"In the latter end of August Robert Emmet was taken, and committed to the same prison.

"George Dunn, an Englishman, formerly one of the under-keepers, and a confidential attendant on the state prisoners, and now the chief keeper of Kilmainham, swears, that about the 5th of September (being at that time one of the under-keepers), he was applied to by Mr. St. John Mason to procure the escape of Emmet, then also a prisoner in Kilmainham gaol, for which he promised him the sum of five hundred pounds; adding, that should Emmet get clear off, he (Dunn) would receive one thousand pounds in all, and that he should be kept harmless. Dunn further swears, that conceiving it his duty to prevent, if possible, the execution of such a plan, and that the best mode of doing so was not immediately to reject Mason's proposal, he promised to consider it; but in the

meantime communicated with his 'superiors in office,' and in consequence of the directions he received, had another interview with Mason, and said he would endeavour to comply with his request; upon which Mason gave him a note to deliver to Emmet, which note he withheld, but communicated the contents to Emmet, and it was ultimately handed to Mr. Wickham.

"Dunn also swears that Mason then proposed, with which Dunn seemed to comply, that he should procure the key from Mr. John Dunn, the then keeper, while at dinner, and so let Emmet escape, and inform Emmet thereof, that he might take such steps as he thought necessary, which he accordingly did; that Emmet then gave him a note to Mr. Mason to procure clothes for the purpose of disguise, which note he was directed to show to Mr. John Dunn, the keeper, and afterwards delivered it to Mason who said —— would be with him the following day ,and would procure what was desired; that Mason gave him (Dunn) several things to carry to Emmet, which he immediately showed to his superiors, and then delivered them to Emmet, except some articles which were considered improper to be conveyed to him.

"Dunn further swears that he afterwards informed Mason that it would be out of his power to effect Emmet's escape, as Mr. John Dunn, the then keeper, remained entirely in that part of the prison; upon which Mason gave him a guinea note as a reward (which he also handed to his superiors). At the same time, Dunn swears that Mason requested him to instruct ——, a person whom he supposed would be produced on Emmet's trial, how to act according to the directions Mason then gave Dunn, for the purpose of preventing her giving evidence.

"Emmet was tried on the 19th, and executed on the 20th of September. After his trial, he wrote a letter to Mr. Wickham, then Chief Secretary, evidently not with any hope of pardon or respite, but apparently dictated by a sense of justice, and by that sentiment of magnanimity with which, whatever his crimes may have been, he certainly conducted himself on that solemn occasion. In that letter he declared that it had been his intention, not only to have acknowledged the delicacy with which he had been personally treated, but to have done the most public justice to the mildness of the then administration of this country, and at the same time to have acquitted them, as far as rested with him, of any charge of remissness in not having previously detected a conspiracy which, from its closeness, he knew it was impossible to have done.

"That Emmet (on certain references he had made to a person cognizant of his plans) had Mason then in his thoughts cannot be proved; but it can scarcely be supposed that he would have unne-

cessarily used such language if he had been satisfied of the innocence of so near a relative, confined, to his knowledge, in the same prison.

(Signed) "J. S. Townsend."

COPY OF THE EXAMINATION OF THE MAGISTRATE, CHIEF SECRETARY'S OFFICE, DUBLIN CASTLE, 26TH SEPTEMBER, 1811.

"Arrested Mr. John Mason in 1803, in consequence of a letter from this office, from Mr. Marsden, as witness thinks, and thinks he showed Mason the letter; brought to him by a yeoman of the name of ——. Found Mason in an inn at Nenagh, and took him; he appeared at first very much frightened. He searched him; found nothing on his person nor in his desk or letter-case, which he opened, but wished much to get one particular letter which he said was from a girl in London. Witness desired to see it, and on reading thought it a sort of disguise; probably from Emmet; written in too ambiguous a manner: kept no copy. It purported to be from a woman, and one of the expressions was, of a longing till her nails should grow so long as to tear flesh and draw blood, and repeated several times—'Oh! how I long to draw blood.' Witness sent it to the Castle with the rest, and observed on it in his letter; read none of the others, but sent the whole sealed up. He returned witness thanks for his kind treatment in the morning; having passed the night in custody.

"Witness asked if he could account why he had been taken up; he said he had been quizzing some ladies at Sea Point with politics, and supposed they had reported of him; he said he had lain in a hotel in James's-street a night or two after the 23rd of July, and had travelled in various ways to Nenagh.

"Witness knows he was at Sea Point on the night of 23rd July, 1803.

"He was civil to witness, but, as he has heard, quarrelled with every person in whose custody he was after.

"In some time after —— told witness that a man from Kerry had informed him that the people there were ready to rise but for the arrest of their colonel by witness.

"Witness had a relation of his own name who held a place in the revenue in Kerry, and wrote to witness to get him removed, as he expected to be murdered for his name, on account of witness having arrested Mason."

COPY OF ORIGINAL NOTE IN THE HANDWRITING OF MR. ST. JOHN MASON, NOW IN THE CHIEF SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

"You must relinquish every idea of not going alone, or nothing can be done. I see no reason why G. (George Dunn) should go; on the contrary, consider it would be most imprudent

and impolitic, and the delay of discovery may be for an hour even by his staying. I have a friend at Booterstown who will be here to-morrow. If he can I know he will procure a blue coat that will do; but it cannot be brought here. Surely you would be less liable to discovery by being alone wherever you went for two nights. The only possible reason you can have for not having G. stay is on account of R. and A. In short, give up that idea, or the whole will be impracticable. G. will be safe by remaining (not so if he goes). It may be unpleasant to him at first, but he has nothing to do but to persist in his negligence, and brave it.

"You must go singly; consider the clue to discovery in G. A. R. and E.—wife of one, connexion of another, and so on, &c. Prepare therefore to go alone.

"You say if you could all be safe for two nights; suppose I grant all but the 'if.' But I say the difficulty of concealment, even afterwards, would be tenfold for each person. Once more I conjure you not to think of it.

"*September*, 1803."

COPY OF AN ORIGINAL NOTE IN THE HANDWRITING OF MR. R. EMMET, NOW IN THE CHIEF SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

"Ask G. at what time Mr. D. dines, and if he leaves any one at the door then. Though it might be a little early, yet as he is longer away then than at any other time, it would better enable us all to go out, and with the change of dress would not be noticed. If it cannot be done then, he must watch the first opportunity after dinner that Mr. D. goes down to the house, and let me out immediately. I will be ready at the moment. Don't let him wait till the guards are doubled if he can avoid it; but if he cannot do it before let him be on the watch then, as D. will probably go to give them instructions when placing them in the yards, as he did last night. I am anxious not to defer it till to-morrow, as I heard the officers who came the rounds consulting with him about placing the sentries for better security, and think I heard them mention me in the *hall*. D. also came in at one o'clock last night, under pretence that he thought he heard me calling. If it is delayed till to-morrow it must be done at dinner-time. If sentries are placed in the hall by day the only way will be, whenever D. goes down let G. whistle *God save the King* in the passage, and I will immediately ask to go to the necessary, and will change my clothes there instantly; but in this case G. must previously convey them there. Send for a pair of spectacles (No. 5 fits my sight), which will facilitate the disguise. After I am gone G. must convey the clothes I wore away.

"*September*, 1803."

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. ROBERT EMMET TO THE RIGHT HON. WM. WICKHAM.

"20th September, 1803.

"SIR—Had I been permitted to proceed with my vindication, it was my intention not only to have acknowledged the delicacy which I feel with gratitude that I have been personally treated, but also to have done the most public justice to the mildness of the present administration of this country, and at the same time to have acquitted them, as far as rested with me, of any charge of remissness in not having previously detected a conspiracy, which from its closeness I know it was impossible to have done. I confess that I should have preferred this mode if it had been permitted, as it would thereby have enabled me to clear myself from an imputation under which I might in consequence lie, and to have stated why such an administration did not prevent, but under the peculiar situation of this country perhaps rather accelerated my determination to make an effort for the overthrow of a government of which I do not think equally high.

"However, as I have been deprived of that opportunity, I think it right now to make an acknowledgment which justice requires of me as a man, and which I do not feel in the least derogatory from my decided principles as an Irishman.

"I am, &c.,

(Signed) "ROBERT EMMET.

"Rt. Hon. W. Wickham,
&c. &c."

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. GEORGE DUNN TO DR. TREVOR, WITH DUNN'S AFFIDAVIT ANNEXED.

"SIR—Your having required from me an exact statement of my conduct relative to the intended escape of Mr. Emmet and Mr. Russell, prisoners confined in Kilmainham gaol in the year 1803, and since executed, I take the liberty of submitting the following facts, the authenticity and accuracy of which I am ready to verify upon oath.

"In that year, about the 5th of September, I was applied to by Mr. St. John Mason, a prisoner then confined in Kilmainham, and since liberated, to procure from prison the escape of Mr. Emmet, for which he promised me the sum of £500; and if Mr. Emmet should, in consequence, get clear off (meaning his escape from prison), I should receive £1,000 in all, and that he would keep me harmless. Conceiving it my duty to prevent if possible the execution of such a plan, and that the best mode of doing so was not to immediately reject his proposal (by which I should be

precluded from all further information), I told him I would consider upon what he mentioned. I immediately informed you thereof, and received your directions how I should act, in consequence of which I had another interview with Mr. Mason, and said I would endeavour to comply with the request, upon which he gave me a note to deliver to Mr. Emmet, which I gave to you, the contents of which I have no doubt but you recollect, and which you since informed me you handed to Mr. Secretary Wickham. Mr. Mason then proposed (with which I seemed to comply) that I should procure the key from Mr. Dunn, the then keeper, while at dinner, and let Mr. Emmet escape; and to inform him (Mr. Emmet) thereof, that he might take such steps as he thought necessary, which I accordingly did, and Mr. Emmet gave me a note to Mr. Mason, to procure clothes for the purpose of disguise, which note I showed by your directions to Mr. Dunn, the keeper. I afterwards delivered it to Mr. Mason, who informed me that * * * * * * * would be with him the following day and procure what was desired. In two days after, Mr. Mason gave me several things to carry to Mr. Emmet, which I immediately showed to you, and then delivered them, except some articles which you mentioned to me were improper to be conveyed to him.

"I then informed Mr. Mason that it would be out of my power to effect Mr. Emmet's escape, as Mr. John Dunn, the keeper, remained entirely in that part of the prison, upon which Mr. Mason gave me a guinea note, which I handed to you, and instructed ——, a person whom he supposed would be produced on Mr. Emmet's trial, how to act, according to the directions he then gave on that occasion, for the purpose of preventing her to go or to give evidence.

(Signed) "Geo. Dunn."

COPY OF AN EXTRACT IN BOOK FROM THE LETTER SIGNED ——

"Mason has associated much and intimately with the Irish rebels; he is a native of Kerry; was in Dublin college, and graduated in 1797. Was one of a committee then held at a printing office in Exchequer-street, when he with ——, of Kerry, and ——, of Tipperary, were deputed agents to Kerry; the former was the county representative, the two latter the colonel and adjutant-general, by the request of A. O'Connor and Emmet.

"On the arrest at Oliver Bond's, Mason —— went to Wales, and lived near Tenby. Mason soon after entered his name on the Inns of Court. In summer, 1800, he made a visit at Fort George. He then went —— to Hamburgh; thence to the Hague. ——, ——, ——, ——, ——, ——, ——, were at Liverpool, with the crew of the *Hoche*, disguised as Frenchmen. Mason, at

the desire of ——, went there, supplied them with money, met them in London, contrived to have them first exchanged, and paid their expenses to Dover; and when it was known that they were there, but their persons not known, Mason caused some Frenchmen to pass for them, who thereupon were sent to Ireland, where the stratagem was discovered too late. Mason had some fortune.

"From the Hague he went to Coblentz, from thence to London, by Embden; there he lodged, first in Marlborough-street, then in Kentishtown, and last in Crown-street, Westminster, associating with several disaffected persons, particularly ——, ——, ——, ——, ——, ——, ——. With the last he was at Cheltenham, last summer (1802); was a relation of Robert Emmet, and his class-fellow in College—is cautious and timid."

The official papers omitted in this memoir are those portions of the documents which relate to the attempts made to effect Russell's escape, which have been inserted in Russell's memoir.

Having inserted the information of the secret informer of the government, which represents Mr. Mason as a person long connected with treasonable proceedings, I think it due to Mr. Mason to publish in the appendix his petition to the House of Commons in 1811, to show the evident refutation of the foul calumnies against him, and to exhibit a specimen of the information on which the lives and liberties of Irishmen have been taken out of the protection of the law, and made to depend on the fantasies and caprices of a minor functionary of the Irish government.

CHAPTER VII.

TRIAL OF ROBERT EMMET.

On Monday, 19th September, 1803, at a special commission, before Lord Norbury, Mr. Baron George, and Mr. Baron Daly, Robert Emmet was put on his trial, on a charge of high treason, under 25th Edward III. The counsel assigned him were Messrs. Ball, Burrowes, and M'Nally.

The attorney-general, Mr. Standish O'Grady, opened the indictment. In the learned gentleman's address to the jury, the establishment of the prisoner's guilt seemed not to be a matter of more importance than the defence of the government from the appearance of surprisal, or the suspicion of having suffered a conspiracy, "serious in its unsounded depth and unknown extent," to have assumed a more formidable shape than a divided authority, a

government within a government, and a feeble executive were calculated to deal with. In fact, in the speeches of the attorney-general, and the king's counsel, Mr. Plunket, the hearers were perpetually, though of course unintentionally, reminded of the squabble between the governor and the general.

The attorney-general, in the course of his very able address, said: "Perhaps at former periods some allowance might be made for the heated imaginations of enthusiasts; perhaps an extravagant love of liberty might for a moment supersede a rational understanding, and might be induced, for want of sufficient experience or capacity, to look for that liberty in revolution. But it is not the road to liberty. It throws the mass of the people into agitation, only to bring the worst and most profligate to the surface. It originates in anarchy, proceeds in bloodshed, and ends in cruel and unrelenting despotism. . . . . Gentlemen, I do not wish to undertake to speak in the prophetic. But when I consider the vigilance and firmness of his majesty's government, the spirit and discipline of his majesty's troops, and that armed valour and loyalty which, from one end of the country to the other, has raised itself for the purpose of crushing domestic treason, and, if necessary, of meeting and repelling a foreign foe, I do not think it unreasonable to indulge a sanguine hope that the continuance of the same conduct upon the part of government, and of the same exertions upon the part of the people, will long preserve the nation free, happy, and independent. . . . . Gentlemen, upon former occasions, persons were brought to the bar of this court implicated in rebellion, in various though inferior degrees. But if I am rightly instructed, we have now brought to the bar of justice, not a person who had been seduced by others, but a gentleman to whom the rebellion may be traced, as the origin, the life and soul of it. . . . . I do sincerely lament with him (the prisoner) that some of those who have been hitherto brought to justice were, comparatively speaking, insignificant persons. They were not, I admit, prime movers of this treason, but I trust the commission may not pass over without some distinguished examples." . . .

At the conclusion of a speech of considerable length, the jury were told to give the prisoner the full benefit of any defence he might make, and dispassionately consider the nature of his vindication.

"EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES.

"Joseph Rawlings, Esq., being sworn, deposed to a knowledge of the prisoner, and recollected having been in his company some time in the month of December last, when he understood from him that he had been to see his brother at Brussels. On his cross-

examination the witness said, that in conversation with him on the subject of continental politics, the prisoner avowed that the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands execrated Buonaparte's government; and from the whole of the prisoner's conversation, the witness had reason to believe that he highly condemned Buonaparte's conduct and government.

"Mr. George Tyrrel, an attorney, proved the execution in the month of June last of the lease of a house in Butterfield-lane, Rathfarnham, from Michael Frayne, to the prisoner, who assumed on the occasion the name of Ellis. Mr. Tyrrel was one of the subscribing witnesses to the lease, and a person named William Dowdall was the other.

"Michael Frayne, who leased the above-mentioned house to the prisoner, proved also to that fact, and that he gave him possession of it on the 23rd of April preceding; that the prisoner and Dowdall lived in the most sequestered manner and apparently anxious of concealment.

"John Fleming, a native of the County of Kildare, sworn—Deposed that on the 23rd of July, and for the year previous thereto, he had been ostler at the White Bull Inn, Thomas-street, kept by a person named Dillon. The house was convenient to Marshal-lane, where the rebel depot was, and to which the witness had free and constant access—having been in the confidence of the conspirators, and employed to bring them ammunition and other things. He saw the persons there making pike-handles, and heading them with the iron part; he also saw the blunderbusses, firelocks, and pistols in the depot, and saw ball-cartridges there. Here the witness identified the prisoner at the bar, whom he saw in the depot for the first time on the Tuesday morning after the explosion in Patrick-street (that explosion took place on Saturday, the 16th of July). The witness had opened the gate of the inn-yard, which opened into Marshal-lane, to let out Quigley, when he saw the prisoner, accompanied by a person of the name of Palmer; the latter got some sacks from the witness, to convey ammunition to the stores, and the prisoner went into the depot, where he continued almost constantly until the evening of the 23rd July, directing the preparations for the insurrection, and having the chief authority. He heard the prisoner read a little sketch, as the witness called it, purporting that every officer, non-commissioned officer, and private should have equally everything they got, and have the same laws as in France. Being asked what it was they were to share, the prisoner replied, 'what they got when they were to take Ireland or Dublin.' He saw green uniform jackets making in the depot by different tailors, one of whom was named Colgan. He saw one uniform in particular—a green coat, laced on the

sleeves and skirt, &c., and gold epaulets, like a general's dress. He saw the prisoner take it out of a desk one day and show it to all present (here the witness identified the desk, which was in court); he also saw the prisoner, at different times, take out papers, and put papers back into the desk; there was none other in the store. Quigley used, also, sometimes to go to the desk. On the evening of the 23rd July, witness saw the prisoner dressed in the uniform above described, with white waistcoat and pantaloons, new boots and cocked hat, and white feather. He had also a sash on him, and was armed with a sword and case of pistols. The prisoner called for a big coat, but did not get it, to disguise his uniform, as he said, until he went to the party that was to attack the Castle. Quigley and a person named Stafford had uniforms like that of Emmet, but had only one epaulet. Quigley had a white feather, and Stafford a green one. Stafford was a baker in Thomas-street. About nine o'clock, the prisoner drew his sword, and called out to 'Come on, my boys.' He sallied out of the depot, accompanied by Quigley and Stafford and about fifty men, as well as he could judge, armed with pikes, blunderbusses, pistols, &c. They entered Dirty-lane, and went from thence into Thomas-street. The prisoner was in the centre of the party. They began to fire in Dirty-lane, and also when they got into Thomas-street. The witness was with the party. The prisoner went in the stores by the name of Ellis. He was considered by all of them as the general and head of the business; the witness heard him called by the title of general. In and out of the depot it was said that they were preparing to assist the French when they should land. Quigley went in the depot by the name of Graham.*

"Terence Colgan, the tailor named in the foregoing evidence, being sworn—Deposed that on the Sunday previous to the insurrection he came to town from Lucan, where he lived. Having met a friend, they went to Dillon's, the White Bull Inn, in Thomas-street, and drank until the witness, overcome with liquor, fell asleep, when he was conveyed in this state of insensibility into the depot in Marshalsea-lane, and when he awoke the next morning he was set to work making green jackets and white pantaloons. He saw the prisoner there, by whose directions everything was

* Moore, referring to Robert Emmet, in his Diary, September, 1830, says he had been talking to Peter Burrowes, who had been one of the counsel of Robert Emmet. Burrowes had told him, that Emmet wished no defence to be made for him; and that whenever he, Burrowes, endeavoured to disconcert any witness against him, Emmet would check him and say, "No, no—the man's speaking truth." And when Burrowes was about to avail himself of the privilege of reply, at the close of the case for the crown, Emmet said, "Pray do not attempt to defend me—it is all in vain;" and Burrowes accordingly desisted.

done, and who he understood was the chief. He recollected seeing the last witness frequently in the depot while he was there. He also saw the prisoner often at the desk writing. The witness corroborated the general preparations of arms, ammunition, &c., for the insurrection.

"Patrick Farrell sworn—Deposed that as he was passing through Marshalsea-lane, between the hours of nine and ten o'clock on the evening of Friday the 22nd of July, he stopped before the malt stores or depot on hearing a noise therein, which surprised him, as he considered it a waste house. Immediately the door opened, and a man came forth who caught him and asked him what he was doing there. The witness was then brought into the depot and again asked what brought him there, or had he been ever there before. He said he had not. They asked him did he know Graham. He replied he did not. One of the persons then said that witness was a spy, and called out to 'drop him immediately,' which the witness understood that they meant to shoot him. They brought him up stairs, and after some consultation they agreed to wait for some person to come in, who would decide what should be done with him. That person having arrived, he asked the witness if he knew Graham. He replied that he did not. A light was brought in at the same time, and the witness having looked about was asked if he knew any one there. He replied he knew Quigley. He was asked where. He replied that he knew him five or six years ago in the College of Maynooth, as a bricklayer or mason. The witness understood that Quigley was the person who went by the name of Graham. Here witness identified the prisoner as the person who came in and decided he should not be killed, but he should be taken care of and not let out. The witness was detained there that night and the whole of the next day, Saturday, the 23rd, and was made to assist at the different kinds of work.

"He assisted in taking boards from off a car; the boards, he said, were made into cases, and pikes put into them. These cases the witness described as being made of the outside slabs of a long beam, taken off about an inch or more thick; four or five inches at each end of the beam was cut off; the slabs were nailed together, and these pieces put in at the ends, so that it appeared like a rough plank or beam of timber. He saw several such cases filled with pikes sent out. The witness stated that on the evening of the 23rd he saw three men dressed in green uniforms, richly laced; one of whom was the prisoner, who wore two gold epaulets, but the other two only one each. The prisoner had also a cocked hat, sword, and pistols. When the witness was helping out one of the beams prepared for explosion, he contrived to make his escape.

"On his cross-examination, in which the interrogatories were suggested by the prisoner, the only thing remarkable in the evidence of the witness was 'that he had heard a printed paper read, part of which was, that nineteen counties were ready to rise at the same time to second the attempt in Dublin.' The witness also heard them say, 'that they had no idea as to the French relief, but would make it good themselves.' In answer to a question from the court the witness said that he gave information of the circumstances deposed in his evidence next morning to Mr. Ormsby in Thomas-street, to whom he was steward.

"Sergeant Thomas Rice proved the proclamation of the provisional government found in the depot.

"Colonel Spencer Thomas Vassal being sworn, deposed—That he was the field officer of the day on the 23rd of July; that having gone to the depot in Marshalsea-lane he found there several small proclamations addressed to the citizens of Dublin, and which were quite wet. He identified one of them. The witness also identified the desk which the prisoner used in the depot. Having remained about a quarter of an hour in the depot he committed to Major Greville the care of its contents.

"Questioned by the court.—The witness said that he visited the depot between three and four o'clock on Sunday morning, it having been much advanced in daylight before he was suffered to go his rounds.

"Alderman Frederick Darley sworn—Proved having found in the depot a paper directed to 'Robert Ellis, Butterfield;' also a paper entitled, 'A Treatise on the Art of War.' The latter had been handed at the time to Captain Evelyn.

"Captain Henry Evelyn sworn—Deposed having been at the rebel depot, the morning of Sunday, the 24th of July, to see the things removed to the barracks, and that he found a paper there (which being shown to him he identified). This paper was a manuscript draft of the greater part of the proclamation of the provisional government, altered and interlined in a great many places.

"Robert Lindsay, a soldier, and Michael Clement Frayne, quartermaster-sergeant of the 38th regiment, proved the conveyance of the desk (then in court) to the barracks; and the latter identified a letter which he found therein. The letter was signed 'Thomas Addis Emmet,' and directed to 'Mrs. Emmet, Miltown, near Dublin,' and began with 'My dearest Robert.' It bore a foreign post-mark.

"Edward Wilson, Esq., recollected the explosion of gunpowder which took place in Patrick-street previous to the 23rd of July; it took place on the 16th. He went there and found an apparatus for making gunpowder; was certain that it was gun-

powder exploded. Proved the existence of a rebellious insurrection, as did also Lieutenant Brady. The latter added that on an examination of the pikes which he found in Thomas-street, four were stained with blood on the iron part, and on one or two of them the blood extended half way up the handle.

"John Doyle, a farmer, being sworn, deposed to the following effect—That on the morning of the 26th of July last, about two o'clock, a party of people came to his house at Ballymace, in the parish of Tallaght, seven miles from Dublin. He had been drinking, and was heavy asleep; they came to his bedside, and stirred and called him, but he did not awake at once; when he did and looked up he lay closer than before; they desired him to take some spirits, which he refused. They then moved him to the middle of the bed, and two of them lay down, one on each side of him. One of them said, 'You have a French general and a French colonel beside you—what you never had before.' For some hours the witness lay between asleep and awake. When he found his companions asleep he stole out of the bed, and found in the room some blunderbusses, a gun, and some pistols. The number of blunderbusses he believed was equal to the number of persons, who on being collected at breakfast amounted to fourteen. (Here he identified the prisoner as one of those who were in the bed with him.)

"The witness then further stated, that the prisoner, on going away in the evening, put on a coat with a great deal of lace and tassels (as he expressed it). There was another person in a similar dress; they wore on their departure great coats over these.* The party left his house between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, and proceeded up the hill. The next morning the witness found under the table on which they breakfasted one of the small printed proclamations, which he gave to John Robinson the barony constable.

"Rose Bagnal, residing at Ballynascorney, about a mile farther up the hill from Doyle's, proved that a party of men, fifteen in number, and whom she described similar to that of the preceding witness, came to her house on the night of Tuesday immediately after the insurrection. Three of them wore green clothes, ornamented with something yellow: she was so frightened she could not distinguish exactly. One of them was called a general. She

* Unless R. Emmet had found means to conceal the uniform, he could not have effected his escape from Dublin. It will be seen by the evidence of John Fleming, that when the insurgents were issuing forth from the depot in Thomas-street, Emmet asked for a great coat, but did not get it. Mr. David Fitzgerald informed me that R. Emmet escaped in his clothes on the night of the 23rd of July; that he put on a coat of his (Fitzgerald's), at Mr. Long's in Crow-street after the rout in Thomas-street.

was not enabled to identify any of them. They left her house about nine o'clock the following night.

"John Robinson, constable of the barony of Upper Cross, corroborated the testimony of the witness Doyle, relative to the small proclamation, which he identified.

"Joseph Palmer sworn—Deposed that he was clerk to Mr. Colville, and lodged at his mother's house, Harold's-cross. He recollected the apprehension of the prisoner at his mother's house by Major Sirr; and that he did lodge there the preceding spring, at which time, and when he was arrested, he went by the name of Hewitt. The prisoner came to lodge there the second time, about three weeks before this last time, and was habited in a brown coat, white waistcoat, white pantaloons, Hessian boots, and a black frock. Those who visited the prisoner inquired for him by the name of Hewitt. At the time he was arrested, there was a label on the door of the house expressive of its inhabitants; it was written by the witness, but the name of the prisoner was omitted at his request, because he said he was afraid government would take him up.

"The prisoner, in different conversations with the witness, explained why he feared to be taken up. He acknowledged that he had been in Thomas-street on the night of the 23rd of July, and described the dress he wore on that occasion, part of which was the waistcoat, pantaloons, and boots already mentioned, and particularly his coat, which he said was a very handsome uniform. The prisoner had also a conversation with the witness about a magazine, and expressed much regret at the loss of the powder in the depot. The proclamations were likewise mentioned by the prisoner; and he planned a mode of escape, in the event of any attempt to arrest him, by going through the parlour window into the back house and from thence into the fields. Here the witness was shown a paper found upon a chair in the room in which the prisoner lodged, and asked if he knew whose handwriting it was? He replied that he did not know; but was certain that it had not been written by any of his family, and there was no lodger in his house besides the prisoner.

"The examination of this witness being closed, extracts from the proclamation addressed to the citizens of Dublin were read.

"Major Henry Charles Sirr sworn and examined—Deposed to the arrest of the prisoner on the evening of the 25th of August, in the house of Palmer, in Harold's-cross.

"Mr. M'Nally said, as Mr. Emmet did not intend to call any witness, or to take up the time of the court by his counsel stating any case or making any observations on the evidence, he presumed the trial was now closed on both sides.

"Mr. Plunket stood up and said—'It it with extreme reluctance that, under such circumstances, I do not feel myself at liberty to follow the example which has been set me by the counsel for the prisoner.'

"The attorney-general said—As the prisoner's declining to go into any case wore the impression that the case on the part of the crown required no answer, it was at his particular desire that Mr. Plunket rose to address the court."

Mr. Plunket made a speech, exceeding in length that of the attorney-general; the former occupying twelve pages of the printed report, the latter only nine. The learned gentlemen commented on the evidence with extraordinary skill and precision, and brought home, at every sentence of it, guilt enough to have convicted twenty men in the awful situation of the prisoner. It was a vehement, passionate, acrimonious appeal to the jury, against the prisoner and the principles he imputed to him. The following extracts are taken from Ridgeway's report of the trial (that report which was authorized by government).

"My Lords, and Gentlemen of the Jury—You need not entertain any apprehension that, at this hour of the day, I am disposed to take up a great deal of your time by observing upon the evidence which has been given. In truth, if this were an ordinary case, and if the object of this prosecution did not include some more momentous interests, than the mere question of the guilt or innocence of the unfortunate gentleman who stands a prisoner at the bar, I should have followed the example of his counsel, and should have declined making any observations upon the evidence. But, gentlemen, I do feel this to be a case of infinite importance indeed. It is a case important, like all others of this kind, by involving the life of a fellow-subject; but it is doubly, and tenfold important, because, from the evidence which has been given in the progress of it, the system of this conspiracy against the laws and constitution of the country has been developed in all its branches; and, in observing upon the conduct of the prisoner at the bar, and in bringing home the evidence of his guilt, I am bringing home guilt to a person who, I say, is the centre, the life-blood, and soul of this atrocious conspiracy. . . .

"Gentlemen—With respect to this mass of accumulated evidence, forming irrefragable proof of the guilt of the prisoner, I conceive no man capable of putting together two ideas can have a doubt. Why, then, do I address you, or why should I trespass any longer on your time and your attention? Because, as I have already mentioned, I feel this to be a case of great public expectation—of the very last national importance; and because when I am prosecuting a man in whose veins the very life-blood of this

conspiracy flowed, I expose to the public eye the utter meanness and insufficiency of its resources. What does it avow itself to be? A plan, not to correct the excesses or reform the abuses of the government of the country—not to remove any specks of imperfection which might have grown upon the surface of the constitution, or to restrain the overgrown power of the crown, or to restore any privilege of parliament, or to throw any new security around the liberty of the subject—no ; but it plainly and boldly avows itself to be a plan to separate *Great Britain from Ireland*, uproot the monarchy, and establish "*a free and independent republic in Ireland*" in its place! To sever the connexion between *Great Britain* and *Ireland!* Gentlemen, I should feel it a waste of words and of public time were I addressing you, or any person within the limits of my voice, to talk of the frantic desperation of the plan of any man who speculates upon the dissolution of that empire whose glory and whose happiness depends upon its indissoluble connexion. But, were it practicable to sever that connexion, to untie the links which bind us to the British constitution, and to turn us adrift upon the turbulent ocean of revolution—who could answer for the existence of this country as an independent country for a year? God and nature have made the two countries essential to each other; let them cling to each other to the end of time, and their united affection and loyalty will be proof against the machinations of the world.

"But how was this to be done? By establishing '*a free and independent republic!*' High sounding names! I would ask whether the man who used them understood what they meant? I will not ask what may be its benefits, for I know its evils. There is no magic in the name. We have heard of 'free and independent republics,' and have since seen the most abject slavery that ever groaned under iron despotism growing out of them.

"Formerly, gentlemen of the jury, we have seen revolutions effected by some great call of the people ripe for change, and unfitted by their habits for ancient forms ; but here, from the obscurity of concealment, and by the voice of that pigmy authority, self-created and fearing to show itself but in arms and under cover of the night, we are called on to surrender a constitution which has lasted for a period of one thousand years. Had any body of the people come forward, stating any grievance or announcing their demand for a change? No! but while the country is peaceful, enjoying the blessings of the constitution, growing rich and happy under it—a few desperate, obscure, contemptible adventurers in the trade of revolution, form a scheme against the constituted authorities of the land, by force and violence to overthrow an ancient and venerable constitution, and to plunge a whole people into the horrors of civil war! . . .

"They have not stated what particular grievance or oppression is complained of; but they have travelled back into the history of six centuries—they have raked up the ashes of former cruelties and rebellions—and upon the memory of them they call upon the good people of this country to embark into similar troubles; but they forget to tell the people that until the infection of new-fangled French principles was introduced, this country was for 100 years free from the slightest symptom of rebellion, advancing in improvement of every kind beyond any example, while the former animosities of the country were melting down into a general system of philanthropy and cordial attachment to each other. They forget to tell the people whom they address that they have been enjoying the benefit of equal laws, by which the property, the person, and constitutional rights and privileges of every man are abundantly protected: they have not pointed out a single instance of oppression. . . .

"Let me allude to another topic. They call for revenge on account of the removal of the parliament. Those men who in 1798 endeavoured to destroy the parliament, now call upon the loyal men who opposed its transfer to join them in rebellion—an appeal vain and fruitless. Look around and see with what zeal and loyalty they have rallied around the throne and constitution of the country. Whatever might have been the difference of opinion heretofore among Irishmen upon some points, when armed rebels appear against the laws and public peace, every minor difference is annihilated in the paramount claim of duty to our king and country. . . .

"Suffer me for a moment to call your attention to one or two of the edicts published by the conspirators."

[Mr. Plunket referred to the proclamation denouncing opposition to the cause of the conspirators.]

"For God's sake, to whom are we called upon to deliver up—with only fourteen days to consider of it—all the advantages we enjoy? Who are they who claim the obedience? The prisoner is the principal. I do not wish to say anything harsh of him—a young man of considerable talents if used with precaution, and of respectable rank in society if content to conform himself to its laws. But when he assumes the manner and the tone of a legislator, and calls upon all ranks of people the instant the provisional government proclaims in the abstract a new government, without specifying what the new laws are to be, or how the people are to be conducted and managed, but that the moment it is announced the whole constituted authority is to yield to him, it becomes an extravagance bordering upon frenzy—this is going beyond the example of all former times. . . .

"But I do not wish to awaken any remorse, except such as may be salutary to himself and the country, in the mind of the prisoner. But when he reflects that he has stooped from the honourable situation in which his birth, talents, and his education placed him, to debauch the minds of the lower orders of ignorant men with the phantoms of liberty and equality, he must feel that it was an unworthy use of his talents—he should feel remorse for the consequences which ensued, grievous to humanity and virtue, and should endeavour to make all the atonement he can, by employing the little time which remains for him in endeavouring to undeceive them.

"Liberty and equality are dangerous names to make use of. If properly understood, they mean enjoyment of personal freedom under the equal protection of the laws; and a genuine love of liberty inculcates an affection for our friends, our king, and country—a reverence for their lives—an anxiety for their safety; a feeling which advances from private to public life, until it expands and swells into the more dignified name of philanthropy and philosophy. But in the cant of modern philosophy, these affections which form the ennobling distinctions of man's nature are all thrown aside—all the vices of his character are made the instrument of *moral good*—an *abstract quantity of vice* may produce a certain quantity of *moral good!* To a man whose principles are thus poisoned, and his judgment perverted, the most flagitious crimes lose their names—robbery and murder become *moral good!* He is taught not to startle at putting to death a fellow-creature, if it be represented as a mode of contributing to the good of all. In pursuit of those phantoms and chimeras of the brain, they abolish feelings and instincts which God and nature have planted in our hearts for the good of humankind. Thus, by the printed plan for the establishment of liberty and a free republic, murder is prohibited and proscribed, and yet you have heard how this caution against excesses was followed up by the recital of every grievance that ever existed, and which could excite every bad feeling of the heart—the most vengeful cruelty and insatiate thirst for blood.

"Gentlemen, I am anxious to suppose that the mind of the prisoner recoiled at the scenes of murder which he witnessed, and I mention one circumstance with satisfaction. It appears he saved the life of Farrell; and may the recollection of that one good action cheer him in his last moments. But though he may not have planned individual murders, that is no excuse to justify his embarking in treason, which must be followed by every species of crime. It is supported by the rabble of the country, while the rank, the wealth, and the power of the country is opposed to it. . . . Let loose the winds of heaven, and what power less than omnipotent

can control them? So it is with the rabble—let them loose, and who can restrain them? What claim then can the prisoner have upon the compassion of the jury, because, in the general destruction which his schemes necessarily produce, he did not meditate individual murder? In the short space of a quarter of an hour what a scene of blood and horror was exhibited? I trust that the blood that has been shed in the streets of Dublin upon that night, and since upon the scaffold, and which hereafter may be shed, will not be visited on the head of the prisoner. It is not for me to say what are the limits of the mercy of God—what a sincere repentance of those crimes may effect; but I do say that if this unfortunate young gentleman retains any of the seeds of humanity in his heart, or possesses any of those qualities which a virtuous education in a liberal seminary must have planted in his bosom, he will make an atonement to his God and his country, by employing whatever time remains to him in warning his deluded countrymen from persevering in their schemes. Much blood has been shed, and he perhaps would have been immolated by his followers if he had succeeded. They are a blood-thirsty crew, incapable of listening to the voice of reason, and equally incapable of obtaining rational freedom, if it were wanting in this country, as they are of enjoying it. They imbrue their hands in the most sacred blood of the country, and yet they call upon God to prosper their cause as it is just! But as it is atrocious, wicked, and abominable, I must devoutly invoke that God to confound and overwhelm it."*

Thus terminated Mr. Plunket's superfluous speech, with a superfluous imprecation.

The attorney-general, Mr. Standish O'Grady, terminated his address to the jury with a humane recommendation to them "to give the prisoner the full benefit of any defence he might make, and dispassionately consider the nature of his vindication." The solicitor-general concluded his oration against the prisoner with a malediction on the principles and associates of the prisoner.

I have some observations to make on this oration of Mr. Plunket, which I reserve for the conclusion of this memoir.

When Mr. Plunket had concluded the curse which terminated his speech, Lord Norbury charged the jury, and it ought in fairness, I will not say to that much injured, but much reprobated man, to be stated that his speech was as free from rancour as it was in the nature of things for any speech of Lord Norbury to be on a similar occasion.

The jury without retiring from the box brought in a verdict of "Guilty."

The attorney-general prayed the judgment of the court.

* Ridgeway's Report of Trial of Robert Emmet.

Mr. M'Nally, on the part of the prisoner, stated a request, which probably ought to be addressed to the attorney-general, that judgment might not be made until the following day.

The attorney-general, Mr. Standish O'Grady, said: "It was impossible to comply with the request."

The clerk of the crown then in the usual form addressed the prisoner, concluding in these words: "What have you therefore now to say why judgment of death and execution should not be awarded against you according to law.

Mr. Emmet, standing forward in the dock in front of the bench, said: "My lords, as to why judgment of death and execution should not be passed upon me according to law I have nothing to say; but as to why my character should not be relieved from the imputations and calumnies thrown out against it I have much to say. I do not imagine that your lordships will give credit to what I am going to utter; I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of the court. I only wish your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories, until it has found some more hospitable harbour to shelter it from the storms with which it is at present buffeted. Was I to suffer only death after being adjudged guilty, I should bow in silence to the fate which awaits me; but the sentence of the law which delivers over my body to the executioner consigns my character to obloquy. A man in my situation has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, but also the difficulties of prejudice. Whilst the man dies his memory lives; and that mine may not forfeit all claim to the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me. I am charged with being an emissary of France. It is false—I am no emissary. I did not wish to deliver up my country to a foreign power, and least of all to France. Never did I entertain the remotest idea of establishing French power in Ireland. From the introductory paragraph of the address of the provisional government it is evident, that every hazard attending an independent effort was deemed preferable to the more fatal risk of introducing a French army into this country. Small indeed would be our claim to patriotism and to sense, and palpable our affectation of the love of liberty, if we were to sell our country to a people who are not only slaves themselves, but the unprincipled and abandoned instruments of imposing slavery on others. And, my lords, let me here observe that I am not the head and life's blood of this rebellion. When I came to Ireland I found the business ripe for execution. I was asked to join in it. I took time to consider, and after mature deliberation I became one of the provisional government; and there

then was, my lords, an agent from the United Irishmen and provisional government of Ireland at Paris, negotiating with the French government to obtain from them an aid sufficient to accomplish the separation of Ireland from Great Britain; the preliminary to which assistance has been a guarantee to Ireland similar to that which Franklin obtained for America. But the imputation that I, or the rest of the provisional government, meditated to put our country under the dominion of a power which has been the enemy of freedom in every part of the globe is utterly false and unfounded. Did we entertain any such ideas how could we speak of giving freedom to our countrymen? How could we assume such an exalted motive? If such an inference is drawn from any part of the proclamation of the provisional government it calumniates their views, and is not warranted by the fact.

"Connexion with France was indeed intended, but only as far as mutual interest would sanction or require. Were they to assume any authority inconsistent with the purest independence it would be the signal for their destruction. We sought aid, and we sought it—as we had assurance we should obtain it—as auxiliaries in war and allies in peace.

"Were the French to come as invaders or enemies, uninvited by the wishes of the people, I should oppose them to the utmost of my strength. Yes! my countrymen, I should advise you to meet them upon the beach, with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other. I would meet them with all the destructive fury of war. I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their boats before they had contaminated the soil of my country. If they succeeded in landing, and if forced to retire before superior discipline, I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and the last intrenchment of liberty should be my grave. What I could not do myself, if I should fall, I should leave as a last charge to my countrymen to accomplish; because I should feel conscious that life, even more than death, would be unprofitable when a foreign nation held my country in subjection.

"Reviewing the conduct of France to other countries, could we expect better towards us? No! Let not then any man attaint my memory by believing that I could have hoped to give freedom to my country by betraying the sacred cause of liberty, and committing it to the power of her most determined foe. Had I done so I had not deserved to live—and dying with such a weight upon my character, I had merited the honest execration of that country which gave me birth, and to which I would give freedom. What has been the conduct of the French towards other countries? They promised them liberty, and when they got them into their power they enslaved them. What has been their

conduct towards Switzerland, where it has been stated that I had been? Had the people there been desirous of French assistance, and been deceived by that power, I would have sided with the people—I would have stood between them and the French, whose aid they called in, and to the utmost of my ability I would have protected them from every attempt at subjugation. I would in such a case have fought against the French, and in the dignity of freedom I would have expired on the threshold of that country, and they should have entered it only by passing over my lifeless corse. Is it then to be supposed that I would be slow in making the same sacrifices for my native land? Am I, who lived but to be of service to my country, and who would subject myself to the bondage of the grave to give her freedom and independence—am I to be loaded with the foul and grievous calumny of being an emissary of French tyranny and French despotism? My lords, it may be part of the system of angry justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to meet the ignominy of the scaffold; but worse to me than the scaffold's shame or the scaffold's terrors would be the imputation of having been the agent of the despotism and ambition of France; and whilst I have breath I will call upon my countrymen not to believe me guilty of so foul a crime against their liberties and against their happiness. I would do with the people of Ireland as I would have done with the people of Switzerland, could I be called upon again to act in their behalf. My object, and that of the rest of the provisional government, was to effect a total separation between Great Britain and Ireland—to make Ireland totally independent of Great Britain, but not to let her become a dependent of France."

Here he was interrupted by Lord Norbury.

"When my spirit shall have joined those bands of martyred heroes who have shed their blood on the scaffold and in the field in defence of their country, this is my hope, that my memory and name may serve to animate those who survive me.

"While the destruction of that government which upholds its dominion by impiety against the Most High, which displays its power over man as over the beasts of the field, which sets man upon his brother, and lifts his hands in religion's name against the throat of his fellow who believes a little more or less than the government standard, which reigns amidst the cries of the orphans and of the widows it has made——" Here Mr. Emmet was interrupted by Lord Norbury.

After a few words on the subject of his objects, purposes, and the final prospect of success, he was again interrupted, when he said:

"What I have spoken was not intended for your lordships,

whose situation I commiserate rather than envy; my expressions were for my countrymen. If there be a true Irishman present, let my last words cheer him in the hour of affliction."

Lord Norbury interrupted the prisoner.

"I have always understood it to be the duty of a judge, when a prisoner has been convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law. I have also understood that judges sometimes think it their duty to hear with patience and to speak with humanity—to exhort the victim of the laws, and to offer with tender benignity his opinions of the motives by which he was actuated in the crime of which he was adjudged guilty. That a judge has thought it his duty so to have done I have no doubt; but where is the boasted freedom of your institutions—where is the vaunted impartiality, clemency, and mildness of your courts of justice, if an unfortunate prisoner whom your policy, and *not justice*, is about to deliver into the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to explain his motives sincerely and truly, and to vindicate the principles by which he was actuated?

"My lords, it may be a part of the system of angry justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to the purposed ignominy of the scaffold; but worse to me than the purposed shame or the scaffold's terrors would be the tame endurance of such foul and unfounded imputations as have been laid against me in this court. You, my lord, are a judge. I am the supposed culprit. I am a man—you are a man also. By a revolution of power we might change places, though we never could change characters. If I stand at the bar of this court and dare not vindicate my character, *what a farce is your justice!* If I stand at this bar and dare not vindicate my character, *how dare you calumniate it?* Does the sentence of death which your unhallowed policy inflicts on my body condemn my tongue to silence, and my reputation to reproach? Your executioner may abridge the period of my existence, but while I exist I shall not forbear to vindicate my character and motives from your aspersions; and as a man to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of that life in doing justice to that reputation which is to live after me, and which is the only legacy I can leave to those I honour and love, and for whom I am proud to perish. As men, my lords, we must appear on the great day at one common tribunal, and it will then remain for the Searcher of all hearts to show a collective universe, who was engaged in the most virtuous actions, or actuated by the purest motives—my country's oppressors or ——"

Here he was interrupted, and told to listen to the sentence of the law.

"My lords, will a dying man be denied the legal privilege of

exculpating himself in the eyes of the community from a reproach thrown upon him during his trial, by charging him with ambition, and attempting to cast away for a paltry consideration the liberties of his country. Why then insult me, or rather why insult justice, in demanding of me, why sentence of death should not be pronounced against me? I know, my lords, that the form prescribes that you should put the question, the form also confers a right of answering. This, no doubt, may be dispensed with, and so might the whole ceremony of the trial, since sentence was already pronounced at the Castle before your jury were impanelled. Your lordships are but the priests of the oracle, and I submit, but I insist on the whole of the forms."

Here Mr. Emmet paused, and the court desired him to proceed.

"I have been charged with that importance in the efforts to emancipate my country as to be considered the key-stone of the combination of Irishmen, or, as it has been expressed, 'the life and blood of this conspiracy.' You do me honour overmuch; you have given to the subaltern all the credit of the superior. There are men concerned in this conspiracy, who are not only superior to me, but even to your own conceptions of yourself, my lord; men, before the splendour of whose genius and virtues I should bow with respectful deference, and who would not deign to call you friend—who would not disgrace themselves by shaking your blood-stained hand."

Here he was interrupted by Lord Norbury.

"What, my lord, shall you tell me on my passage to the scaffold—which that tyranny of which you are only the intermediate minister has erected for my death—that I am accountable for all the blood that has and will be shed in this struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor? Shall you tell me this—and must I be so very a slave as not to repel it?

"I do not fear to approach the Omnipotent Judge to answer for the conduct of my short life; and am I to stand appalled here before a mere remnant of mortality? Let no man dare, when I am dead, to charge me with dishonour; let no man attaint my memory by believing that I could have engaged in any cause but of my country's liberty and independence. The proclamation of the provisional government speaks my views—no inference can be tortured from it to countenance barbarity or debasement. I would not have submitted to a foreign oppression for the same reason that I would have resisted tyranny at home."

Lord Norbury: "Mr. Emmet, you have been called upon to show cause, if any you have, why the judgment of the law should not be enforced against you. Instead of showing anything in

point of law why judgment should not pass, you have proceeded in a manner the most unbecoming a person in your situation; you have avowed and endeavoured to vindicate principles totally subversive of the government—totally subversive of the tranquillity, well-being, and happiness of that country which gave you birth—and you have broached treason the most abominable.

"You, sir, had the honour to be a gentleman by birth, and your father filled a respectable situation under the government. You had an eldest brother whom death snatched away, and who when living was one of the greatest ornaments of the bar. The laws of his country were the study of his youth, and the study of his maturer life was to cultivate and support them. He left you a proud example to follow, and if he had lived he would have given your talents the same virtuous direction as his own, and have taught you to admire and preserve that constitution for the destruction of which you have conspired with the most profligate and abandoned, and associated yourself with hostlers, bakers, butchers, and such persons, whom you invited to council when you erected your provisional government." . . . .

"If the spirits," said Emmet, "of the illustrious dead participate in the concerns of those who were dear to them in this transitory scene—dear shade of my venerated father look down on your suffering son, and see has he for one moment deviated from those moral and patriotic principles which you so early instilled into his youthful mind, and for which he has now to offer up his life.

"My lord, you are impatient for the sacrifice. The blood which you seek is not congealed by the artificial terrors which surround your victim; it circulates warmly and unruffled through its channels, and in a little time it will cry to heaven. Be yet patient! I have but a few words more to say—my ministry is now ended. I am going to my cold and silent grave; my lamp of life is nearly extinguished. I have parted with everything that was dear to me in this life for my country's cause, and abandoned another idol I adored in my heart—the object of my affections. My race is run—the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. I am ready to die—I have not been allowed to vindicate my character. I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world—it is *the charity of its silence*. Let no man write my epitaph; for as no man who knows my motives dares now vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them. Let them rest in obscurity and peace: my memory be left in oblivion, and my tomb remain uninscribed, until other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written. I have done."

Lord Norbury, after an address which was pronounced with emotion never exhibited on any former occasion by his lordship, pronounced the dreadful sentence, ordering the prisoner to be executed on the following day, Tuesday. When the prisoner was removed from the dock it was about half-past ten o'clock at night!!!

"These were the last words," says Charles Phillips, in reference to Emmet's address, "which Robert Emmet ever spoke in public; and these words deliberately avowed and justified the conduct for which his life had been pronounced the forfeit. Indeed he does not appear to have been a young man upon whose mind adversity could produce any effect. He was buoyed up by a characteristic enthusiasm; and this, tempered as it was by the utmost amenity of manners, rendered him an object of love and admiration even in his prison."

In the dock he was likewise an object of love and admiration, of sympathy with all, even with Lord Norbury. I should have said: with all, perhaps with one exception—that of a man of a cold heart, an ungenerous nature, and ungenial disposition. I have been acquainted with eight persons—all men of high intelligence and education, most of them members of the Established Church; two of them ministers of that Church; the majority of them, too, totally opposed to the politics and principles of Robert Emmet—who were present when he pronounced that memorable speech, and all concur in the opinion that the speaker of it was wonderfully gifted, and that he had made an impression on their minds which nothing ever could efface. Mr. Buchanan, the late consul of Yew York, Dr. Macabe, the Rev. Dr. Hayden, the Rev. Dr. Macartney, and others whose names I am not at liberty to disclose, and amongst them one whose retentive memory has preserved every striking passage, an Englishman now filling the situation of usher of one of the principal police-offices in London, were present at the trial of Emmet, and one and all speak of his address as surpassing in thrilling eloquence anything they had ever witnessed in oratory.

No published report of the speech of Robert Emmet gives any adequate idea of the effect its delivery produced on the minds of his auditors. Emmet pronounced the speech in so loud a voice as to be distinctly heard at the outer doors of the court-house; and yet, though he spoke in a loud tone, there was nothing boisterous in its delivery, or forced or affected in his manner; his accents and cadence of voice, on the contrary, were exquisitely modulated. His action was very remarkable; its greater or lesser vehemence corresponded with the rise and fall of his voice. A venerable judge now on the Irish bench was present at this trial from its

commencement to its end. Totally opposed to the principles of Emmet though he was, the impression made on him by that address was such as he can only speak of now, at the expiration of fifty-six years, with tears and mournful expressions of admiration for the talents of "that most remarkable young man," and sorrow for the application of them and for his doom. The following are the words of the venerable Judge ———, in reference to Emmet's action in the delivery of his address:

"Whenever he referred to the charges brought against him by Plunket, he generally used the word 'the honourable gentleman' said so-and-so; and then enforcing his arguments against his accusers, his hand was stretched forward, and the two forefingers of the right hand were slowly laid on the open palm of the other, and alternately were raised or lowered as he proceeded." He is described as moving about the dock, as he warmed in his address, with rapid but not ungraceful motions; now in front of the railing before the bench, then retiring, as if his body as well as his mind were swelling beyond the measure of their chains. His action was not confined to his hands; he seemed to have acquired a swaying motion of the body when he spoke in public, which was peculiar to him, but there was no affectation in it. It was said of Tone, on his trial, by a by-stander, that he never saw any one cast affectation so far behind him. The remark with equal truth might have been applied to Emmet. His trial commenced on the morning of the 18th of September, 1803, and terminated the same evening at half-past ten o'clock, and a few hours were all that were given to him to prepare for eternity. Tuesday, the 20th of September, was fixed for his execution; he had prayed, through his counsel, of the attorney-general not to be brought up for judgment till the Wednesday; his application was refused; the ministers of justice were impatient for the sacrifice; the ministers of mercy and of humanity were abroad, or had resigned their places, or were driven from the Castle, or were drowned in their own tears. Poor Emmet, at half-past ten o'clock at night, was removed from the court-house in Green-street to Newgate; there he was heavily ironed by Gregg the gaoler, and placed, it is supposed by *The Times* correspondent, in one of the condemned cells. The government appear to have become alarmed lest any attempt should be made at a rescue: there is some reason to think that some project of this kind was in contemplation, and that Robert Emmet had been made acquainted with it. Long after midnight, when the few brief hours the prisoner had to live ought to have been sacred from disturbance, an order came from the secretary at the Castle forthwith to have the prisoner conveyed to Kilmainham gaol, a distance of about two miles and a-half. And the fears of the

government were made to appear an anxious desire of the secretary to consult the comfort of the condemned man. If this was the case why did they wait till after midnight to issue their orders.

The account of the proceedings on the trial I have taken from Ridgeway's Report; but the report in it of Emmet's speech is mutilated; several important passages are omitted. What Ridgeway does report is tolerably correctly given. Counsellor Ridgeway was one of the counsel for the crown; and it is well known that the reports of the trials in 1798, and it is probable that those in 1803, had to be submitted to the Castle functionaries, and subjected to revision before publication. The report of Robert Emmet's speech in *The Hibernian Magazine* of 1803 is more simple, and equally correct, as far as it goes; but there are in it likewise many omissions. It was only by submitting the various versions of the speech to the revision of trustworthy persons who were present at the trial, and had a strong recollection of the discourse pronounced by Emmet, and comparing different passages, that a copy could be obtained wherein the omitted matter was supplied, and the additions were struck out, which certainly were not improvements of Judge Johnstone, Watty Cox, and others. I feel justified in stating that the report of the speech of Robert Emmet which I have laid before my readers is the most correct version that exists of the address delivered by him on that occasion. I have taken no common pains on this subject to ascertain what was said, and what was not said by him.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEATH OF ROBERT EMMET—DISPOSAL OF HIS REMAINS—HIS CHARACTER, AND THE QUESTION OF THE OBJECT, MEANS, PLANS, AND RESULTS OF THE INSURRECTION OF 1803.

The trial of Robert Emmet lasted thirteen hours. It commenced at half-past nine o'clock on the morning of the 19th of September, 1803, and lasted till half-past ten o'clock at night of the same day. During these thirteen hours of mortal anxiety, of exertion, of attention constantly engaged, he had no interval of repose, no refreshment. He was brought to Newgate at near eleven o'clock at night, sentenced to be hanged the next day, and at the expiration of two hours he was informed he would be taken back to Kilmainham a little later; and accordingly he was brought back to his former place of confinement.

In the month of August, 1859, I accompanied Mr. Patten to Kilmainham gaol, to have the cell pointed out to me where Robert

Emmet passed his last night in this world; and on entering the vestibule of the prison, Mr. Patten without any hesitation or inquiry stepped up to a door, the first on entering, on the left-hand side, and recognized that room rather than cell—for it was not ordinarily used as a cell; though Mr. Patten had been placed in confinement in it, and actually slept in the bed of Robert Emmet the night following his execution. It is now quite different in its appearance to what he remembers it. When he entered the room, Robert's bed was just as he had slept in it the night before; and there he (Mr. Patten) slept; and Robert had not been dead many hours when he lay down there. The room is now undergoing such extensive alterations that in a short time it will be totally different in regard to size, doors, and windows. The dimensions of it as it existed when Robert Emmet passed his last night there, were as follows—eighteen feet in height, sixteen feet in length, fourteen feet in breadth. After many inquiries, we could find only one person living in the locality who had any knowledge of Robert Emmet while in prison in Kilmainham. A woman who now keeps a public house in Kilmainham, extremely old, but with the remains of fine, expressive, intellectual features. Her father was a native of Kilmainham, a yeoman, and a man of some importance, I presume, in Orangeism, and who was much about the gaol and its officials. The daughter, too, frequented the prison, and became very intimate with Mr. Robert Emmet; and no sooner was that name pronounced by her than she burst out crying, and seemed as if she could not control her feelings, though she had not spoken of him for many a long year. But she had thought of him often, it was very evident to me and Mr. Patten.

A philosopher might have contemplated with interest the scene that occurred when the governor of the prison ushered me and my old, venerable, grey-headed friend, John Patten, the friend of Robert Emmet, the brother-in-law of Thomas Addis Emmet, into that chamber where the young man of a great name and memory passed his last night.

"You seem to remember this room, sir."

"Oh, yes; I was confined in it for some months, and for some years in other rooms in the prison."

"You must have suffered a great deal during this long imprisonment?"

"My mind was pretty much the same when I was in confinement as it was when I was at large."

"Many of the state prisoners complained bitterly of the officials of the prison, and long after their liberation gave expression to angry feelings."

"The tempers of many people become irritable in confinement;

they form exaggerated notions of their privations, and their wrongs, too. I had many acts of kindness to be grateful for in Kilmainham gaol. Arbitrary measures in those times of terror must be expected at the hands of an arbitrary government. In some cases, no doubt, innocent persons have suffered long imprisonment as well as the guilty.

"Had you no apprehension, sir, at any time, of even a worse fate than imprisonment?"

"No—I never had any apprehension at all, and very little care what they might do to me."

The governor of Kilmainham gaol looked on the pale, unimpassioned, calm, and imperturbable features of the venerable old man who was the friend of Robert Emmet, and seemed to peruse that face as if he was trying to think "what manner of men" those prisoners were half a century ago, who might have looked after the fashion of this old gentleman.

In that room where the conversation above referred to took place, in the way of "espials," Counsellor Leonard M'Nally—the rebels' advocate, the friend of Curran—ministered to poor Robert Emmet the morning of the last day of his existence, and picked the brains of the prisoner, whom he had defended, for Secretary Marsden and his master.

The late worthy man and able writer as well as orator, Curran's best biographer, Mr. Charles Phillips, in the fourth edition of his excellent work, "Curran and his Cotemporaries," published, be it observed, before "The Cornwallis Memoirs" made their appearance, and their revelations were set before the world respecting the wages of the perfidy of Mr. M'Nally and the villany of Mr. Higgins:

"I have used the words 'supposed patriotism' advisedly, in speaking of M'Nally. I have done so because it has been frequently asserted, and in print, too, that he was a pensioner on the Castle list!!! M'Nally a pensioner! If this be false, why is it not contradicted? If it be true, for what services was that pension given? Dr. Madden, in his life of Robert Emmet—a work of great research and value—broadly states the fact, but does not give, as he usually does, his grounds for so stating it. The thing is incredible. If I was called upon to point out, next to Curran, the man most obnoxious to the government of that day—who most hated them, and was most hated by them—it would have been Leonard M'Nally. That M'Nally who, amidst the military audience, stood by Curran's side while he denounced oppression, defied power, and dared every danger! Who echoed his expressions, reflected his principles, joined in his daily anathema against government, and seemed almost to idolise his glance, when, with the bayonets at his breast, the glorious advocate exclaimed, 'Pro-

ceed to your office. Assassinate me you may—intimidate me you cannot.'" *

I will not trouble my readers anew with the grounds very amply stated in a preceding volume of this work, for denouncing the perfidy of M'Nally. "The thing is incredible," C. Phillips, for the sake of human nature, tried to believe. Alas! for its honour, the thing is indubitable.

On Tuesday, the 20th of September, the day of the execution of Robert Emmet, he was visited by Mr. Leonard M'Nally, the barrister, at ten o'clock in the morning, who, on entering the room where Emmet had the indulgence of remaining all that morning in the company of the Rev. Dr. Gamble, the ordinary of Newgate, found him reading the litany of the service of the Church of England. Permission was given to him to retire with M'Nally into an adjoining room, and on entering it his first inquiry was after his mother, whose health had been in a declining state, and had wholly broken down under the recent afflictions which had fallen on her. M'Nally hesitating to answer the inquiry, Robert Emmet repeated the question, "How is my mother?" M'Nally, without replying directly, said, "I know, Robert, you would like to see your mother." The answer was, "Oh! what would I not give to see her?" M'Nally, pointing upwards, said, "Then, Robert, you will see her this day!" and then gave him an account of his mother's death, which had taken place several days previously—not the day before, as has been erroneously stated.† Emmet made no reply; he stood motionless and silent for some moments, and said, "It is better so." He was evidently struggling hard with his feelings, and endeavouring to suppress them. He made no further allusion to the subject but by expressing "a confident hope that he and his mother would meet in heaven." The preceding particulars, with the exception of the reference to the precise date of the death of Mrs. Emmet, were communicated to me by Emmet's early friend, who was then an inmate of Kilmainham gaol, Mr. Patten. An account of this interview with "the friend who was permitted to visit him the morning of his execution" (the name of M'Nally is not mentioned) was published in *The London Chronicle*, a ministerial paper, September 24-27, 1803. From the peculiar relation in which M'Nally stood to the government (of which he was the secret, pensioned agent, at the time he was acting as the confidential

* "Curran and his Cotemporaries," by Charles Phillips, Esq., 4th edition, p. 437.

† By the Register of Burials of St. Peter's Parish, I find that the remains of Mrs. Emmet were interred in the burying-ground of the parish church in Aungier-street, the 11th of September, 1803. Therefore it may be inferred that she had died at least three days previously—say the 8th of September, 1803—twelve days before the date of the execution of Robert Emmet.

adviser and advocate of the state prisoners—picking the brains of his duped clients for his official employers),* the account of this interview must evidently have been published with the sanction of government—probably by its immediate direction, with the view of serving the character of Lord Hardwicke's administration.

The main facts of this account, even by M'Nally of his last interview with Robert Emmet, may be considered as correctly stated, and giving faithfully the opinions of Robert Emmet on the subject of the "one thing needful" at the close of his career, with such modifications of his sentiments on other matters as were thought essential to the objects of government. In this account it is stated that Robert Emmet, after expressing some feelings of annoyance at having been searched in the dock on the preceding evening, as if they suspected him of designing to commit suicide, he reprobated the act of self-destruction as one of an unchristian character. He professed "to hold the tenets of religion as taught by the Established Church." He solemnly declared "his hopes of salvation were not on any merits of his, but through the mediation of the Saviour who died an ignominious death on the cross. With these sentiments, he said, it would be absurd to suppose him capable of suicide. What had he to apprehend more than death? And as to the obloquy attached to the mode of death, it could but little affect him when he considered that Sydney and Russell bled on the scaffold in a similar cause.† With respect to his political sentiments he could only re-assert what he had urged in court—that a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain was his

* The deception practised on Curran by this *gentleman* was most strikingly and revoltingly exhibited in January, 1798, at the trial of Patrick Finney. M'Nally had successfully adopted a suggestion of his colleague to speak against time, in order to give time to produce a witness to invalidate the testimony of the witness O'Brien. M'Nally made a speech remarkably able for its inordinate length, and there was sufficient time expended on its delivery to have the witness sought for and brought into court. Curran, in his address to the jury, alluding to the able statement of his friend, giving way to the impulse of his generous feelings, threw his arm over the shoulder of M'Nally, and said with evident emotion: "My old and excellent friend, I have long known and respected the honesty of your heart, but never, until this occasion, was I acquainted with the extent of your abilities; I am not in the habit of paying compliments where they are undeserved." Tears fell from Mr. Curran as he hung over his friend and pronounced those few and simple words.—*Curran's Life*, vol. i. p. 397.

† A remarkable confirmation of Robert Emmet's repudiation of the idea of contemplating suicide when he was removed from the dock at the termination of his trial, is given by the venerable judge I have previously referred to as having been present at the trial. Judge —— states, that at the commencement of the trial some person standing near the dock contrived to reach the prisoner some sprigs of lavender which for some time he continued holding, but the attention of the court having been called to the act of the person who had handed the lavender to the prisoner, an order was given to take away the lavender lest poison should have been thus introduced, and accordingly the gaoler took the sprigs out of the prisoner's hand. A scornful smile was the only notice taken of this by Robert Emmet.

supreme wish; an object which he was conscious could be effected without the aid of France. The measure of connexion with France, though urged and adopted by others of the provisional government, he was never a friend to; nor did the plan now accomplished, of having sent an ambassador to France to negotiate for that species of temporary alliance which Dr. Franklin had obtained for America, ever meet his approbation. He observed that, had he not been interrupted by the court in the address he thought it necessary to make, he would have spoken as warm an eulogium on the candour and moderation of the present government in this kingdom, as his conception or language were adequate to. When he left this country it was at a period when a great portion of the public mind, particularly that of the party to whom he attached himself, had been violently exasperated at certain harsh proceedings attributed to the administration then in power, for some time previous to the last rebellion. On his recent arrival in this country, he conceived that the measures of the present government must have been nearly similar, until experience convinced him of his mistake. For the polite concessions afforded him of a private communication with his friend he expressed his thanks, and would retain a grateful sense of it during the few hours destined for him to live. He exulted at the intelligence of his mother's death, an aged lady, who had died since his apprehension without his hearing of that event, and expressed a firm confidence of meeting with her in a state of eternal bliss, where no separation could take place."

A slight discrepancy between the two accounts will be noticed, with respect to the manner that Robert Emmet received the account of his mother's death, and the period likewise of that event. In the first statement no exultation was said to have been expressed by Emmet, and no such ill-timed expression, I am convinced, was made, and no such feeling was entertained by him. The period of his mother's death is said to have been the day preceding the son's execution. In the latter account the event is spoken of as having taken place since his apprehension, from which it may be inferred it had occurred at an earlier period of his imprisonment, though it is not likely the intelligence would not have reached Robert Emmet, through some channel in the prison, previously to M'Nally's visit.

The death of this amiable, exemplary, and high-minded lady, whose understanding was as vigorous as her maternal feelings were strong and ardent, took place at a country residence of the late Dr. Emmet, on the Donnybrook-road, at the rear of the Hospital of the Society of Friends. She survived her husband about nine months, and evidently, like the mother of the Sheares, was hurried to her

grave by the calamity which had fallen on her youngest son; who, it was vainly hoped, was to have occupied one of the vacant places in the house, and in the hearts of his afflicted parents. Vainly had they looked up to Thomas Addis Emmet to supply that place which had been left a void by the death of their eldest and most gifted son, Christopher Temple Emmet. And when Thomas Addis was taken away from them and banished, to whom had they to look but to that younger son; and of that last life-hope of theirs they might have spoken with the feelings which animated the Lacedemonian mother, when one of her sons had fallen fighting for his country, and looking on the last of them then living she said, "*Ejus locum expleat frater.*" And that son was taken from them, incarcerated for four years, and doomed to civil death. Thomas Addis Emmet was then a proscribed man in exile. The father had sunk under the trial, although he was a man of courage and equanimity of mind; but the mother's last hope in her youngest son sustained in some degree her broken strength and spirit; and that one hope was dashed down never to rise again, when her favourite child, the prop of her old age was taken from her, and the terrible idea of his frightful fate became her one fixed thought—from the instant the dreadful tidings of his apprehension reached her till the approaching term of the crowning catastrophe, when, in mercy to her, she was taken away from her great misery.

Orangemen of Ireland, who secretly fomented seditious designs of disaffected men in 1802—and you, their patrons and protectors in high places in 1803, who connived at their machinations and allowed conspiracy to go on unchecked, till young Emmet was sufficiently deceived to be easily destroyed—these are your triumphs: the desolation of the home of an aged, virtuous couple—the ruin in which all belonging to them were involved—the ignominious death of their youngest and gifted child. These are your achievements! Of what avail are they now to your discredited, Frankenstein-lived institution? and what advantages to England's imperial interests have accrued from them?

There is one circumstance which is not referred to in the preceding account in *The London Chronicle*, which perhaps was too indicative of the hopelessness of the attempt, by any degree of suffering or of terror, "to bow down the mind of the prisoner to the ignominy of the scaffold." When M'Nally entered the cell with Robert Emmet, where he had slept the preceding night, on their retiring from the chamber above referred to, M'Nally observed a scrap of paper on the table, on which Emmet had sketched a human head, represented as if it had been newly severed from the body.

He wrote some letters the morning of the day of execution;

he addressed one to Richard Curran, which was written about twelve o'clock. He had spent part of the preceding night in writing letters, two of which were committed to the care of Dr. Trevor, who had contrived so effectually to deceive poor Emmet as to pass for an unwilling agent of oppression; and, when he was leaving the gaol to go to execution, he was folded in the embrace of the Kilmainham inquisitor.* The profanation of that person's touch, young Emmet—the purest-minded of human beings—had he known the man, would have shrunk from coming in contact with, as from that of a person labouring under some pestilential malady. But he knew him not; he believed him to have feelings of humanity and honour; and he confided to his care two letters, one of which was addressed to the chief secretary, the other to his brother then in Paris. The transmission of the latter, Robert Emmet attached the greatest importance to, as containing the details of his plan and preparations; and furnishing, as he thought, the only means of enabling his brother to judge justly of his attempt. Trevor promised faithfully to transmit it; broke the solemn obligation of his promise to a man at the point of death; he delivered the letter into the hands of Mr. Marsden; and, it is needless to say, T. A. Emmet never received it. But a few years before his death, its contents were conveyed to him through the press. The work of Mr. W. H. Curran, published in 1819, conveyed them to him in the document published in the appendix of the second volume of his work, entitled "The Plan of the Insurrection in Dublin, and the Causes of its Failure."

That singular document, wanting the concluding page, was discovered at the Castle by a gentleman who held a high legal situation under the Irish government. A friend of that gentleman, no less distinguished for his worth than his talents, pursued his inquiries in London, respecting the missing portion of the document, and the identical missing page was found there, in the Home Office.

It was about half-past one o'clock when Robert Emmet was brought forth from his prison and placed in a carriage, accompanied by two clergymen of the Church of England, the Rev. Dr. Gamble, and a Rev. Mr. Grant, to be conveyed to the place of execution in Thomas-street, at the end of Bridgefoot-street, and nearly opposite St. Catherine's church.

The carriage, preceded and followed by a strong guard both of cavalry and infantry, moved slowly along the streets. The melancholy cortege might have been mistaken for a military funeral, and

* An abstract of the trials of 1803 was published in 1803; the publication was attributed to Mr. Marsden. There is an account in it of the two letters committed to Dr. Trevor, and also of the embracing scene above referred to.

the young man at the window, who occasionally recognized a friend in the crowd or stationed on the steps of a door, for some one connected with the person whose obsequies were about to be performed. His demeanour, in his progress and at the place of execution, displayed, to use the language of Mr. Curran, the most complete "unostentatious fortitude." It was in keeping with his former conduct; there was no affectation of indifference, but there was that which astonished every person who witnessed his end (and I am acquainted with some—still living—who were present at his execution), an evident ignorance of fear, and the fullest conviction that the cause for which he died was one which it was a high privilege to die for. In proof of this assertion, it may be observed that, in reply to some observations of Mr. St. John Mason, with whom he was permitted to exchange a few words at the door of the cell of the latter, when he was going to trial, his last words were "*Utrumque paratus.*" When he was brought back to Kilmainham, after condemnation, in passing John Hickson's cell, he walked close to the door, and directing his voice towards the grating said, in a whisper loud enough to be heard by Hickson, "I shall be hanged to-morrow." My authority in each instance is the gentleman to whom the words referred to were addressed. The vile, memory-murdering press of that day, in both countries, represented Emmet's conduct as light, frivolous, impious, and indecorous. In *The London Chronicle*, one of the accounts cited from the Dublin papers says, "The clergyman endeavoured to win him from his deistical opinions, but without effect!!!" "In short, he behaved without the least symptom of fear, and with all the effrontery and nonchalance which so much distinguished his conduct on his trial yesterday. He seemed to scoff at the dreadful circumstances attendant on him; at the same time, with all the coolness and complacency that can be possibly imagined—though utterly unlike the calmness of Christian fortitude. *Even as it was, I never saw a man die like him;* and God forbid I should see many with his principles."*

The light of truth, I have often had occasion to observe, will break through the densest clouds of falsehood; we see a ray of the former in the words, "Even as it was, I never saw a man die like him."

There were a few personal friends and two or three college companions of Robert Emmet standing within a few feet of the scaffold at his execution. One of his fellow-students, the Rev. Dr. Hayden, was amongst the number; and from that gentleman I received the information on which I place most reliance, or rather entire reliance, respecting the conduct of his friend at his last moments.

* *The London Chronicle*, September 24–27, p. 301.

The scaffold was a temporary one, formed by laying boards across a number of empty barrels, that were placed for this purpose nearly in the middle of the street. Through this platform rose two posts, twelve or fifteen feet high, and a transverse beam was placed across them. Underneath this beam, about three feet from the platform, was a single narrow plank, supported on two slight ledges, on which the prisoner was to stand at the moment of being launched into eternity. The platform was about five or six feet from the ground, and was ascended by a ladder.

When Robert Emmet alighted from the carriage, and was led to the foot of the scaffold, his arms being tied, he was assisted to ascend by the executioner, but he mounted quickly and with apparent alacrity. He addressed a few words to the crowd very briefly, in a firm, sonorous voice, the silver tones of which recalled to the recollection of his college friend those accents on which his hearers hung, in his wonderful displays on another theatre, and on occasions of a very different description. In the few words he spoke on the scaffold, he avoided any reference to political matters, or to the events with which his fate was connected: he merely said, "My friends, I die in peace and with sentiments of universal love and kindness towards all men." He then shook hands with some persons on the platform, presented his watch to the executioner, and removed his stock.* The immediate preparations for execution were then carried into effect; he assisted in adjusting the rope round his neck, and was then placed on the plank underneath the beam, and the cap was drawn over his face; but he contrived to raise his hand, partly removed it, and spoke a few words in a low tone to the executioner. The cap was replaced, and he stood with a handkerchief in his hand, the fall of which was to be the signal for the last act of the "finisher of the law." After standing on the plank for a few seconds the executioner said, "Are you ready, sir?" and Mr. Hayden distinctly heard Robert Emmet say in reply, "Not yet." There was another momentary pause; no signal was given; again the executioner repeated the question, "Are you ready, sir?" and again Robert Emmet said, "Not yet." The question was put a third time, and Mr. Hayden heard Emmet pronounce the word, "Not ——" but before he had time to utter another word, the executioner tilted one end of the plank off the ledge, and a human being, young, generous, endowed with precious, natural gifts and acquired excellencies (but in his country, at that period,

* At the sale of the effects of a person well known in Dublin some thirty-five years ago, Mr. Samuel Rossborough, which took place in December, 1832, in the Northumberland Rooms in Grafton-street, the "hessian boots" which Robert Emmet wore when he was executed, and a black velvet stock, with a lock of hair sewed on the inside of the lining, thus marked, "Miss C——," were sold by auction. A schoolfellow of mine, Mr. Blake, was present when they were sold.

fatal gifts and acquirements), with genius, patriotism, a love of truth, of freedom, and of justice—was dangling like a dog, writhing in the agonies of the most revolting and degrading to humanity of all deaths; and God's noblest work was used as if his image was not in it, or its disfigurement and mutilation was a matter of slight moment, and scarce worthy of a passing thought on the part of those "dressed in a little brief authority," whose use of it in Ireland had been such as "might make angels weep." After hanging for a moment motionless, life terminated with a convulsive movement of the body. At the expiration of the usual time the remains were taken down and extended on the scaffold, the head was struck from the body, grasped by the hair, and paraded along the front of the gallows by the hangman, proclaiming to the multitude, "This is the head of a traitor, Robert Emmet." When the head was held up, Mr. Hayden says, there was no distortion of the features, but an extraordinary pallor (the result of the flow of blood from the head after decapitation); he never saw a more perfect expression of placidity and composure. He can form no idea what the cause was of the delay which Robert Emmet seemed anxious for at the moment of execution. He might have been in prayer, but it did not strike Mr. Hayden that it was any object connected with his devotions that was the occasion of the words he heard.

My impression is, that Robert Emmet had been made acquainted with a design that was in contemplation to effect his escape at the time and place appointed for execution. Of that design government appears to have had information, and had taken precautionary measures, which had probably led to its being abandoned. The avowed object of Thomas Russell's going to Dublin, after his failure in the north, was to adopt plans for this purpose. I have not been able to obtain any account of the persons who were parties to it. The body was removed in a shell, in a common cart, first to Newgate and then to Kilmainham, and was deposited for some hours in the vestibule of the prison till the necessary arrangements were made for its interment. A short time after the execution, within an hour or so, Mrs. M'Cready, the daughter of Mr. James Moore, in passing through that part of Thomas-street, observed near the scaffold, where the blood of Robert Emmet had fallen on the pavement from between the planks of the platform, some dogs collected lapping up the blood. She called the attention of the soldiers who were left to guard the scaffold to this appalling sight. The soldiers, who belonged to a highland regiment, manifested their horror at it;* the dogs were chased away; and

* It is well worthy of observation, that, of all the king's troops in Ireland during the rebellion of 1798, the Scotch invariably behaved with the most humanity towards the people. It is well worthy, too, of recollection, what the difference in the treatment

more than one spectator, loitering about the spot, approached the scaffold when the back of the sentinel was turned to it, dipped his handkerchief in the blood and thrust it into his bosom.

Mr. John Fisher, of No. 14, Inn's-quay, to whose recollections of the times of Robert Emmet I have elsewhere owned my many obligations, gives the following account of Robert Emmet's execution:

"I saw poor Emmet executed, and immediately before his execution saw him put his hand in his pocket and pull out some silver and some half-pence, which he handed to the executioner, Galvin. Then I saw him take off his cravat with his own hands, hand it to the executioner, and noticed him in the act of addressing Galvin some two or three words. The execution took place at the corner of the lane at St. Catherine's church in Thomas-street, and he died without a struggle. He was immediately beheaded upon a table lying on the temporary scaffold. The table was then brought down to the market-house, opposite John-street, and left there against the wall, exposed to public view for about two days. It was a deal table, like a common kitchen table."

The government organ of the time, *The Freeman's Journal* of the 22nd of September, 1803, gives an account of the execution of Robert Emmet. It states "That after receiving sentence on Monday evening, the 19th instant, he was sent to the new prison. About one o'clock in the morning he was conveyed from thence to Kilmainham gaol by order of government, from the humane motive to render him more comfortable accommodation the short time he had to live, that he might have an apartment to himself, with fire and candle-light, to make the best use of his time possible for atonement to that God he had so much offended." *The Freeman* goes on to state that, at Emmet's request, the Rev. Dr. Gamble was sent for, the ordinary of the new prison. That gentleman came the next morning at eight o'clock, and remained with Emmet till he died on the scaffold. Dr. Gamble was also attended by another reverend gentleman, Mr. Grant. "In the gaol (says *The Freeman*) he, Robert Emmet, took some pains before these gentlemen to exonerate himself from the imputation that was laid on him from the time of his expulsion from the College, which was that of infidelity. He so satisfied them on this point, and as to his being a

of the state prisoners was, when they were removed to Scotland, and were placed in the charge of that most excellent man, Lieutenant Colonel James Stuart, the lieutenant-governor of Fort George. And it would be well worthy of the attention of those of my countrymen who, either in their speeches or their writings, indulge in occasional sallies against Scotch settlers and smart sayings about Scotch peculiarities, the estrangement it leads to of those of their own kith and kin, and the sympathy of a brave and freedom-loving people which it tends to deprive us of, and which it should be our especial endeavour to deserve, to preserve, or to procure.

Christian with a sincere contrition for his enormities, that they administered to him the sacrament. At near three o'clock, after taking leave of the gaoler, Mr. Dunn, to whom he expressed himself highly grateful for his humanity and attention, he went to the place of execution in a coach, attended by the reverend gentlemen above-mentioned. There he remained but a short time till he was tied up. He previously declared he died in peace with all the world. . . . . He took off his own neck-handkerchief, fixed the noose of the rope about his neck, and placed himself in a position for death, before he was turned off. After hanging until dead, the remaining part of the sentence of the law was executed upon him. His body was afterwards taken in a cart to the new prison."

The Dublin Journal, of course, makes an infidel of "the young arch-rebel."

It is not enough, in the opinion of Orangedom, to hang a rebel; his character must be mangled. It would not do to let him appear capable of anything virtuous—his faith, morals, and religion must be written down by the scribes of the faction.

They make out Robert Emmet an infidel, and even poor Sarah Curran cannot escape their terrible malignity. They make her out an infuriated woman, of horrid sentiments and savage instincts.

With regard to Emmet's religious opinions, let us see what is to be said:

"Among those traits of character," says Moore, "which adorned him as a member of social life, there is one which, on every account, ought to be brought prominently forward in any professed picture of him, and this was the strong and pure sense which he entertained of religion. So much is it the custom of those who would bring discredit upon freedom of thought in politics, to represent it as connected invariably with lax opinions upon religion, that it is of no small importance to be able to refer to two such instances as Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the younger Emmet, in both of whom the freest range of what are called revolutionary principles was combined with a warm belief in the doctrines of Christianity."

Mr. Maxwell, in his "History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798" (Bohn, 4th edition, 1854), in relation to Robert Emmet, makes a statement most injurious to his character as a Christian, and wholly unfounded; as I am in a position to prove.

I do not believe that Mr. Maxwell knowingly, deliberately, and malevolently lent himself to the infamy of calumniating the young man whose melancholy fate, whose genius, and whose many noble qualities have gained for him the generous sympathy of men of all political opinions and religious creeds, and whose own dying words have not hitherto appealed in vain to the most strenuous enemies

of his cause for the charity of their silence of his memory. The statement of Mr. Maxwell, however, is well calculated in England to foster a very false opinion, and to pander to a very unworthy prejudice, that would have every opponent of its power, and all the leaders of the United Irishmen *in globo*, considered as infidels in religion, monsters amongst men, needy villains, and desperadoes instigated by want and the natural wickedness of depraved hearts to evil deeds. Mr. Maxwell has been imposed on most grossly. It is incumbent on those who represent him in any future edition of his work to make an admission of the grave error he has been led into. The following is the passage I allude to :

" Execution followed fast upon conviction, and Emmet suffered the penalty of high treason on the following day. The scene of his crime was chosen as the place of his punishment, and in Thomas-street the unfortunate gentleman met his fate with a calm and manly resignation, which elicited the sympathy of all who witnessed the painful occurrence. We mentioned that his fellow-conspirator, Thomas Russell, was an enthusiastic religionist, but Emmet was a determined infidel. The clergyman who attended him after sentence had been pronounced, vainly endeavoured to eradicate the erroneous opinions he had imbibed upon the Continent—but all arguments were unavailing. While proceeding in a hackney-coach to the place of execution, the worthy divine made a last effort to remove his unbelief. Emmet listened to him for a short time patiently—then, turning to Dr. Dobbin he requested him to forbear : " I appreciate your motives, and I thank you for your kindness ; but you merely disturb the last moments of a dying man, unnecessarily. I am an infidel from conviction, and no reasoning can change my faith."

Robert Emmet died in the twenty-fifth year of his age. In stature he was about five feet eight inches ; slight in his person, active, and capable of enduring great fatigue : he walked fast, and was quick in his movements. His features were regular ; his forehead high and finely formed ; his eyes were small, bright, and full of expression ; his nose sharp, remarkably thin and straight ; the lower part of his face was slightly pock-pitted ; and his complexion sallow. There was nothing remarkable in his appearance except when excited in conversation, and when he spoke in public on any subject that deeply interested him. His countenance then beamed with animation—he no longer seemed the same person—every feature became expressive of his emotions—his gesture, his action, everything about him seemed subservient to the impulses of generous feelings and harmonized with his passing thoughts.

In Whitelaw and Walsh's " History of Dublin," a reference is made to the disposal of the remains of Robert Emmet which

I have reason to believe is not entitled to credit:—"Among the acts of misconduct charged on this prison was one of a nature so atrocious as to be hardly credible. During the unhappy period of the rebellion many persons were confined here in a situation of life above the ordinary class of criminals. As attainting the blood and exposing the bodies of traitors were considered usages more consonant to the principles and practices of feudal and barbarous than of modern and more enlightened times, there were few recent instances in Ireland of either, and the remains of these unfortunate men were generally ordered to be restored to their friends after their persons had undergone the sentence of the law; but of this melancholy indulgence their friends were often deprived by the brutal avarice of the gaoler and his assistants. An exorbitant price was demanded for their bodies—often greater than the means of their relatives, exhausted in their trial and defence, could provide; and as their remains became putrid the demand was increased, with an arbitrary exaction proportioned to the anxious affection of the survivors. In this way the head of an unfortunate young gentleman, as much distinguished by his genius and talents as by his unhappy misapplication of them, was detained, and at length sold to his friends for the sum of £50! We relate the circumstance as it was reported, without pledging ourselves for its authenticity. The report of the commissioners on the former practices of this prison renders it not improbable, though we trust the improvements effected will make such a recurrence impossible."*

In 1836, I sent Leonard, the old gardener of Dr. Emmet, to George Dunn, the gaoler of Kilmainham, to ascertain how the remains of Emmet had been disposed of after their removal from the place of execution. George Dunn sent me word that the body was conveyed to the gaol, and placed in the outer entry of the prison, with orders, if not claimed immediately by the friends of Emmet, to have it interred in "Bully's Acre," the burying-ground, also called the Hospital Fields, where the remains of paupers and executed criminals were commonly interred, but where, in ancient times, those of illustrious chiefs and warriors were buried. Dunn stated that notwithstanding his orders he kept the body for several hours, expecting it would be claimed by the friends of the deceased. The only surviving friends who were connexions of Robert Emmet were then in gaol, with the exception of one, Dr. Powell, who was married to a cousin of Emmet, a young lady of the name of Landon. His associates or acquaintances who had fortunately escaped being involved in the general ruin which

* "The History of the City of Dublin," by J. Warburton, Rev. J. Whitelaw, and Rev. Robert Walsh. Vol. ii. p. 1050.

had fallen on so many of his friends, were afraid at that time to let it be known they had any acquaintance with Emmet—consequently none came forward, and the remains were at length buried beside the grave of Felix Rourke, near the right-hand corner of the burying-ground, next the avenue of the Royal Hospital, close to the wall, and at no great distance from the former entrance, which is now built up. While the body lay at the gaol, a gentleman from Dublin, whose name Dunn did not mention, came there and asked permission to take a plaster cast of the face of the deceased, which was granted. That gentleman, circumstances will show, was Petrie the artist.

Dunn further stated, what I was already aware of—that the remains of Robert Emmet, soon after their interment at Bully's Acre, were removed with great privacy and buried in Dublin. Dr. Gamble was said to have been present, or to have assisted in carrying into effect the removal. But where they were removed to, no positive information is to be obtained. Mr. Patten remembers to have seen the man who removed the body from Kilmainham; and the impression on his mind is, that the re-interment took place in Michan's churchyard, where the Sheares were interred.

Mr. Patten, in reply to an inquiry of mine in 1846, respecting the place of burial of Robert Emmet, wrote to me as follows:

"When I was liberated from Kilmainham gaol, I could not find out where he was buried, but I have heard that his remains were brought to Michan's church vaults from Bully's Acre, where they were first interred."

In August, 1859, I applied to Mr. Patten for further information about the burial-place of Robert Emmet, when he gave me the following account of all the circumstances he could remember, which had been brought to his knowledge:

Mr. Patten says he was arrested some weeks previously to the death of Robert Emmet, and was confined at first in the house of one of "the state messengers," named James Poyle, in Great Ship-street. At the expiration of some weeks he was removed to Kilmainham gaol, the day after the execution of Robert Emmet, and was allotted the room called the guard-room, in which poor Robert had passed the last night of his existence. He remained confined in that room for several weeks, and was removed from it to a cell in the upper part of the prison. It was no time for asking questions of the gaol officials about executed persons. He learned nothing from them about the disposal of the remains of Robert; but the morning of the day after the execution, while he was yet at the house of the messenger, in Great Ship-street, Mrs. Patten (his mother) came to him and told him that the porter of Mr. William Colville (his uncle) and himself (Mr. Patten), for

they were then in partnership, carrying on business at the Bachelors'-walk, told her *that he had buried Robert's remains—that he had taken them from the prison in Kilmainham, where they had been taken after the execution, and had buried them in Bully's Acre,* which place was also called the Hospital Fields. The porter's name was Lynam. He was a very trustworthy and truthful person; he left two sons (boys) when he died. Subsequently Mr. Patten heard the body was removed to St. Michan's.

Leonard had the same impression, and some information has been given me, corroborative of it, from a very old man, a tailor, John Scott, residing at No. 4, Mitre-alley, near Patrick-street, who made Robert Emmet's uniform and that of some others of the leaders. This man informed Leonard that Emmet was buried in Michan's churchyard, and that soon after a very large stone without any writing on it was laid over the grave.

On the other hand, it has been stated in a small publication entitled "A Memoir of Robert Emmet," by Kinsella, that the remains were brought to St. Anne's churchyard, and buried in the same grave where his parents were interred.* I visited the churchyard of St. Michan in consequence of Leonard's information, and there discovered the stone in question—at least the only one answering the description I had received of it. About midway, on the left-hand side of the walk leading from the church to the wall at the extremity of the grave-yard, there is a very large slab, of remarkable thickness, placed horizontally over a grave, without any inscription. The stone is one of the largest dimensions, and the only uninscribed one in the churchyard.

Is this the tomb that was not to be inscribed till other times and other men could do justice to the memory of the person whose grave had been the subject of my inquiries? If this be the spot, many a pilgrim will yet visit it, and read perchance in after times the name of

ROBERT EMMET

on that stone that is now without a word, or a letter. If the remains of Robert Emmet be laid in that tomb, those who knew the man and loved him, or who honoured him for his name's sake, or prized him for the reputation of his virtues and his talents, and pitied him for his melancholy fate, may now seek this grave, and standing beside it may ponder on the past—on the history of one of the dead whose eventful days and mournful doom are connected with it; and enshrine the name in their hearts that may not

* The latter part of the statement is untrue; the parents of Robert Emmet were not buried in St. Anne's churchyard: moreover, there is no entry in the burial records of that church of any interment in the year 1803 of a person of the name of Robert Emmet.

yet be written on stone—and there may call to mind the words of the friend and the companion of the studies of Robert Emmet:

Oh! breathe not his name—let it sleep in the shade,
Where cold and unhonoured his relics are laid;
Sad, silent, and dark, be the tears that we shed,
As the night-dew that falls on the grass o'er his head.

But the night-dew that falls, though in silence it weeps,
Shall brighten with verdure the grave where he sleeps;
And the tear that we shed, though in secret it rolls,
Shall long keep his memory green in our souls.

A writer in *The Irish Monthly Magazine* (vol. i. August, 1832, p. 232), under the signature "O'More" (but whose name was Kennedy, a barrister of much talent, with whose brother I am intimately acquainted, and on whose authority and that of the well-known historian of the Irish Brigade this fact is stated), was the author of some very energetic lines, entitled

THE UNINSCRIBED TOMB.

"Let my tomb remain uninscribed and my memory in oblivion, until other times and other men can do justice to my character."

"Pray tell me," I said to an old man who strayed
Drooping over the graves which his own hands had made—
"Pray tell me the name of the tenant who sleeps
'Neath yonder lone shade where the sad willow weeps—
Every stone is engraved with the name of the dead,
But yon blank slab declares not whose spirit is fled."

In silence he bowed and then beckoned me nigh,
Till we stood o'er the grave—then he said, with a sigh,
"Yes! they dare not to trace e'en a word on this stone
To the memory of him who sleeps coldly and lone.
He told them—commanded the lines o'er his grave
Should never be traced by the hand of a slave.

"He bade them to shade e'en his name in the gloom,
Till the morning of freedom should shine on his tomb—
'When the flag of my country at liberty flies,
Then, then let my name and my monument rise.'
You see they obeyed him—'tis twenty-eight years,
And they come still to moisten his grave with their tears.

"He was young like yourself, and aspired to o'erthrow
The tyrants who filled his loved island with woe.
They crushed his bold spirit, for this earth was confined—
Too scant for the range of his luminous mind."
He paused, and the old man went slowly away,
And I felt as he left me an impulse to pray.

Grant, Heaven! I may see, ere my own days are done,
A monument rise o'er my country's lost son!
And oh! proudest task, be it mine to indite
The long-delayed tribute a freeman must write.
Till then shall its theme in my heart deeply dwell—
So peace to thy slumbers—dear shade, fare thee well!—O'More.

Of the poem entitled "The Uninscribed Tomb," my friend, John Cornelius O'Callaghan, writes to me :

"The author, Thomas Kennedy, Esq., Barrister-at-law, with whom I was intimately acquainted, wrote those remarkable papers in *The Irish Monthly Magazine* entitled 'Reminiscences of a Silent Agitator.' He died 5th June, 1842, aged thirty-nine, at his residence, No. 15, Upper Rutland-street, Dublin.

"The poem was first printed in *The Comet* of 10th July, 1831. But intending to cite it when I was writing 'The Green Book' (the first edition of which appeared in February, 1842), I pointed out to my friend some defects, and suggested amendments of those defects in the versification. These amendments were approved of by him, and the production as thus corrected by *his* permission was given in the first edition of 'The Green Book,' of which, on its coming out, I of course sent him a copy. The poem has been similarly given after his death in the second edition of 'The Green Book' that came out in 1844.

"For another analogous effusion of poetical patriotism by Kennedy, entitled 'The Shamrock, the Rose, and the Thistle,' see pp. 35, 36, of the same book and edition. Kennedy's signature to his verses was 'O'More,' from the eminently anti-Saxon recollections connected with that famous Milesian name."

The following lines appeared in *The Irish Magazine* nearly half a century ago :

TO THE MEMORY OF R. E***TT, ESQ.

To numbers sadly sweet and wild
Dejected Erin strikes her lyre;
She mourns in tears a darling child
Whose bosom glowed with freedom's fire.

Neglected, through the aereal breeze
Her snowy vestments loosely flow,
O'er E***TT's tomb she fondly grieves,
And mourns him with a mother's woe.

Slow stealing on the murmuring gale,
Her dulcet notes in solemn strains
Vibrate the sad, pathetic tale
Which weeping memory still retains.

His early fall in streaming tears
The sorrowing maid unceasing sings,
Nor can the charm of gliding years
Soothe to repose the trembling strings.

Moore's celebrated lines on Emmet have been translated by a

man of kindred genius, His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam:

OH! BREATHE NOT HIS NAME.

Fonn—"*The Brown Maid.*"

I.

Ná coʒaraiḋ aṁáin 'ainm, aċt codlaḋ sé faoi sʒáṫ,
'S an ʒ-cré-ḟuair 'nn ar cuireaḋ e ʒo h-uaiʒneaċ ann a bláṫ:
Aʒus tiuḟ, tuirseaċ, trom ḃeiḋeas deora ar súl,
Mar ḋruċt na h-oiḋċe ṫuiteas as neultaiḃ na n-dúl.

II.

An drúċt úr, do ṫuiteas ʒo ciuin aʒus ʒo fras,
Conʒḃuiḟeann sé an uaiṁ, ann a ʒ-codlann sé síorḟlas,
'Ʒus na deora, do siltear le uaiʒneas na h-oiḋċe,
Cuṁdoċṫaiḋ siad ar ʒ-cúṁa úr ann ar ʒ-crosḋe.

I have presented my reader with all the information that much labour and assiduity have enabled me to collect respecting the career of Robert Emmet, and of some of the most remarkable of his associates. Of Emmet's character, the details I have furnished are, I trust, sufficient for the formation of a just opinion of it.

It only remains for me to recall to the reader's attention, very briefly, the observations that have been made in the preceding pages, and the leading facts that have been stated which bear on the subject in question.

From them it is evident, that the character of Robert Emmet had appeared to the author to have been ill appreciated by many, even of liberal politics, who have treated of him and of his times. Robert Emmet was gifted with great talent, and endowed with excellent qualities of heart as well as mind—with generous feelings, and literary and scientific tastes highly cultivated. He was remarkable even at college for the propriety of his conduct, and was looked up to by his youthful companions on account of the purity of his morals and the inflexibility and integrity of his principles. Had it pleased Providence to have given him length of days, it might reasonably be expected his maturer years would have realized the promise of his early life, and caused his career to have been a counterpart of the memorable course of his illustrious brother, Temple Emmet. I neither attempt to justify his plans in 1803, nor do I regret their failure. Far from it; I believe their accomplishment would have been a calamity. My experience is not favourable to the results of revolutions effected by the sword, and I have seen the results of many. But the motives of Robert Emmet, I have no hesitation in saying, it has been my aim to justify; and if I have failed in doing so, I have not fulfilled my purpose, nor the duty I owed to truth. No motive of Robert

Emmet could be impure, selfish, sordid, or ambitious; his enthusiasm was extreme—it was the enthusiasm of a very young man of exalted intellectual powers and worldly inexperience; matured habits of reflection were all that was wanting to exercise over it a necessary and a wholesome control.

In the course of my labours in connexion with the subject of this memoir, it has frequently occurred to me that I was dealing with the character and actions of a man whose mind was cast in a Grecian mould—whose modes of thought, instincts, and aspirations were rather those of men of singular exaltation of ideas, of heroic aims, and dauntless efforts to realize their grand conceptions, of whom we find records in ancient classic writers—than of those of a man of the times in which we live, in phases of society and states of political existence of a very different character.

The mind of Robert Emmet was so imbued with the finest forms of ancient art and most perfect images of the oratory and poetry of Greece and Rome, that he seems to have made for himself an ideal existence of those excellencies, and to have lived in the past as if he belonged to it, and in the present as if he were in it but not of it. I have had a singular confirmation of this idea of mine, for which striking corroboration I am indebted to my able and learned friend, John Cornelius O'Callaghan, the most eminent of recent Irish historical inquirers, in a parallel between the conspiracy of Pelopidas of Thebes against the interests and influence of Sparta at Thebes—and that of Robert Emmet against the interests and influence of England in Ireland.

With respect to the Theban conspiracy, the parallel holds good, however, only as regards the aim and object of Pelopidas; his return to Thebes after the discomfiture of the efforts of persons engaged in a previous conspiracy who were in exile at the period of his enterprise; as regards also the apparent insignificance of the means at his disposal to renew the struggle with the foreign masters of his country, having only eleven associates in whom he could confide when he entered Thebes, and forty-nine when he began the conflict. But the parallel ceases in its application in regard to the issue of the conspiracy, for the enterprise of Pelopidas was successful, and when he died his glory ranked next to that of Epaminondas, and his remains received an honourable burial.

Young Emmet loved his country with all the fervour of an enthusiast, and like others no less ill-fated, "not wisely but too well." Had he succeeded, the world would have said he loved it both well and wisely. However he loved it, his devotion to it was a passion that had taken entire possession of his soul, that blinded him to the impediments that stood in the way of the accomplishment of his designs. He pursued his object, as if he believed that the

champions of liberty fought, at all hazards, at all times, under the protection of a sacred tutelary power; while those of despotism, less highly favoured, however they might seem to prosper for a time, were doomed eventually to fall, and to contribute to their defeat by their own efforts to avert their doom. To use the glowing language attributed to Emmet, in explanation of his opinions—"Liberty was the child of oppression, and the birth of the offspring was the death of the parent; while tyranny, like the poetical desert bird, was consumed in flames ignited by itself, and its whole existence was spent in providing the means of self-destruction."*

The question of the legal guilt of engaging, under any circumstances, or with any motives, however pure, in such an enterprise as that of 1803, it is needless to descant upon.—The question of the moral guilt of embarking in any similar enterprise for the redress of wrongs, which the majority of a people deemed insupportable, by resistance and an appeal to the sword, is one which the defenders of the revolution of 1688 treat as a problem, the solution of which depends on the consideration of the probability and ultimate advantage of success, the sufficiency of the means for its attainment, the extent of popular support, and the amount of suffering that may be occasioned by the struggle. Whenever rebellion has been unsuccessful, a *prima facie* case of moral guilt is established. Had Washington failed it would never have been conceded that he was justified in resisting oppression. The chances, however, of success or failure do not determine the question of moral guilt or justification. In Emmet's case, it is evident that he was the victim of deception—that he was deluded, misled, and sacrificed by designing men, whose machinations, his youth, his inexperience, his confiding nature, were unfit to cope with. Meshed as he was in the toils of villany, what possibility of success was there for his plans had they been carried into execution in the capital? Had the representations made to him of extensive co-operation been realised, were these plans of his adequate to the accomplishment of his object? Could that object have been attained without the shedding of much blood? Had his plans been carried into successful operation in the capital, the probability is that Kildare, Wicklow, Wexford, Carlow, and Kilkenny would have immediately risen, and that in one week from the outbreak six counties at least would have been in rebellion. His plans necessarily depended for success on the realisation of the assurances he received of co-operation in the provinces. They were perhaps adequate to the proposed object, provided treachery was not stalking behind each attempt to put them in operation, and

* "Robert Emmet and his Cotemporaries."—*Dublin and London Magazine*, 1825.

treading in his footsteps at every movement in advance. The men of '98 were six years organizing the country; the more they organized, the more they were betrayed; where they organized least, in the county of Wexford, there their cause was best served.—Robert Emmet evidently traced the failure in 1798 to this system of wide spread and long pursued organization. He let the people alone, he counted on them whenever they were wanted, and all his organization was of his plans in the capital, and all his preparations consisted in providing weapons, ammunition, and warlike contrivances for his adherents. Four months were spent in the preparations of the men of 1803; six years were spent in those of the men of 1798. The latter counted half-a-million of enrolled members, the former counted on the rising of the people whenever they should be called on. There was no swearing in of members in 1803, consequently no perjured traitors. Lord Edward Fitzgerald expected 300,000 men of the half million would take the field. Robert Emmet expected the great body of the people would be with him, once his plans in Dublin were successful: they failed, and he found himself at the head of eighty men, on the 23rd of July, when he sallied forth to attack the Castle; but then the meditated attack supervened on disconcerted plans, drunkenness among his followers, treachery on the part of his agents, a false alarm, a panic and desperation, and it terminated in confusion, plunder, murder, and a disgraceful rout. What would have been the result if his attempt had been made under different circumstances? A result attended with more real peril to the government than any that had environed it in the course of the former rebellion, with the exception of the danger that was involved in the proposition of the sergeants of several of the regiments then garrisoning the capital, made to the chief leaders assembled in council, at Sweetman's in Francis-street, when their proposal of delivering up the Castle and other important places to the United Irishmen was the subject of discussion.

The question of the possibility of obtaining the object sought by Robert Emmet without much bloodshed, is one that requires some consideration to answer.

In European countries where revolutions have taken place without much effusion of blood, they have invariably been commenced in the capital. When attempts to revolt have been begun in the provinces, the amount of blood shed has generally been in a ratio with the distance from the capital. The reasons of this result are too obvious to require observation. I believe one of the chief reasons for Robert Emmet's determination to strike the first blow in the capital, and to paralyze the action of government at its source, was to avoid as much as possible the effusion of blood.

ROBERT EMMET.

Daguerreotyped by Claudet from a cast in Plaster taken after death by Petrie,
and now in the possession of Mr. Ray.

His conduct after the failure of his plans in Dublin, is a proof of the disposition of mind that led to his determination. When Lord Kilwarden's murder was made known to him, he felt like B. B. Harvey at the sight of the smouldering ashes of the barn of Scullabogue, when he said, "Our hopes of liberty are now at an end." Emmet was pressed to make the signal of the second and third rocket for the advance of the men in reserve, who were stationed at the Barley-fields, at the canal, and at other appointed places; he refused to do so—there was no hope of success, and he would not be the means of unnecessarily shedding blood. It was then he recommended his followers to disperse, and, accompanied by some of his friends, abandoned his enterprise. At the subsequent meeting with Dwyer and some of the Wicklow and Kildare men in the mountains, they pressed him to consent to the rising of the people in those counties, and commencing an immediate attack on the chief towns; he refused to do so. He saw the hopelessness of a renewal of the struggle after the failure of the first attempt; and let it be remembered, the men who were pressing this advice upon him were of a very different stamp from many of those by whom he was surrounded in the streets of Dublin.

The rout of Emmet's adherents, and their conduct altogether from beginning to end of this unfortunate business, have been commented on severely, but it is to be feared truly, by a man of a rough, vigorous mind, who had a good knowledge of the men he spoke of—Walter Cox:

"Some time in the beginning of the year 1803, Emmet's ardent and impetuous mind, impatient at what he conceived to be the degraded condition of his country, contemplated the possibility of throwing off the English government and erecting in its place an Irish republic. We regret to say (because his country has lost one of her best children) that his judgment did not keep pace with his rapid fancy, great mind, and honest thinking. He was surrounded with a crowd of men, most of whom had no merit but the assumption of such character as they knew he admired, and none of them had any property. Idle and fashionable, they listened with raptures to his lessons on liberty—they appear this day to have been as deficient in principle as they were incapable of advising; they lived at his table, and were literally covered with his clothes. They had not spirit to check the impassioned zeal he constantly exhibited, lest his judgment being awakened would quell the enthusiasm that ruled him, and an abandonment of his plans would precede their dismissal. Prudence was skilfully drowned in the noisy approbation of men who could not exist but on the continuation of delusion. No one honest man appeared to interrupt the unthinking precipitation that his ardent imagination

pointed for the future glory of his country. No man ventured to show to his recollection the inevitable ruin that would attend a handful of young men, with no resources but their leader's property, with no arms but about ten thousand pikes, thirty or forty bad muskets, and a hundred-weight of gunpowder, as an adequate physical force and sufficient munitions of war, to be applied to taking possession of one of the most populous cities in Europe, from a garrison of ten thousand men. After allowing him to be misled by fictitious enumerations of men who were never consulted, and of military stores that were not existing, they added the character of the pander to the coward; they were seen throwing into the streets on the fatal night the expensive uniforms which his money purchased, and seeking their safety by flight at the arduous moment when their more intrepid and humble associates were on the point of carrying the Castle by a *coup de main*. It was on the perilous moment these wretches fled—a pause ensued—a minute was lost—and in vain the intrepid youth attempted to rally his intimidated followers; after some ineffectual struggles they submitted to the misfortunes which their credulity led them into; they fled, and the field remained in the hands of their antagonists. Abandoned by his officers—if we may call such cowards by such honourable appellation—the misled and infatuated youth strayed in different directions and hiding-places; afraid to involve his friends or kindred in his misfortunes, he studiously avoided all who could assist him, and the refuge they might give him. He was at length betrayed and executed. He met death with becoming fortitude and with the most exemplary attention to religion."

So much for the views of Mr. Cox.

In some things there were traits of mind exhibited by Robert Emmet that had more to do with a youthful imagination than matured reflection. There was a romantic turn of thought displayed in those stratagems for eluding detection, of which I have previously spoken, as practised at Miltown, Harold's-cross, and Patrick-street—trap-doors, subterranean cavities, secret passages and chambers. We have seen the inefficiency of such means of safety at Harold's-cross. In Patrick-street, on the other hand, the result of such contrivances was fortunate for the time being. Still, the dependence on such stratagems, and not only on the fidelity, but likewise on the discretion of upwards of forty men, not for a short period, but for upwards of four months, is an evidence of that turn of mind to which I have referred, and of little experience of the world. He was deceived from the beginning and deserted at the end, by many who made large professions of support when there was a mere possibility, but not a reasonable

expectation of success, and who were found wanting when danger and the doubtfulness of the issue presented themselves to their view. There is another matter of more important consideration than any other connected with his enterprise—the question of the origin, in Ireland, of those preparations for insurrection which Robert Emmet was sent over from France, by some of the United Irish leaders there, to inquire into the nature of. Did these preparations originate with the friends or the enemies of their cause? Were they commenced or suggested by parties of the old ascendancy faction, who, finding their consequence diminished, their power restrained, their former means cut off of maintaining a position in society, independently of industrious pursuits or their own legitimate resources, had become weary of a return, or an approach even to a return, of an administration of government of a mild and constitutional character; and who were desirous of a pretext for going back to the old *regime* of "sword law" under which they flourished, and of which for the time being they had been recognised as useful and necessary agents? Some of these parties, when the reign of terror ceased, were unable to settle down to the honest occupations which they had relinquished for military pursuits in 1797 and 1798, violated the laws, and expiated their crimes on the scaffold or in penal settlements. Messrs. Crawly, Coates, and Fleming, convicted of felony, had been members of yeomanry corps. O'Brien was not a military man, but one of all work—a right-hand man of the redoubted major. His fall, however, was attributed to the cause above referred to. But others, whose circumstances were less desperate, and were not driven by their indigence or their headstrong passions to the commission of similar crimes, feeling their insignificance in tranquil times, remembered their importance in troubled ones, and not only longed for their return but contrived in secret to effect it.

This is a very important question, and I feel bound to state that the result of my inquiries leads me to the conclusion that such was the origin of those views which were communicated, in 1802, to certain of the leaders of the United Irishmen in Paris. I have already shown that the authorities were not ignorant of the preparations that were making in Dublin for an insurrection in the summer of 1803. The full extent of them, they probably did not know at the commencement; but the general objects, and the principal parties engaged in them, there is little doubt they were acquainted with. Lord Hardwicke was incapable of lending his countenance or sanction to the originating of the designs of the parties I have alluded to; but when they were so far matured and successful as to render the existence of a dangerous conspiracy no longer doubtful—when it was represented to Secretaries Wickham

and Marsden that the best way of defeating it (having a clue to its objects and the means of disconcerting its plans) was to allow it to proceed and to expend itself without detriment to the government, but with certain ruin to its own agents—there is reason to believe the course of action suggested was submitted to, and sanctioned by that evil influence in the councils of the British government of two former secretaries of Irish viceroys, Lords Castlereagh and Pelham, then members of the English ministry—but that course, though successfully acted on, was attended with the most imminent danger to the state. The parliamentary record of the dispatches between the government and the general can leave little doubt of the fact. These matters are still subjects for grave inquiry, and they have a very important bearing on the judgment that is to be formed of the plans and projects of Robert Emmet, and of his character in relation to them.

The late Henry Grattan (who has received very scant justice, indeed, at the hands of his countrymen) has made some observations on the unsuccessful insurrection of 1803, which deserve attention:

"Robert Emmet's insurrection, though it originated from deeper sources than was generally alleged, was as perfect a surprise to Mr. Grattan as to any one in Ireland. The postscript of this letter to Mr. Berwick is his first expression of surprise, anger, and anxiety—anxiety for his country. The worst evil of an unsuccessful insurrection is not the loss of life in battle, but the legal butchery and ferocious terrorism which follow it. The time of Emmet's insurrection was unfavourable to success. The first wrath against the Union had burst, the sober animosity fated ultimately to destroy that Union had scarcely begun. England's troops were disposable, and the organization of '97 broken—yet with a leader of more profound and stern character the attack on Dublin might have succeeded, and then the country would have risen and a national war would have followed. But the attempt threw back the country for years, and only it was so trivial that men were enabled with some degree of success to laugh at it, that one night's *emeute* might have been fatal to every eminent patriot in Ireland."*

All I have said, or have to say on this subject may be summed up in a few words.

The means at the disposal of Robert Emmet were not adequate to the object he expected to accomplish.

The time appointed for its accomplishment was inopportune.

A people recently crushed by its opponents, was not in a con-

* "Life and Times of Henry Grattan," vol. v. p. 223.

dition to renew a struggle that had been utterly defeated, and abandoned in despair.

The circumstances of the country were unfavourable to any efforts to excite the people to a renewal of the struggle. The strength and spirit of the nation were beaten down; the power of their rulers was unbroken. They were at peace with France when this conspiracy was organised in 1802. Orangeism was restrained; the government was conducted with an apparent design of exercising its functions in accordance with the interests of justice and humanity.

The administration of Lord Hardwicke was lenient, and formed a contrast that could not be ignored by the people, when compared with the systematic savagery, and rampant Orangeism, allied with the government of Lord Camden's long reign of terror in Ireland.

The chances of failure were far greater than those of success, for the conspiracy of 1803. The whole project of the insurrection was at the mercy of upwards of forty individuals employed in the several depots, and several hundreds of persons in Dublin and three adjoining counties, Wicklow, Kildare, and Wexford, who were cognizant of that project and the preparations that were making for its execution; and the treachery of a single individual in the secret of the chief conspirator, must have involved the whole of his plans and preparations in ruin.

The result of the outbreak, on the night of the 23rd of July, clearly proved that there was no retrieval for a single miscarriage and discomfiture; no retreat for chief or followers after a single defeat; no preconcerted measures that were practicable devised for rallying men thrown into confusion, routed in an attack, or seized with panic in any rencontre with the king's troops. There were military theories, indeed, on paper, but no men with practical military ideas to carry them into effect. Everything depended on the success of a *coup de main*—on the seizure of the Castle and the Pigeon-house and some other places; few of which were capable of being defended or held, in the event (that was certain of occurring) of being attacked by the military in such force as the garrison of Dublin had at its disposal.

In the face of these facts, it is impossible to deny the insurrection of July, 1803, had no element of success in its plans and projects; that its attempt terminating in failure could not fail to be ruinous to all engaged in it, injurious to the country—as all abortive insurrections must inevitably be—and the occasion of bloodshed lavished in a hopeless cause. Morality, wisdom, and patriotism can hold but one opinion on the subject of concocting a conspiracy so circumstanced as this was, and attended with such results. It cannot be justified.

Robert Emmet was not the author of it; unfortunately for himself and for his country, he allowed himself to be thrust forward into the prominent position of its leader. He was the dupe and victim of the real authors of it, who remained in the background, and who, unseen and unknown by him, worked on him—and on others of more wisdom and experience, too—through the agency of former political associates who had abandoned their old opinions and betrayed his confidence and that of his friends to a remorseless faction in Ireland.

There were two governments in Ireland in 1803; the all-powerful one of Orangeism, backed by Lord Castlereagh in England, managed by the under-secretary of the civil department of the government, Mr. Marsden; and the government of the viceroy, Lord Hardwicke; ostensibly administered by the chief-secretary, Mr. Wickham, but virtually controlled—shut out from a knowledge of all important facts supposed to be injurious to Orange interests, and guided and led conformably to the latter by Mr. Marsden. Nothing can be more clear, from the official documents and parliamentary papers I have placed before my readers, than that Lord Hardwicke was kept in total ignorance of the preparations for Robert Emmet's conspiracy till the very evening of the outbreak, on the 23rd of July, and that Mr. Marsden was in possession of all secret knowledge that was necessary to have enabled the government to have seized on Emmet and his associates four months before that outbreak, and to have prevented the insurrection from ever having been attempted at all.

But that result would not have suited the views of Lord Castlereagh. There was a new French invasion apprehended. It was to be anticipated by another prematurely exploded rebellion. Castlereagh's hand was assuredly in the direction given to the Irish government by Mr. Marsden, without the knowledge of the lord lieutenant, who was a just, straightforward, good man, incapable of any act of state villany, such as Castlereagh delighted in secretly performing. The Orangemen, be it remembered, at this period were indignant with Lord Hardwicke for setting his face against the old Camden policy of allying the government with Orangeism, or rather dividing the power of the state with that faction. The Irish government was to be made to feel that Orangeism could not be done without. The old traitors in the camp of the United Irishmen who had not then been discovered were brought into communication with those members of the faction to whom the mysteries of the *haute politique* of its Machiavellian *regime* were confided, and the result was the concoction of a mass of lying reports, transmitted to the United Irish leaders in France in 1802, purporting to give an exact account of the real state of things in

Ireland; and showing it to be most favourable for a renewed attempt on the part of the United Irishmen.

It only remains to say a few words of this baneful *regime* of Orangeism, which for upwards of sixty years has been living on the terrors inspired by reports of plots and conspiracies, and efforts to give shape, form, and consistency to the rumours that emanate from them. I am indebted to J. C. O'Callaghan, Esq., one of the ablest and most enlightened of Irish historical writers of our time, for directing my attention to a masterly article of *The Morning Chronicle*, which appeared during the time that Lord Normanby was lord lieutenant of Ireland, in reference to an attempt made in the House of Lords by Lord Roden, the leader of the Orangemen, to establish the existence of a wide-spread Ribbon conspiracy against property in Ireland, and charging Lord Normanby's administration with connivance at that conspiracy. In that singularly able article the Orange system was laid bare and naked before the people of England in all its vileness, imposture, and hypocrisy:

"There is one point," says *The Morning Chronicle*, "and that of no small importance, which we think has been abundantly established by the evidence before the lords' committee on the state of Ireland. We allude to the dread of the great bulk of their fellow-countrymen that haunts the guilty minds of the Orange party. It is this that stuffs their imaginations with phantoms of plots and massacres—it is this that dresses up every paltry combination of ignorant ploughmen or unwashed artificers in the frightful garb of treason against the state. 'Conscience makes cowards of us all,' and the only sign of conscience that we have ever been able to detect in the behaviour of Lord Roden and his party is the fear of a fierce retaliation, engendered by the recollection of their multitudinous persecutions and oppressions. There is no coward like the deposed tyrant, or the driver without his lash. You cannot convince the conscience-stricken Orangeman that vengeance is not in store for him; he despairs of mercy, having never shown it; he will not believe that the Catholics have forgotten or can forgive the accumulated wrongs of a hundred years. The dangers at which he quakes, are the spectres of the cruelties he has inflicted. His hand was against every man, and he dreams that every man's hand is lifted against him. None have such lively faith in the doctrine of moral retribution as these craven-hearted despots of the Orange sashes—themselves the furious persecutors of conscience—themselves the ruthless scourges of their country—themselves the very spirits of monopoly and the sworn enemies of public liberty. Not unnaturally do they anticipate repayment in their own iniquitous coin—not unnaturally do they see grim visions of

Popish bigotry, and dream dreams of Ribbon outrage. The party whose chiefs, whose very clergy called aloud within our own recollection for 'the extermination of the bloody Popish rebels'—the party which not two years since solemnly commemorated and held up to admiration and imitation the most sanguinary and diabolical of its almost countless aggressions upon the lives and fortunes of their Catholic fellow-subjects—such a party, we say, not unnaturally apprehends the raising of a war-whoop against themselves. They think it probable that amongst the Catholic priesthood may be found some M—k B——d, and amongst the Catholic gentry some likeness of a Colonel Verner. Capable themselves of drinking the memory of the Diamond massacre, they believe the Catholics no less capable of filling to the toast of Scullabogue. This is the explanation of the horrible Ribbon chimera which rides the distempered fancy of Lord Roden, as a nightmare bestrides a surfeited and snoring bishop. The monster is nothing but Orangeism dressed in green—the Protestant ascendancy with a cardinal's hat instead of a prelate's mitre, and a pike in the desperado's hand in place of the sword of state or a yeoman's musket. Deck an Orange colonel in green favours, and you behold a Ribbonman; trick out Lord Roden in knots and favours of the same plebeian hue, and straightway the head of the Ribbon directory stands before you. Every atrocity charged against the Catholics has an Orange precedent; every wicked design they are suspected of, has been either actually executed or daringly attempted by their false accusers. Not a solitary feature of the imaginary Ribbon conspiracy that is not a faithful copy from the terrible realities of the Orange lodges: the unlawful oaths—the blasphemous rites—the mysterious signs—the obscure pass-words—the traitorous designs—the illegal meetings—the secret possession and murderous use of arms. None but Orangemen could have forged such a horrid fiction of the Ribbon plot. It is the exact reflection of their own treasonable and sanguinary confederacy. Ribbonism is a romance by an Orange novelist, founded upon the revolting history of his own detested party."

The moral smashing, observes Mr. O'Callaghan, given to the faction in this admirable *exposé* of *The Chronicle* is as complete in its way, as that which the Italian poet represents to have been inflicted on the robbers in their den by the large table which his hero, Orlando, dashes down amongst them:

> "Wondrous to tell! this weight Orlando threw,
> Where, throng'd together, press'd th' ungodly crew;
> The shatter'd limb, crush'd head, and gory breast,
> And crackling bone, the thund'ring mass confess'd."

So much for the nature and the evils of Orangeism.

Four years had not elapsed since the suppression of the rebellion of 1798; two years had not elapsed since the extinction of Irish national independence, when Robert Emmet arrived in Ireland on his fatal mission.

Volcanic eruptions of signal magnitude burn out in periods of weeks and months, and then long intervals of repose may be expected. The formation of new elements, and their action on inflammable substances must be the work of time. The same generation of men seldom witness the terrible phenomena of two volcanos on a grand scale of activity in the same region. It is the same with great rebellions and revolutions when they have burned out; the smouldering ashes are not to be rekindled, nor their spent force revived by any efforts of the original agents to reproduce combustion.

The elements for it are not to be found even in such inflammable materials as the speeches in the Irish Parliament, in 1799 and 1800, of Plunket, Saurin, Parsons, Bushe, and Grattan. If it were possible for words to make resistance to a government not only legitimate but a sacred duty, their words assuredly were calculated to make rebels of their hearers. Robert Emmet was, for some time in 1798 and the beginning of 1799, one of the assiduous attendants on the debates on the Union. He, like hundreds of his countrymen, listened with admiration to those eloquent harangues, and believed the patriot orators were in earnest, that they meant what they said, and never would have spoken as they did speak, if their principles and opinions were not intended as well as calculated to inspire their hearers with kindred sentiments to their own. In this conclusion Emmet and his cotemporaries were no doubt lamentably mistaken; but, before we condemn their judgments utterly, a few extracts from those harangues, which will be found more extensively dealt with in the appendix, may be read with advantage, and enable the reader to judge of the effect these speeches were likely to make on young and ardent minds.

Mr. William Conyngham Plunket, subsequently a chancellor and a lord, spoke these words—Robert Emmet acted on them and was hanged:

"Sir, I, in the most express terms, deny the competency of parliament to do this act. I warn you, do not dare to lay your hands on the constitution. I tell you that if, circumstanced as you are, you pass this act, it will be a mere nullity, and no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it. I make the assertion deliberately. I repeat it. I call on any man who hears me to take down my words. You have not been elected for this purpose. You are appointed to make laws and not legislatures. You are appointed to exercise the functions of legislators, and not to transfer them.

You are appointed to act under the constitution, and not to alter it; and if you do so, your act is a dissolution of the government—you resolve society into its original elements, and no man in the land is bound to obey you. Sir, I state doctrines that are not merely founded on the immutable laws of truth and reason; I state not merely the opinions of the ablest and wisest men who have written on the science of government; but I state the practice of our constitution as settled at the era of the revolution; and I state the doctrine under which the house of Hanover derives its title to the throne.

"For me, I do not hesitate to declare that if the madness of the revolutionists were to tell me, 'You must sacrifice British connexion,' I would adhere to that connexion in preference to the independence of my country. *But I have as little hesitation in saying that if the wanton ambition of a minister should assail the freedom of Ireland, and compel me to the alternative, I would fling the connexion to the winds, and clasp the independence of my country to my heart.*"

Mr. Bushe, subsequently lord chief justice of Ireland, spoke these words—Robert Emmet acted on them and was hanged:

"I strip this formidable measure of all its pretensions and all its aggravations; I look on it nakedly and abstractedly, and I see nothing in it but one question—will you give up the country? I forget for a moment the unprincipled means by which it has been promoted; I pass by for a moment the unseasonable time at which it has been introduced, and the contempt of parliament upon which it is bottomed, and I look upon it simply as England reclaiming in a moment of your weakness that dominion which you extorted from her in a moment of your virtue—a dominion which she uniformly abused, which invariably oppressed and impoverished you, and from the cessation of which *you date all your prosperity*. . . .

"Odious as this measure is in my eyes, and disgusting to my feelings, if I see it is carried by the free and uninfluenced sense of the Irish parliament, I shall not only defer and submit, but I will cheerfully obey. It will be the first duty of every good subject. *But fraud, and oppression, and unconstitutional practice may possibly be another question.* If this be factious language, Lord Somers was factious, the founders of the revolution were factious, William III. was an usurper, and the revolution was a rebellion."

Mr. Saurin, subsequently a privy councillor and an attorney-general, spoke these words—Robert Emmet acted on them and was hanged:

"You may make the union binding as a law, but you cannot make it obligatory on conscience. It will be obeyed so long as

England is strong—but resistance to it will be in the abstract a duty; and the exhibition of that resistance will be a mere question of prudence."

Mr. Grattan, subsequently so honoured in the British senate as to have his remains deemed worthy of a tomb in Westminster Abbey, and in close proximity with the remains of Pitt and Castlereagh, spoke these words in the Irish House of Commons—Robert Emmet acted on them and was hanged:

"The right hon. gentleman (Mr. J. Corry) says I fled from the country after exciting the rebellion, and that I have returned to raise another. . . . .

"Many honourable gentlemen thought differently from me. I respect their opinions, but I keep my own; and I think now as I thought then, *that the treason of the minister against the liberties of the people was infinitely worse than the rebellion of the people against the minister.* . . . .

"The cry of the connexion (the Union measure) will not in the end avail against the principles of liberty. . . . .

"The cry of disaffection will not in the end avail against the principle of liberty. . . . .

"Yet I do not give up the country. I see her in a swoon, but she is not dead. Though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheek a glow of beauty.

"Thou art not conquered; beauty's ensign yet is crimson on thy lips and in thy cheeks, and death's pale flag is not advanced there."

Grattan, in a letter to Fox, dated 12th December, 1803, referring to the suppression of Emmet's insurrection and Lord Hardwicke's administration, observes:

"Mr. Pitt had never been able to raise a rebellion by his measure if he had not been assisted by the gross manners of his partizans. Therefore what you say is extremely just. Legislative provisions alone won't do. The general spirit of the executive government must be looked to. It was against the hostility of that general spirit that the people, notwithstanding their legal acquisitions, revolted—a revolt very criminal, very senseless, but deriving its cause from the government, which was guilty not only of its own crimes but of the crimes of the people.

"I am the more fully convinced that *the system caused the rebellion, and that allegiance—permanent, active allegiance—is only to be secured by its removal,* when I consider the good effects that have attended its abatement.

"Without any alteration in the legal condition of this country, and merely by a temperate exercise of the existing laws, the pre-

sent chief governor of Ireland has more advanced the strength of government and its credit than could have been well conceived. A rebellion broke out in the capital: in a few days, without the TORTURE, he discovered, I believe, 2,000 pikes; and in a very few weeks had more yeomen than Lord Camden in the whole of his government; and without a single act of violence, put down I think completely for the present, the insurrection; or rather he set up the laws and made *them put down* rebellion; withdrawing the credit of government at the same time from religious and political controversy. From the manner in which this last rebellion was put down, I incline to think that if Lord Hardwicke had been viceroy, and Lord Redesdale chancellor, in '98, the former rebellion had never existed; but how *far either have powers to effect that radical change, and to plant loyalty—permanent, unfeigned loyalty—in this country, I have great fears; rather, no hopes that I shall live to see that executive or legislative philanthropy that shall make the two countries act as one*, not merely from the dread of France or the apprehension of plunder from their own populace, but from the love of one another. Should such an event take place, I shall feel much joy, and you will feel much comfort in the consciousness of being the principal cause."*

Mr. Grattan plainly states that the system of Camden's government caused the rebellion of 1798. The Orangeism that predominated in it, finding the restraint imposed on it by Lord Hardwicke's administration, in 1803, intolerable, allied itself with the secret-service agency of men who still enjoyed the confidence of the expatriated United Irishmen, figured as patriots in public, and slunk in private communications and correspondence in the characters of spies and informers. By this alliance Orangeism was enabled to dally with sedition with the view once more of regaining power and pre-eminence, and rising in troubled times on the ruin of those who had been duped by its truculent allies, or driven to desperate courses by its designs.

The conspiracy of 1803 was the work of Orangeism in alliance with traitors in the ranks of the United Irishmen, with spies and informers of the broadcloth class, countenanced by that part of the Irish government over which the influence of Lord Castlereagh, then a member of the English government, was exerted in England.

We find in the pages of "The Memoirs and Correspondence of Lord Cornwallis" a notable corroboration of the fact that United Irishmen who figured as flaming patriots were secret-service money recipients. We find some of those double-faced gentlemen asso-

* "Life and Times of H. Grattan," vol. v. p. 241.

ciated with Robert Emmet since the period of his return to Ireland in October, 1802. We find one of the northern state prisoners—who had been confined, and who had incurred the suspicion there of his fellow-prisoners of communicating secretly with the English government—in April, 1803, in communication with one of the northern leaders and notabilities, on the subject of Emmet's enterprise; and in answer to it we find the person addressed—Mr. Henry Haslitt of Belfast, Tone's early friend and political associate—clearly referring to this early intimation of the conspiracy, at a period when preparations for the intended insurrection had not long commenced. Where is this important letter, addressed to Mr. Robert Hunter, to be found? *Why, in the collection of Major Sirr's original letters from the spies* and informers of his time. We are not to suppose the important secret, couched in allegorical terms in this letter, remained undivulged by the officious, treason-unravelling, traitor-hunting major. Of course he communicated it to Mr. Secretary Wickham, or, in his absence, to Mr. Under-Secretary Marsden. If so, why was this conspiracy suffered to go on? If Castlereagh's ghost could be raised, and would be questioned, we should be told, it was thus dealt with so as to cause it to explode prematurely.

Be it observed, Henry Haslitt was an old Belfast United Irishman of the first society—one of the principal leaders of that town; a red-hot republican and patriot at the time there was no actual danger of being hanged for political opinion; a skulker from them and his associates when danger environed both; whose patriotic fervour, like that of the northern leaders in general, had marvellously cooled down when the reign of terror came. Haslitt's courage had oozed out of him at his fingers' ends in 1798 and 1799; it was beginning to show itself cautiously and slyly in 1800, and down to 1803. Mr. Robert Hunter, on the other hand, had been a United Irish leader of some note; he had been imprisoned in Fort George, and had incurred the suspicion of his associates of betraying their confidence to the British government, in secret and clandestine communications from that place. He, however, had made his peace with government in 1802 or beginning of 1803; "had made the atonement" (which Castlereagh spoke of in the case of the repentance of Mr. Thomas Reynolds); and having "done the state some service," of all the state prisoners he had alone the especial grace conferred on him of an early absolution of the sins of his youth against government accorded to him, and permission given him to return to his native land. The use he made of that permission, we have some evidence of in the communication to Haslitt, respecting R. Emmet, and in Major Sirr's possession of Haslitt's letter to Mr. Hunter. The im-

portant letter I refer to, in the Sirr papers, clearly shows that, three months before the outbreak of Robert Emmet's insurrection, on the 23rd of July, 1803, the authorities had evidence in their hands of preparations for an insurrection being then in progress, as we find by the letter from Mr. H. Haslitt of Belfast, addressed to Mr. Robert Hunter, Dublin, dated the 20th April, 1803, in reply to a previous letter of Mr. Hunter, in the guise of a mercantile letter treating of an important commercial speculation, about to be entered into by a young man of high character and extensive connexions both at home and abroad, for the success of which so much was to be desired.

We find, in the revelations of Lord Cornwallis's Correspondence, how patriots like the Dublin barrister, Mr. Leonard M'Nally, the friend and advocate of Robert Emmet; the Belfast attorney, Mr. James M'Gucken; and divers others who were not then found out, were employed in rendering secret services to government. And in the papers of Major Sirr we find other evidence of gentlemen of the stamp of Mr. Robert Hunter rendering similar secret service. Thus we find "ministered to by good espials," a man whose memory will be held entitled to the sympathy of all generous people, be they Whig or Tory, Protestant or Catholic; when the names of Messrs. M'Nally, Hunter, M'Gucken, &c., will recall only revolting reminiscences, and excite feelings of repugnance and disgust.

Of a certainty, no such feeling will be connected with the name or memory of

ROBERT EMMET.

CHAPTER IX.

POETICAL PIECES BY ROBERT EMMET.

In bringing this memoir to a close, I present to my readers some pieces of poetry of Robert Emmet, which never have been published. They were evidently written during the reign of terror in 1797 or '98—the first piece in the latter year; all of them under the influence of feelings harrowed by the atrocities committed on the people at that period. One of them bears his initials—all of them, in his handwriting, had been written in what is called "invisible ink," and, by a chemical process, had been rendered barely legible, in purple characters. For these interesting documents, in the original, I am indebted to Miss Mary M'Cracken.

ARBOUR HILL.*

No rising column marks this spot
  Where many a victim lies,
But oh! the blood which here has streamed
  To heaven for justice cries.

It claims it on the oppressor's head
  Who joys in human woe,
Who drinks the tears by misery shed,
  And mocks them as they flow.

It claims it on the callous judge
  Whose hands in blood are dyed,
Who arms injustice with the sword,
  The balance throws aside.

It claims it for this ruined isle—
  Her wretched children's grave—
Where withered Freedom droops her head,
  And man exists—a slave.

O sacred Justice! free this land
  From tyranny abhorred;
Resume thy balance and thy seat,
  Resume, but sheath thy sword.

No retribution should we seek—
  Too long has horror reigned;
By mercy marked may Freedom rise,
  By cruelty unstained.

* Arbour Hill, at the rear of the Royal Barracks, in Dublin, was a place where a great number of executions took place, and the burial-place of those executed for treason. The spot chosen for their interment was "Croppies' Hole;" it was a piece of waste ground where rubbish used to be deposited.—R.R.M.

Nor shall a tyrant's ashes mix
With those our martyred dead;
This is the place where Erin's sons
In Erin's cause have bled.

And those who here are laid at rest,
Oh! hallowed be each name;
Their memories are for ever blest—
Consigned to endless fame.

Unconsecrated is this ground,
Unblessed by holy hands—
No bell here tolls its solemn sound—
No monument here stands.

But here the patriot's tears are shed,
The poor man's blessing given—
These consecrate the virtuous dead,
These waft their fame to heaven.

GENIUS OF ERIN.

Genius of Erin, tune thy harp
To freedom, let its sound awake
Thy prostrate sons, and nerve their hearts
Oppression's iron bonds to break.

Long and strong then strike the lyre—
Strike it with prophetic lays,
Bid it rouse the slumbering fire,
Bid the fire of freedom blaze.

Tell them glory waits their efforts—
Strongly wooed, she will be won;
Freedom, show, by peace attended,
Waits to crown each gallant son.

Greatly daring, bid them gain her;
Conquerors, bid them live or die;
Erin in her children triumphs,
Even where her martyrs lie.

But if her sons, too long opprest,
No spark of freedom's fire retain,
And, with sad and servile breast,
Basely wear the galling chain;

Vainly then you'd call to glory,
Vainly freedom's blessings praise—
Man debased to willing thraldom
Freedom's blessing cannot raise.

Cheek thy hand, and change thy strain,
Change it to a sound of woe—
Ireland's blasted hopes proclaim,
Ireland's endless sufferings show.

Show her fields with blood ensanguined,
  With her children's blood bedewed—
Show her desolated plains,
  With their murdered bodies strewed.

Mark that hamlet—how it blazes!
  Hear the shrieks of horror rise—
See—the fiends prepare their tortures—
  See! a tortured victim dies.

Ruin stalks his haggard round,
  O'er the plains his banner waves,
Sweeping from her wasted land
  All but tyrants and their slaves.

All but tyrants and their slaves!
  Shall they live in Erin's isle?
O'er her martyred patriots' graves
  Shall Oppression's minions smile?

Erin's sons, awake!—awake!
  Oh! too long, too long, you sleep;
Awake! arise! your fetters break,
  Nor let your country bleed and weep.

R. E.

THE EXILE.

Ah! where is now my peaceful cot—
  Ah! where my happy home?
No peaceful cot, alas! is mine—
  An exile now I roam.

Far from my country I am driven,
  A wanderer sent from thee,
But still my constant prayer to heaven
  Shall be to make thee free.

ERIN'S CALL.

Brothers, rise! your country calls—
  Let us gain her rights or die;
In her cause who nobly falls,
  Decked with brightest wreath shall lie;
    And Freedom's genius o'er his bier
    Shall place the wreath and drop the tear.

Long by ——'s power opprest,
  Groaning long beneath her chain,
——'s ill-used power detest,
  Burst her yoke, your rights regain;
    The standard raise to liberty—
    Ireland! you shall yet be free.

Brothers, march, march on to glory—
  In your country's cause unite;
Freedom's blessings see before you—
  Erin's sons for freedom fight;
    ——'s legions we defy,
    We swear to conquer or to die.

There is a piece displaying a great deal of talent, called "The London Pride and Shamrock," in No. 11 of *The Press*, 21st October, 1797, signed "Trebor," which I believe to be the production of Robert Emmet. The letters of the signature reversed will be found to be those which compose that of "Robert." Before I noticed this circumstance, I was struck with the simplicity, the sombre cast of thought, the ardent enthusiasm which is displayed in these verses :

THE LONDON PRIDE AND SHAMROCK.

A FABLE.

Full many a year, close side by side,
A Shamrock grew and London Pride ;
Together how they came to grow
I do not care, nor do I know ;
But this I know, that overhead
A laurel cast a wholesome shade.
The Shamrock was of lovely green
In early days as e'er was seen ;
And she had many a hardy son
In days of old, but they are gone—
For soon the other's creeping shoots
Did steal themselves round Shamrock's roots,
Then thief-like fastened in her soil,
And sucked the sap of poor Trefoil;
Until in time pert London Pride
Got up so high as quite to hide
Poor Shamrock, who could seldom see
The sun's bright face--nor seen was she,
Save when an adverse blast did blow,
And laid her neighbour's honours low.
Then, in the angry lady's spite,
She drank the show'r, she saw the light,
She bath'd her sicklied charms in dew,
And gathered health and strength anew.
She saw those joys had come from heaven,
And ne'er were by her neighbour given ;
Yet, her good nature aye to prove,
She paid her jealous hate with love.
But when once more kind zephyrs came,
And raised the o'ergrown, storm-bent dame,
The ingrate strove her all to take,
And forced poor Shamrock thus to speak :
"Neighbour, we're born with equal right
To feel yon sun and see his light,
T'enjoy the blessings of this earth—
Or if right follows prior birth,
In this still stronger is my claim—
Long was I known, and great my fame,
Before the world e'er heard thy name.
But letting all those strong claims lie,
Pray tell me, is it policy,
To thwart my offspring as they rise,
To break my heart, to blind their eyes ?
Sure if they spread the earth along,
Grow handsome, healthy, stout, and strong,

They will as usual happy be
To lend that useful strength to thee;
Thus would we keep each other warm,
And guard us from all coming harm;
We'd steady stand when wild winds blow,
And laugh in spite of frost and snow,
And guard the root of our loved laurel,
Grown sick and pale to see us quarrel."
"No more!" the vex'd virago cries,
Wild fury flashing from her eyes;
"I'll hear no more—your bounds I'll mark,
And keep you ever in the dark;
Here is a circle—look you here—
One step beyond it, if you dare!
And if I hear you more complain
I'll tear thy rising heart in twain;
I've made thy sons kill one another,
And soon they shall destroy their mother.
I'll thus"—a flash of heavenly fire,
Full fraught with Jove's most deadly ire,
Scatter'd the London Pride around;
The black clouds roar'd with horrid sound;
The vivid lightning flashed again,
And laid the laurel on the plain.
But soon succeeds a heavenly calm—
Soft dews descend and show'rs of balm—
The sun shoots forth his kindest ray,
And Shamrock strengthens every day,
And, rais'd by heaven's assistance bland,
Bids fair to spread o'er all the land;
She guards the blasted laurel's roots,
The nurtur'd laurel upward shoots,
And grateful wreathes its dark green boughs
To grace great Shamrock's aged brows.

MORAL.

Take heed, learn wisdom hence, weak man,
And keep a good friend while you can;
If to your friend you are unkind,
E'en Jove will be against you join'd;
Reflect that every act you do
To strengthen him doth strengthen you;
To serve you he is willing—able—
Two twists will make the strongest cable,
To bind a friend and keep him steady,
To have him e'er in reach and ready.—TREBOR.

In *The Anti-Union* periodical for March 9th, 1799, there is another remarkable poem with the same signature, "Trebor," entitled "Help from Heaven," of which I have little doubt the writer was Robert Emmet:

HELP FROM HEAVEN.

"The right hand of the Lord bringeth mighty things to pass—the Lord has chastened and corrected me: but he hath not given me over unto death."—*Psalm* cxviii. 16 and 18.

'TWAS at the solemn midnight hour,
When minds at ease are sunk in sleep,
But sorrow's sons their wailings pour,
Teaching the woods and wilds to weep;

Beside a lake whose waters black
The pale-eyed moon doth dimly spy,
Scarce peeping o'er a mountain's back,
That rudely lifts its head on high;

Where the wild willows green and dank
Their weeping heads wave to and fro;
And bending reeds upon its bank
Oft kiss the stream that runs below—

There, on a long-fall'n mould'ring mass
An ancient castle's crumbling wall,
That, now grown o'er with weeds and grass,
Was once gay mirth's and beauty's hall,

Ierne, lonely, pale, and sad,
All hapless sighing, sat her down,
And sorrowing mused, till almost mad,
She snatched her harp her cares to drown.

Now wildly waved her auburn hair
In the unheeded blast that blew;
Fixed were her eyes in deep despair,
Whilst o'er the strings her fingers flew.

The sounds, at first so loud and wild,
Now slowly softened on the ear;
And e'en the savage blast grew mild,
Such soothing sounds well pleased to hear.

Her druid's ghosts around her throng—
For ling'ring still, tho' seldom seen,
They fondly flit the oaks among,
And haunt the grove for ever green;

And list'ning fairies troop around,
Whilst high upon the ivied tow'r,
The long-haired banshees catch the sound
And wrapt, forget their crying hour.

For, in the saddest, softest strain,
She wail'd the woes of Erin's land—
Ah! wretched Erin, rent in twain
By some curs'd demon's hellish hand,

That aye inflames with deadly rage
Sons against sons in foulest fight,
And youth to murder hoary age,
In nature's and in reason's spite.

The cottage now she sings in flames,
Now the injur'd maiden dying,
And now the burning baby's screams
To its mother's bosom flying:

Ah! luckless mother, vain you shed
Thy tears or blood thy babe to save,
For lo! poor soul, thy baby's dead,
And now thy breast must be its grave!

Thy breast of life where, as it slept,
Thy song-sooth'd cherub oft would start;
Then heav'd its little sighs, and wept—
Sad signs that rack'd thy boding heart.

The thought too deep Ierne stung—
She started frantic from her seat,
Her silver harp deep thrilling rung,
Neglected, falling at her feet.

Nor silver harp Ierne cheers,
Nor the bright starry studded skies;
The light of Heaven's unseen through tears—
The sweetest sound's unheard through sighs.

The withered shamrock from her breast,
Scorch'd with her burning sighs, she threw,
And the dark, deadly yew she pressed,
Cold dripping with unhallow'd dew.

"Here, here," she cries, "unseen I'll dwell,
Here hopeless lay my tearful head,
And fairies nightly in this cell
Shall strew my dew-cold leafy bed."

Then down she sinks with grief oppress'd,
Her saffron sleeve thrown o'er her face,
And soft-wing'd sleep lights on her breast,
And soothes its heavings into peace.

But ah! too soon, fell Discord's cries,
Borne on an eastern breeze's wings,
Rude sweep her harp, that downward lies,
And moan amongst its trembling strings.

Scared with a sound he did not know,
Peace-loving sleep dared not to stay,
But, sighing for Ierne's woe,
He bent his noiseless flight away.

Ierne, starting, paused awhile:
"Too true," she cries, "ye powers above!
Dread Discord comes from that fair isle
Where still I looked for peace and love."

Thought-rapt she stood in dumb amaze,
When, on the western mountain's height,
To sounds seraphic, rose a blaze
Of mildly-beaming heavenly light.

There in the midst, loose-rob'd, was seen
Sweet Hope, that soothes our ev'ry ill,
Beck'ning with calm and smiling mien
Poor, sad Ierne up the hill.

The woe-begone thus Hope address'd:
"Lift up thy looks, Ierne, cheer!
For know we come at heaven's behest
To soothe thy sorrow, check thy fear.

"Thy cares, thy dangers soon shall cease,
Thy days of tears and sighs are gone,
Thy foulest feuds shall turn to peace—
Thus shall the will of heav'n be done.

"Pluck from thy breast that yew away—
Be steady, cool, collected, calm;
So shalt thou soon a wreath display
Of shamrock woven with the palm."

Words so bland, as dew descending
Lifts the drooping lily's head,
Rais'd the fair Ierne bending,
Fairest flow'r in Nature's bed.

"My fervent thanks, high heav'n," she cries,
"Be ever, ever given to thee;
Thou'st chas'd my sorrow, tears, and sighs—
Thou'st sent me HOPE and LIBERTY."

TREBOR.

CHAPTER X.

NOTICE OF SARAH CURRAN.

EMMET'S ARREST LEADING TO THE DISCOVERY OF PAPERS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF HIS WITH A MEMBER OF THE FAMILY OF JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN—ACCOUNT OF THOSE PAPERS IN THE ORIGINAL LETTERS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF MAJOR SIRR—THE MAJOR'S NEW LINE OF DUTIES ABOUT THE PERSON OF MISS SARAH CURRAN—THE STORY OF "THE BROKEN HEART."

THE story of "The Broken Heart" has made known the trials and afflictions of the object of Emmet's affection, wherever one of the most graceful books in miscellaneous literature, of our language, has found its way.

The following account of Sarah Curran's ill-fated attachment, conveys a better idea of it and its unhappy issue than any description of mine could possibly afford:

"She loved him with the disinterested fervour of a woman's first and early love. When every worldly maxim arrayed itself against him—when blasted in fortune, and disgrace and danger darkened around his name, she loved him the more ardently for his very sufferings. If then his fate could awaken the sympathy even of his foes, what must have been the agony of her whose soul was occupied by his image? Let those tell who have had the portals of the tomb suddenly closed between them and the being they most loved on earth—who have sat at its threshold as one shut out in a cold and lonely world, from whence all that was most lovely and loving had departed.

"To render her widowed situation more desolate, she had in-

curred her father's displeasure by her unfortunate attachment, and was an exile from her paternal roof. But could the sympathy and offices of friends have reached a spirit so shocked and *driven in* by horror, she would have experienced no want of consolation; for the Irish are proverbially a people of quick and generous sensibilities. The most delicate and cherishing attentions were paid her by families of wealth and distinction. She was led into society, and they tried by all kinds of occupation and amusement to dissipate her grief and wean her from the tragic story of her love. But it was all in vain. There are some strokes of calamity that scathe and scorch the soul—that penetrate to the vital seat of happiness, and blast it, never again to put forth bud or blossom. She never objected to frequent the haunts of pleasure—but she was as much alone there as in the depths of solitude. She walked about in a sad reverie, apparently unconscious of the world around her. She carried with her an inward woe that mocked at all the blandishments of friendship, and 'heeded not the song of the charmer, charm he never so wisely.'

"On the occasion of a masquerade at the Rotundo her friends brought her to it. There can be no exhibition of far-gone wretchedness more striking and painful than to meet it in such a scene; to find it wandering like a spectre, lonely and joyless, where all around is gay—to see it dressed out in the trappings of mirth, and looking so wan and woe-begone, as if it had tried in vain to cheat the poor heart into a momentary forgetfulness of sorrow. After strolling through the splendid rooms and giddy crowd with an air of abstraction, she sat down on the steps of an orchestre, and looking about for some time with a vacant air that showed insensibility to the gayish scene, she began, with the capriciousness of a sickly heart, to warble a little plaintive air. She had an exquisite voice, but on this occasion it was so simple, so touching—it breathed forth such a soul of wretchedness—that she gathered a crowd, mute and silent, around her, and melted every one into tears."*

This was a mournful spectacle indeed. Imogen was unable to drag her misery into such scenes of gaiety—yet misery shows itself in various shapes, and not always in the saddest places. What heavy heart-sickness is breathed in the words addressed to the companions of Imogen:

> "So please you, leave me;
> Stick to your journal course—the breach of custom
> Is the breach of all. I am ill—but your being by me
> Cannot amend me; society is no comfort
> To one not sociable. I'm not very sick,
> Since I can reason of it. Pray you, trust me—
> I'll rob none but myself; and let me die,
> Stealing so poorly."

* Washington Irving's story of "The Broken Heart."

Who thinks of the young, heroic man who perished on the scaffold in 1803, and merged its ignominy in "the magnanimity" of his bearing (to use the term employed by the representative of the sovereign in bearing testimony to the nobleness of mind which suggested one of the latest of his acts); who mourns over his fate, and while reminded of his errors separates his motives from them; who reads the story of Robert Emmet and does not recall the name of Sarah Curran, and all that is sad as well as beautiful that is associated with it?

Her brother tells us of the progress of Emmet's attachment, and of the period and occasion of his divulging it to her. A letter of the former to her father, and another to Mr. Richard Curran, "contain all that is to be told." Those letters, everybody feels, contain less than he desires to know of one who engaged the affections of Robert Emmet. The letter to the father was intended to give an appearance of a very recent and accidental origin to that attachment, and to conceal the extent to which his daughter's affections had been engaged. The object is obvious, and its delicacy no less apparent. That attachment was not of a very recent origin, nor was its ardour and enthusiasm all or chiefly on the side of Robert Emmet. During the whole period of his last residence in Dublin, after his return from the Continent, an active correspondence was carried on between him and Miss Curran. This correspondence, comprising what has been termed "a sheaf of notes and letters," fell into the hands of the Irish Verres, Major Sirr. They remained long in his possession objects of *vertu*, classed with "rebellious papers," in that portion of the collection which was set apart for the antiquities of the year of blood and terror, that was marked with a white stone in the major's calendar, 1798.

The entire of those letters, it is stated on good authority, were burned by Major Sirr some years before his death, from compassionate feelings, it is said. The letters of the lady moved the major to pity—wonderful letters! Well might the writers of them have said, "What wreck discern you in me deserves YOUR pity?" It is needless to inquire into Sirr's motives for this act, as it is fruitless to lament the destruction of them. The major in destroying those papers has not destroyed the memory of Robert Emmet, nor diminished the mournful interest that is felt in everything that relates to Sarah Curran.

There is a reference to Emmet's correspondence with Sarah Curran in Grattan's memoirs.

Mr. Grattan, in his life of his father, mentions a remarkable circumstance connected with the execution of Robert Emmet, which rests on the authority of Peter Burrowes, a man of great

integrity and truthfulness, that is not made mention of in any other account of Robert Emmet's last moments.

"He was as cool and collected," says Mr. Grattan, "before his death as if nothing was to happen. Peter Burrowes saw him on his way, and related a circumstance that occurred as he was going to execution. He had a paper that he wished to be brought to Miss Curran, to whom he was strongly attached; he watched his opportunity, and in passing one of the streets he caught a friendly eye in the crowd, and, making a sign to the person, got him near, and then he dropped a paper; this was observed by others, and the person who took it up was stopped; the paper was taken from him and brought to the Castle. Mr. Burrowes and Charles Bushe saw it, and said it was a very affecting and interesting letter."

This probably may be another version of the same occurrence which Mr. W. H. Curran makes mention of:

"There were fine traits, too, in Emmet's character; the following was one of them. His attachment to Miss Curran was well known. When he was sent to prison for the outbreak in 1803, he took aside the gaoler, and gave him a letter for Miss Curran, and all the money he had about him, and begged that he would deliver it safe. The man, in the discharge of his duty, gave the letter to the attorney-general. Emmet found *this* out, and he immediately sent to government to say he had imprudently written such a letter; that it had come to their hands; he had thus injured an innocent and guiltless female; and knowing how much the government were afraid of his addressing the people at his execution, he begged of them to have the letter delivered, and that if they refused he would not fail to address the people, and would do so with greater determination; but if they sent the letter he would agree to appear in court, plead guilty, and go to execution without saying a word. That was certainly a fine trait in his character. The letter related to politics as well as to love; and in it he mentions there was only one thing in the whole of his conduct with which he had (and justly) to reproach himself—that was his imprudence; and one great cause of his failure he attributed to the mildness of the government, which he termed their insidious moderation." *

Anne Devlin, in speaking of Emmet's residence at Harold's-cross, mentions her having been sent for to convey a letter to Miss Curran, but in a subsequent conversation she stated that she had been the bearer of several notes to Miss Curran, when he was living at Butterfield-lane. Another person, I am informed, frequently performed the same office, a sister of young Palmer of Thomas-street. Anne Devlin says that when she delivered a note

* "Grattan's Life and Times," vol. xiv. p. 360.

to Miss Curran, "her face would change so, one would hardly know her." She remembered Miss Curran, she said, as well as if she was then standing before her; she was a person "whose face some way or another, the first time one ever laid their eyes on her, seemed to be known to one. You could not see Miss Curran, and not help liking her; and yet she was not handsome; but she was more than handsome." I described to her the person of a sister of Miss Sarah Curran whom I had known in Italy upwards of twenty years ago, but she said there was no resemblance. "Miss Sarah was not tall, her figure was very slight, her complexion dark, her eyes large and black, and her look was the mildest, and the softest, and the sweetest look *you* ever saw."

From all that I have been able to learn of this young lady, she was one of the simplest-minded, freest from affectation, the most amiable and gentle of womankind; and yet there was no sacrifice she was not capable of making for the man she loved—there was no suffering she was not prepared to endure for his sake. Under all restraints, in all the trying circumstances and various positions she was placed in, it would seem that her fugitive, her imprisoned, her death-doomed, her buried, or her slandered and reprobated lover was ever present to her thoughts. "With all the resolution of strong faith, she had flung her youth, her hope, her beauty, her talent, upon his bosom, weighed him against the world, which she found but a feather in the scale, and taken him as an equivalent."

I know not where there is to be found a more touching and striking example of devoted fondness—of that kind of self-sacrificing fondness, of devoted fidelity to the object of affection, which carries abnegation to the farthest possible extent—than in the instance of the exercise of the faith, fortitude, patience, and self-renunciation practically manifested by Sarah Curran.

It has been stated that Miss Curran had an interview with Robert Emmet the day before his execution. The statement is denied, I believe with truth, by every friend of Robert Emmet with whom I am acquainted. The only friend, or person presumed to be a friend of his, who visited him the day previous to his trial, or after his conviction, as I have previously observed, was Mr. Leonard M'Nally, the barrister. None of his fellow-prisoners were even permitted to take leave of him. But the morning of his execution there was a coach stationed at a short distance from the gaol, near the entrance to the Royal Hospital. A lady was seen in that coach by an associate of Robert Emmet, with her face buried in her handkerchief; and when the prisoner left the gaol, and the carriage in which he was placed approached the spot where the other vehicle was drawn up, Robert Emmet put his head out of the window, gazed intently at the person who was in it, waved

his hand several times, and was continuing to do so till he was out of sight of the person who gave me this account. At the moment Robert Emmet passed, the lady referred to stood up in the carriage, waved her handkerchief, and sunk back on the seat. My informant was not near enough to the coach to discern her features distinctly; she was a young person, and he believed it was Miss Curran.

Mr. W. H. Curran in his life of his father states, that on Emmet's arrest some papers were found on his person which showed that subsequently to the insurrection he had corresponded with one of Mr. Curran's family; a warrant accordingly followed, as a matter of course, to examine Mr. Curran's house, where some of Mr. Emmet's letters were found, which, together with the documents taken upon his person, placed beyond a doubt his connexion with the late conspiracy, and were afterwards used as evidence upon his trial.

"It is a matter of notoriety (says Mr. Curran) that at this period his house was searched, that he appeared himself before some members of the privy council, and that a rumour prevailed—to which his political enemies gave a ready credit, and as far as they could a confirmation—that he was personally implicated in the recent conspiracy. . . . .

"The projector of the late insurrection, Mr. Robert Emmet, who was a young gentleman of a highly respectable family, of very striking talents and interesting manners, was in the habit of visiting at Mr. Curran's house. Here he soon formed an attachment for his youngest daughter. Of the progress of that attachment, and of the period and occasion of his divulging it to her, Mr. Emmet's letters, inserted hereafter, contain all that is to be told. It is necessary however to add, as indeed will sufficiently appear from those letters, that her father remained in total ignorance of the motive of Mr. Emmet's visits, until subsequent events made it known to all. To a man of his celebrity and attractive conversation there seemed nothing singular in finding his society cultivated by any young person to whom he afforded (as he so generally did to all) the opportunities of enjoying it. As the period, however, of the intended insurrection approached, Mr. Curran began to suspect, from minute indications which would probably have escaped a less skilful observer, that his young visitor was actuated by some strong passions which it cost him a perpetual effort to conceal; and in consequence, without assigning to those appearances any precise motive or giving the subject much attention, he in general terms recommended to his family not to allow what was at present only a casual acquaintance to ripen into a greater degree of intimacy.

"Upon the failure of the insurrection its leader escaped, and succeeded for some weeks in secreting himself. There is reason to believe that had he attended solely to his safety he could have easily effected his departure from the kingdom; but in the same spirit of romantic enthusiasm which distinguished his short career, he could not submit to leave a country to which he could never more return, without making an effort to have one final interview with the object of his unfortunate attachment, in order to receive her personal forgiveness for what he now considered as the deepest injury. It was apparently with a view to obtaining this last gratification that he selected the place of concealment in which he was discovered: he was arrested in a house situate midway between Dublin and Mr. Curran's country-seat. Upon his person were found some papers which showed, that subsequent to the insurrection he had corresponded with one of that gentleman's family. A warrant accordingly followed, as a matter of course, to examine Mr. Curran's house, where some of Mr. Emmet's letters were found, which, together with the documents taken upon his person, placed beyond a doubt his connexion with the late conspiracy, and were afterwards used as evidence upon his trial.

"It was from this legal proceeding that Mr. Curran received the first intimation of the melancholy attachment in which one of his children had been involved. This is not the place to dwell upon the agony which such a discovery occasioned to the private feelings of the father. It was not the private calamity alone which he had to deplore—it came embittered by other circumstances which, for the moment, gave his sensibility an intenser shock."*

"Mr. Curran waited upon the attorney-general (the Right Hon. Standish O'Grady, the late Chief Baron of the Exchequer), and tendered his person and his papers, to abide any inquiry which the government might deem it expedient to direct. That officer entered into his situation with the most prompt and manly sympathy, and instead of assuming the character of an accuser of the father, more generously displayed his zeal in interceding for his child. At his instance Mr. Curran accompanied him to the privy council. Upon his first entrance there were some indications of the hostile spirit which he had originally apprehended. A noble lord, who at the time held the highest judicial situation in Ireland, undertook to examine him upon the transaction which occasioned his attendance. To do this was undoubtedly his duty. He fixed his eye upon Mr. Curran and was proceeding to cross-examine his countenance, when (as is well remembered by the spectators of the scene) the swell of indignation and the glance of stern dignity

* "Life of Curran," vol. ii. p. 148.

and contempt which he encountered there gave his own nerves the shock which he had meditated for another's, and compelled him to shrink back into his chair, silent and disconcerted at the failure of his rash experiment. With this single exception, Mr. Curran was treated with the utmost delicacy." *

When it is remembered how obnoxious Curran had rendered himself to the government, by so many years' increasing opposition to every administration, with the exception of Lord Fitzwilliam's, while he was a member of it in the House of Commons; by the part he had taken in the various state trials from 1794 to the end of 1798; it cannot be wondered at, how vexatious to him must have been the event which left him at the mercy of that government, and rendered it necessary for him to appear before the privy council in the character, no longer of an intrepid advocate for others, but of a suspected person who had to enter into explanations of his own conduct. If there was aught in his treatment of his poor daughter of harshness and of undue severity, let the fault be remembered and dealt with uncharitably only by those who forget his services to his countrymen.

A recent discovery of mine, the result of researches in those precious monuments of villany the original correspondence of Major Sirr, with his employers as well as the spies and informers of 1798, places the major's character in a new light—that of an angel of mercy, administering comfort to the broken-hearted and the sorrowful.

Gentle reader, picture to yourself this angel of a town-major immediately after the capture of Robert Emmet, the attempted flight, and the striking down of the fugitive with the butt-end of a pistol, visiting the betrothed of the captured rebel in her own house, talking to her of comfort, and telling her of a catastrophe that set all consolation at defiance. Oh! for the pen-pencil of a word-painter like Macaulay to depict that scene, and to set before his readers another scene, connected with the former, which took place the evening of that day of the major's visitation at Curran's house.

The chief secretary of the lord lieutenant, Mr. Wickham, was dining with the lord chancellor, at his house in Ely-place, when a communication reached him from Major Sirr, who was then at Mr. Curran's, after ransacking Miss Sarah Curran's apartment for letters of Robert Emmet, and discovering a large quantity of them. Of the major's letter to Mr. Wickham no copy is given in the collection of the Sirr Papers, and no memorandum respecting it, but the answer to it is given, and the general nature of its contents may be inferred from the reply.

* "Life of Curran," vol. ii. p. 239.

We must not imagine Mr. Wickham's noble host in Ely-place, and *vis-a-vis* on this occasion, was a man destitute of all generous feelings and kindly dispositions, when he was not plunged in political strife, and in actual conflict with his opponents. We may imagine the chancellor and the chief secretary were enjoying themselves on this particular occasion, when the major's communication was handed to Mr. Wickham, and we may be tolerably sure, instantly it was read, presented to Lord Clare. It would be unnecessary to speculate on the observations it called forth. We may comprehend the nature of them from the following note of Mr. Wickham, in the handwriting of which there is evidence of the anger, impatience, and disgust of the English gentleman.

"At the Lord Chancellor's, Friday.

"TO MAJOR SIRR.

"DEAR SIR—I lament exceedingly the circumstance of Mr. Curran's absence from his country-house on your arrival, and am much distressed at hearing the state of Miss Sarah Curran's mind, as described in your letter; in every case I think you had better come away, and leave Miss Sarah Curran to the care of her sisters.

"I am, dear Sir, &c., &c.,

"W. WICKHAM."

Fancy, gentle reader, Mr. Secretary Wickham, an English gentleman of kindly feelings, of polished manners and honourable principles—after the loathsome business of his office is over for the day, and he has done for a few hours with the cabals, intrigues, jobs, and manœuvres of the multifarious faction that affects exclusive loyalty, and expects exclusive patronage at the hands of the adminstration—sitting *tête-à-tête* with Lord Clare, sipping his claret, and enjoying the chancellor's curious way of being funny and facetious. "Black Jack" was certainly no joker in the ordinary way of jocularity; but he loved to make sport for the Philistines in power, by ridiculing the manners, peculiarities, propensities, and vices even of the partizans of the Orange faction, of which he, John Fitzgibbon, was the head, and wholly and solely was so on the principle of its being better to reign in office than serve in opposition.

But let us contemplate the actors in that previous scene I have referred to.

What a strange spectacle, and a mournful one at the same time, was this, for an observer of human nature, and of the realities of that kind of experience of life that is stranger than fiction! To see the bluff, stalworth, vulgar-looking police official in great

authority—a man of brute force, of brute courage, of brutal mind and brutal instincts, of feelings and pursuits congenial to them that gave a fierce air and a formidable character to his whole appearance—bending over the form of the poor, heart-sick girl, shrinking from the truculent gaze and the profanation of the touch of such a man! Can we fancy, without a shudder, the friend and accomplice of Sandys and O'Brien throughout the reign of terror, bending over that forlorn young creature—the man whose hands were imbued with the blood of Lord Edward Fitzgerald—who had drawn so very lately the blood, too, of Robert Emmet—who had dogged and set him, and made a prisoner of him, but not before he had thrust the butt-end of his pistol into the face of the young man whose faith was plighted to that girl.

Let us imagine the feelings of one in such circumstances as hers, compelled to endure not only the horror of his presence, but the revolting proffer of his care and the protestations of his sympathy. Have we no painter to catch the expression of those looks of his, the insolence and vulgarity of his mien and manner, the feigned solicitude of this compassionate town-major, with all the vigilance of a police officer mingled in his regard, affecting to be humane, and manifesting a deep interest in the sorrows of the young lady vehemently suspected of loving, "not wisely, but too well," a youthful rebel? Rembrandt alone could do justice to such a scene and such a subject. He indeed might depict the terrorist of Dublin performing the part of a comforter in a lady's chamber that he has been ransacking for evidence of her lover's guilt, ever and anon dropping a word about resignation and religion while he is rifling her boudoir, turning over her private papers, gathering up the fragments of her torn love-letters, and cramming into his pockets every scrap of paper that bears the name or had the semblance of the handwriting of that lover.

The artist who painted Judas in his despair, could have equally well depicted him in his noon-day perfidy, and pourtrayed all the blandness and benignity, from the lip outward, of his accosting smile. He indeed could paint Sirr to the life, and set him before the world in the true light of his character on this occasion, giving due expression to every change of countenance indicative of insidiousness and craft. He alone could put the man before us, with a sense of power in his look without any legal limit to its use, seeking to subdue the fierceness of its aspect, and succeeding only to the extent of assuming the sly, demure, lying-in-wait quiescence of features in a state of unnatural repose. In the portraiture of that expression, with all its blandness, one would read the words that Sirr had often addressed to his fellow-citizens, "*Who dares to dispute my authority?*"

We need not indeed the genius of art or a ghost from the grave to answer that question. No man of ordinary discretion would have had the temerity to have disputed it. Perhaps there requires some courage, even at this distance of time from its terrors, to deal with it as I do, dead and buried though it be ; for there is a halo round it in the eyes of many—a sweet savour and a pleasant odour in its remembrance. When Nero died, all admiration of the man and of his power did not die with him. Hands were not wanting in the dusk of the evening to strew flowers on his grave. The major has his admirers, and they look back occasionally to the time, with something like a wishful feeling for its return, when he had but to will, and his bidding was obeyed, and to wink and his agents were at hand, and at work on his secret service—when it might be said : "If he pull down there is no man that can build up; if he shut up a man there is none that can open."

The interval between 1798 and 1803 was not too great, even for the remembrance of one so young as Sarah Curran, to recall the time when, in "the tabernacle of robbers," there were men who had been transformed into agents of police, directors and supervisors of spies, informers, and stipendiary swearers, who had not yet lost all their power and *prestige* in the state. Sirr, it is true, had been not entirely shorn of his beams in 1803. He was still a luminary, indeed, in the upper regions of the police—though beginning to shine in that firmament with mitigated rays. He was "meditating at that time on a new phase" in his public life. He was about to become a saint, and in this new character, even under a milder administration of government, he was enabled to maintain his influence as a man of supernatural knowledge of "treasons, stratagems, and spoils," "who discovereth things out of darkness, and bringeth up to light the shadows of death."

Such was the man who ministered to Sarah Curran, when the fatal news was communicated to her that Robert Emmet had been arrested, which was equivalent to an intimation that his doom was sealed. For Sirr's victim there was but a brief interval between capture and execution, and in that interval, behold Eliphaz the Temanite standing by the side of the most sorrowful of the daughters of men, coolly and calmly, like one of the congregation of the hypocrites, talking to the afflicted one of comfort and consolation.

One feels as if he were present at this scene, marking how composedly this officer of justice, taking on him the office of a minister of peace, reasons with her anguish ; how complacently he wags his head when he reproves the impatience of her sorrow. One almost imagines he hears the heart-stricken maiden utter words that tremble on her lips, in mournful concord with the tears

that trickle down her pale face: "God hath shut me up with the unjust man, and delivered me into the hands of the wicked." "How long do you afflict my soul, and break me in pieces with words." "I have done with hope, I shall now live no longer: spare me, for my days are nothing."

In the papers and correspondence of Major Sirr, deposited in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, no portion of the letters of Sarah Curran to Robert Emmet, which fell into the hands of Major Sirr, are to be found. They were destroyed, we are told by the late Mr. Charles Phillips, in his "Recollections of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran and his Cotemporaries," from laudable motives of delicacy and compassionate feelings, by the major. Marvellous influence of tenderness and pity, to be exerted on the feelings and exhibited in the conduct of a man not given to the melting mood! But we find in those papers the short note that speaks volumes, from the chief secretary, Mr. Wickham, addressed to the major, which I have just referred to, and made the subject of a few passing comments. And the next paper in the Sirr collection is a memorandum occupying half a sheet of letter paper, signed "J. D. S.," that renders the delicacy of feeling which is said to have prompted the destruction of those letters utterly unavailing, leaving, as it does, a record in those papers, now deposited in a public institution, calculated to brand with infamy the name, and to leave the memory abhorred of a young lady, whose sorrows and unhappy fate alone should have been a safeguard and a shield from every ungenerous thought, unjust suspicion, and unworthy imputation.

Here is the memorandum signed "J. D. S." in the Sirr papers, referring to the seizure of Robert Emmet's letters addressed to and in the possession of Miss Sarah Curran, made by Major Sirr; and also to those letters of Miss Curran discovered by the same functionary at the place of abode of Robert Emmet at the time of his arrest. Let this document be read slowly and calmly, be carefully considered, and duly appreciated. Referring to one letter of Robert Emmet, which was torn into fragments immediately upon Major Sirr's visit, the writer says:

"They were preserved, and with great labour re-united. The atrocious sentiments it expressed were all but diabolical. Never were such tendencies shown to any one as to this unfortunate, misguided lady. I saw the correspondence between her and Emmet, tied up and sealed in six or seven immense piles, occupying a space of about a yard square. They were afterwards deliberately consumed *out of compassion to the family*. Never was there such a correspondence between lovers—projects of domestic peace were

all subordinated to those of public [a word here is illegible] and wrong.

"In one letter, the poor, maniacal woman gloated with satisfaction at the prospect of seeing her father hung from a tree in his own orchard.

(Signed) "J. D. S."

[No date.]

The writer of this memorandum was evidently not of the scholastic order,

> Who hold no sin so deeply red
> As that of breaking Priscian's head.

He gave himself little trouble about Lindley Murray. He had either no belief in, nor respect for the alleged compassionate motives which actuated Major Sirr in destroying those letters, for he frustrated the benevolent intentions of the major by leaving on record a description of those letters which it would be impossible for the original letters to leave a worse impression of. I take it for granted then that the writer of this memorandum has utterly mistaken the nature of those letters. And when I consider how all notions of propriety—all sense of what is due to misfortune utterly defenceless—of respect for the graves of the young, especially of those who have been signally unfortunate, were disregarded by the writer above referred to, if what he states were true—and how charity and humanity could not fail to be outraged were those terrible allegations false, those imputations of diabolical, atrocious, murderous, and even parricidal sentiments, said to be expressed in those letters, I come to the conclusion that this statement ought not to be believed nor to have been made. There is no evidence of the existence of any such sentiments as have been referred to, for all the letters in which these sentiments were said to exist have been destroyed. In the absence of such evidence the terrible imputations on the character of Robert Emmet and Sarah Curran ought never to have been made. But whoever the writer of this memorandum was—whether some associate rebel-hunter and ransacker of private letters of "suspected" lovers—some underling of the major's battalion—some adjutant of his in the police on special state duty, who accompanied Sirr to Mr. Curran's house, and assisted in the search there, or at Emmet's place of refuge at Harold's-cross—whether his name was John Doe Shaw, or James Daniel Scott, or Joseph David Surface, who had some of the seized papers in his possession, and appended this memorandum to them—sufficient has been said to enable my readers to form an estimate of the value to be set on his evidence, either in vindication or condemnation of it. With the following observations I

dismiss this loathsome topic. The necessity of making them has been forced on me by a strong conviction that the allegations respecting the correspondence of Sarah Curran and Robert Emmet are wholly at variance with the modes of thought and expression of both.

No small consolation is it to find the same individual that impugned the character of Sarah Curran, in the same book of terrible records of Major Sirr's iniquitous correspondence, standing forth in the face of the world, and proclaiming the honesty, bravery, and innocence of Jemmy O'Brien. J. D. S. again makes his appearance in this correspondence in behalf of Sirr's friend—the convicted, executed murderer, James O'Brien.

"JEMMY O'BRIEN.

"A memorial of O'Brien to the lord lieutenant, dated July, 1800, praying remission of the sentence of death passed on him for the murder of John Hoey. A letter of Lord Castlereagh to Major Sirr, stating he had referred the memorial to Judge Day and Baron Yelverton. Unfavourable report of judges." The following words are endorsed on the memorial: "O'Brien was distinctly a murdered man. His own statement was the truth. He was a calumniated, honest, and brave man.—J.D.S."*

I might rest the conclusion I have come to as to the statements of J. D. S. on the character of Sarah Curran—on the character of Robert Emmet, and the passion that was the ruling one of his life for Sarah Curran.

A man of Emmet's character, who loved the name of honour more than he feared death, and in his sentiments with respect to the destiny and the noble qualities of women, was true and loyal in his chivalry, as ever knight of old; whose purity of life and morals, inflexibility of principles and purpose, have never been denied; whose mind, moreover, was highly cultivated—stored not only with the ancient glories of Grecian and Roman erudition, but with the lighter graces of modern literature—was not likely to fix his affections lightly, or on one unworthy of them; and where once fixed his passion was not destined to consume itself, whether in exile, in a distant land, or in a dungeon, while it had the recollection of the love of such a being as Sarah Curran to subsist on. The sentiments and conduct of Robert Emmet were in perfect conformity with opinions expressed by him, long previously to that attachment, with respect to the claims of woman to man's highest respect—to a sort of reverential deference, for qualities which he considered preserved more traces of their original purity and ex-

* The papers and correspondence of Major Sirr, in the library of T. C. D.

cellence than were manifested in those of the other sex. I speak of his opinions on this subject, and their influence on his actions, from the most authentic information, and especially from the statements of one gentleman, intimately and closely connected with him from the days of his boyhood to the day of his death.*

A few hours after Emmet's conviction he wrote to Mr. Curran the following letter:

"FROM MR. ROBERT EMMET TO JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN, ESQ.

"I did not expect you to be my counsel. I nominated you, because not to have done so might have appeared remarkable. Had Mr. —— been in town, I did not even wish to have seen you, but as he was not, I wrote to you to come to me at once. I know that I have done you very severe injury, much greater than I can atone for with my life; that atonement I did offer to make before the privy council, by pleading guilty if those documents were suppressed. I offered more—I offered, if I was permitted to consult some persons, and if they would consent to an accommodation for saving the lives of others, that I would only require for my part of it the suppression of those documents, and that I would abide the event of my own trial. This was also rejected, and nothing but individual information (with the exception of names) would be taken. My intention was, not to leave the suppression of those documents to possibility, but to render it unnecessary for any one to plead for me, by pleading guilty to the charge myself.

"The circumstances that I am now going to mention I do not state in my own justification. When I first addressed your daughter I expected that in another week my own fate would be decided. I knew that in case of success many others might look on me differently from what they did at that moment, but I speak with sincerity when I say that I never was anxious for situation or distinction myself, and I did not wish to be united to one who was. I spoke to your daughter, neither expecting, nor in fact, under those circumstances, wishing that there should be a return of attachment, but wishing to judge of her dispositions—to know how far they might be not unfavourable or disengaged, and to know what foundation I might afterwards have to count on. I received no encouragement whatever. She told me she had no attachment for any person, nor did she seem likely to have any that could make her wish to quit you. I staid away till the time

* The person above referred to is Mr. John Patten, amongst whose papers I have reason to believe, were they forthcoming, ample evidence would be found in corroboration of the conclusion I have come to with respect to Robert Emmet's opinions. In the Sirr papers above cited there is a note of Mr. Secretary Marsden to Major Sirr, dated "Friday evening," in these words: "Mr. Wickham wishes that Patten's papers should be got. Yours very truly, A. MARSDEN."

had elapsed, when I found that the event to which I allude was to be postponed indefinitely. I returned by a kind of infatuation, thinking that to myself only was I giving pleasure or pain. I perceived no progress of attachment on her part, nor anything in her conduct to distinguish me from a common acquaintance. Afterwards I had reason to suppose that discoveries were made, and that I should be obliged to quit the kingdom immediately, and I came to make a renunciation of any approach to friendship that might have been formed. On that very day, she herself spoke to me to discontinue my visits. I told her that it was my intention, and I mentioned the reason. I then for the first time found, when I was unfortunate, by the manner in which she was affected, that there was a return of affection, and that it was too late to retreat. My own apprehensions, also, I afterwards found, were without cause, and I remained. There has been much culpability on my part in all this, but there has also been a great deal of that misfortune which seems uniformly to have accompanied me. That I have written to your daughter since an unfortunate event has taken place was an additional breach of propriety, for which I have suffered well; but I will candidly confess that I not only do not feel it to have been of the same extent, but that I consider it to have been unavoidable after what had passed; for though I will not attempt to justify in the smallest degree my former conduct, yet, when an attachment was once formed between us—and a sincerer one never did exist—I feel that, peculiarly circumstanced as I then was, to have left her uncertain of my situation would neither have weaned her affections nor lessened her anxiety; and looking upon her as one whom, if I had lived, I hoped to have had my partner for life, I did hold the removing her anxiety above every other consideration. I would rather have had the affections of your daughter in the back settlements of America, than the first situation this country could afford without them. I know not whether this will be any extenuation of my offence; I know not whether it will be any extenuation of it to know that if I had that situation in my power at this moment, I would relinquish it to devote my life to her happiness; I know not whether success would have blotted out the recollection of what I have done; but I know that a man with the coldness of death on him need not be made to feel any other coldness, and that he may be spared any addition to the misery he feels, not for himself, but for those to whom he has left nothing but sorrow."*

On the morning of the day of Emmet's execution, he wrote the following letter to Mr. Richard Curran:

* "The original is not signed or dated—it was written in the interval between Emmet's conviction and execution."—*Curran's Life*, vol. ii. p. 236.

FROM ROBERT EMMET TO RICHARD CURRAN, ESQ.

"My dearest Richard—I find I have but a few hours to live, but if it was the last moment, and that the power of utterance was leaving me, I would thank you from the bottom of my heart for your generous expressions of affection and forgiveness to me. If there was any one in the world in whose breast my death might be supposed not to stifle every spark of resentment, it might be you. I have deeply injured you—I have injured the happiness of a sister that you love, and who was formed to give happiness to every one about her, instead of having her own mind a prey to affliction. O Richard! I have no excuse to offer, but that I meant the reverse; I intended as much happiness for Sarah as the most ardent love could have given her. I never did tell you how much I idolized her. It was not with a wild or unfounded passion, but it was an attachment increasing every hour, from an admiration of the purity of her mind and respect for her talents. I did dwell in secret upon the prospect of our union. I did hope that success, while it afforded the opportunity of our union, might be a means of confirming an attachment which misfortune had called forth. I did not look to honours for myself—praise I would have asked from the lips of no man; but I would have wished to read in the glow of Sarah's countenance that her husband was respected.

"My love, Sarah! it was not thus that I thought to have requited your affection. I did hope to be a prop, round which your affections might have clung, and which would never have been shaken; but a rude blast has snapped it, and they have fallen over a grave.

"This is no time for affliction. I have had public motives to sustain my mind, and I have not suffered it to sink; but there have been moments in my imprisonment, when my mind was sunk by grief on her account, that death would have been a refuge. God bless you, my dearest Richard. I am obliged to leave off immediately.*

"Robert Emmet."

A day or two after the execution, (Leonard, the old gardener of Dr. Emmet, told me), Miss Curran contrived to elude the vigilance of her friends, and in the dusk of the evening visited the grave of her lover.

The circumstance has been made the subject of some lines, which are more indicative, perhaps, of the author's feelings than of his poetic abilities: such as they are, they may serve to keep the occurrence to which they allude in remembrance.

* *Curran's Life*, by his Son, vol. ii. p. 238.

MISS CURRAN'S LAMENT.

The joy of life lies here,
Robert A Roon;
All that my soul held dear,
Robert A Roon.
Spouse of my heart! this shrine—
"The long last home" of thine,
Entombs each hope of mine!
Robert A Roon.

But tears must fall unseen,
Robert A Roon;
The turf is not yet green,
Robert A Roon.
No stone must bear thy name,
No lips thy truth proclaim,
The heart must shroud thy fame,
Robert A Roon.

No minstrel's strains for thee,
Robert A Roon;
The harp must silent be,
Robert A Roon.
It must not breathe one moan
Of pride or praise—not one;
Its strings have lost their tone,
Robert A Roon.

The night is cold and chill,
Robert A Roon;
My heart is colder still,
Robert A Roon.
But sun will never shine
Can warm this heart of mine;
'Tis almost cold as thine,
Robert A Roon.

Still would I linger here,
Robert A Roon;
What home have I elsewhere?
Robert A Roon.
Ah! were I laid with thee,
How welcome death would be
A bridal bed to me!
Robert A Roon.

My heart had but one hope,
Robert A Roon;
It only bloomed to droop,
Robert A Roon:
It never can bloom more—
The blight has reached its core,
And all life's joys are o'er,
Robert A Roon.*

* These lines are written in the metre of one of the most plaintive and beautiful of our Irish ballads—"Eileen A Roon." So exquisite an air was thought too good to be of Irish origin; it was therefore put in Scottish dress, in 1793, under the title of "Robin Adair," by Burns, who was requested to write new words to it. Handel declared he would rather have composed this air than any modern musical compo-

I am indebted to a friend of nearly forty years' acquaintance, the late Thomas Lyons, Esq., of Cork, for the following particulars (in which, however, some slight errors are to be found) respecting Sarah Curran's residence in Cork, previously to her marriage. To the same valued friend, one of the best of men, the best of Irishmen, I owe likewise a great deal of the information which enabled me to complete the memoirs of the Sheares, and of General Corbett, natives of Cork.

It will be observed that a circumstance of mournful interest, described by Washington Irving as having taken place in Dublin, occurred, according to Mr. Lyons's account, at the house of Mr. Thomas Penrose of Cork.

"Of Miss Curran's sad story little is known here. Her brother, who has written his father's life, is silent on the subject, owing probably to the severity with which she was treated on account of her attachment to Emmet.

"The following are the only particulars I could learn:

"She was the third daughter of J. P. Curran, and remarkable for her beauty and accomplishments. She was about eighteen years old when Emmet first visited her at her father's, and a warm attachment soon sprung up between them, but was concealed until Emmet's fatal arrest and speedy execution. Previous to his trial, Robert Emmet wrote to Curran a full expression of his passion, and it was well-known that Emmet's frequent visits placed Curran under strong suspicion with government, so as to cause his being examined before the council. This discovery, it is said, led to the extremity of Miss Curran's expulsion from her paternal home; at all events, of her being obliged to seek the refuge and protection of a friend's house. She was received into the family of Mr. Penrose, of Woodhill, on the Glanmire road, near to Cork. It was at a party given by Mr. Penrose that a circumstance took place which has been the subject of song and story. In a moment of unconsciousness, she quitted the gay circle, and seating herself at the foot of the stair-case, began, evidently unaware of what was passing around her, to sing a plaintive melody, that had reference to her own unhappy circumstances; she had an exquisite voice, and the sad tone in which she sang soon drew around her a crowd of sympathizing listeners. One, a colonel in the British army, offered her his hand. Homeless, deprived of the protection of her father, and thrown entirely on her friends for support, she had no

sition. Burns was not aware, however, that the subject of the song, "Robin Adair," was an Irishman, the ancestor of Lord Molesworth, and lived at Holly Park, in the county of Wicklow. Hardiman, who has given an interesting notice of this song, from whose shamefully neglected work, "The Bardic Remains of Ireland," the above particulars are taken, states that the endearing term, "A Roon," signifies "my heart's secret treasure."

alternative but to accept this offer, but told him she had no heart to give away.

"He knew her position, and respected all that was sacred in it: the marriage took place in Cork. His regiment was ordered to Malta some time after; her health becoming every day worse, she proceeded to Italy, and two years after her marriage *she died of a broken heart.* Her remains were brought to Ireland, in fulfilment of a promise made her grandmother, that she should be buried with her; and her remains are buried in the churchyard of Newmarket, in this county, without *monument or inscription.* A tombstone was prepared for this grave; but owing to the expense not being defrayed, or from some other cause, it lay in Mallow up to the last three or four years,* but lately, when sought for with the view of having it erected, it was not forthcoming, and the remains of Sarah Curran, the object of the affections of Robert Emmet, *lie in an unknown and neglected grave.*"

But in a later communication of Mr. Lyons he informed me that he had received, from a person intimately acquainted with the Penrose family, some intelligence more authentic than had been given me in a former account of the scene in which Miss Curran appeared, and of which Washington Irving has treated.

Mr. Lyons says: "She always reproached herself with being in some degree the chief cause of poor Emmet's disgraceful death, by not going with him to America when he could so easily have effected his escape. One circumstance connected with her sojourn here I recollect well: there was a fancy or masked-ball in Cork, for some public and popular charity, whilst she was on a visit at Woodhill, to which she went with a party in the costume of a group of gipsy ballad-singers and fortune-tellers. She sang (and thus levied large contributions for the charity) some of the most beautiful, plaintive Irish airs of Owenson; and it was soon known that the singer was the daughter of Curran. The poor masked gipsy girl was the attraction of the throng; but she soon left the ball. There is a sketch of all the circumstances connected with the last days of Mrs. Sturgeon in 'The Literary Souvenir' of 1831, by Alaric A. Watts."

The late Dr. Bullen of Cork, in a letter to T. Lyons, Esq., subsequent to the publication of a former series of this work, makes the following reference to Colonel Sturgeon:

"Previous to the marriage of Miss Curran and Captain Sturgeon, he met his future father-in-law, John P. Curran, at dinner at my father's, in Cork, when the old man expressed himself in

*I have made inquiries at Mallow, and likewise at Newberry (for the same rumour extended to that locality), respecting the tombstone said to have been sent to both places some years ago, and with the same result—no person inquired of, had ever seen or heard of that stone.—R. R. M.

terms of high admiration of the young officer, who was then a total stranger to him. I believe that they never met after. Miss Curran first met Sturgeon at a fancy ball in the theatre at Cork, and not at the Rotundo. Sturgeon was a most accomplished soldier, and had been educated at the military school of Brienne, also the scene of the military education of Napoleon and Wellington. He belonged to a corps of engineer officers established, under the name of "The Staff Corps," by the Duke of York, who was jealous that the engineers should be, like the artillery, under the Board of Ordnance. The Duke of Wellington entertained a very high opinion of Colonel Sturgeon; in his letter to the Earl of Liverpool, dated Badajos, 19th December, 1809, speaking of the want of an officer to send on a military mission into Spain, he says, "Sturgeon, who is a clever fellow, and I should think qualified for such a mission, cannot well be spared from the army." He is again noticed by him in his despatch to Colonel Murray (afterwards Sir George), dated Coimbra, 9th January, 1809. He is spoken of in a very marked manner, on the occasion alluded to by Dr. Madden, for his conduct at the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo, in the duke's despatch, dated 20th of January, 1812, and again in the despatch to General Hill, dated 5th October, 1812. The highest encomium is, however, passed on him as Lieutenant-Colonel Sturgeon in the official despatch of the great battle of Salamanca, dated 24th of July, 1812. The duke was not a man to flatter; and it is said by military men, that, after the advance of the British into France, Colonel Sturgeon felt slighted, and threw away his life; having unnecessarily exposed himself in an affair of posts, in some vineyards in the south of France; one of the last occurrences of the war, March, 1814."

The marriage of Sarah Curran with Captain Sturgeon is thus recorded in "The Chronicle" of "The Gentleman's Magazine" for December, 1805, p. 1170.

"24th (November, 1805), at Cork, Robert Henry Sturgeon, Esq., captain in his Majesty's Staff Corps, and nephew to the late Marquess of Rockingham, to Sarah, youngest daughter of J. P. Curran, Esq., barrister-at-law."*

It may be presumed the data above-mentioned were furnished to the press by Captain Sturgeon. It may be considered the relationship with the late Marquess of Rockingham was not claimed without authority. I have heard it denied, however, without any grounds for the denial.

The fact, however, is indisputable that Captain Robert Henry Sturgeon was the son of a sister of the marquess, married to a person of the name of Sturgeon. The relationship will be found

* The marriage is recorded in "The Annual Register" for 1805, p. 449.

declared in the will of the Marquess of Rockingham, who died without issue, the 1st of July, 1782, little more than three months after the formation of the ministry of which he was the chief (27th of April preceding).

In "The Gentleman's Magazine" for July, 1782, p. 358, a notice of the death of the Marquess of Rockingham will be found, and the following references to certain particulars of his will:

"He bequeathed to his lady the sum of £5,000 per annum over and above her jointure, on condition that she never marries; if she should marry she is then to enjoy the £4,000 per annum as settled on her at her marriage; *to his nephew Sturgeon, the son of his sister, who is settled in Ireland,* £300 *a-year;* to his nephew the Hon. Captain Fitzwilliam, the sum of £1,000, dying without issue. The residue of his estate, computed at £40,000 a-year, subject to legacies and mortgages, devolves to the Right Hon. Earl Fitzwilliam, his nephew, who likewise has no child."

In a London periodical the following account of Colonel Sturgeon's parentage appeared nearly thirty years ago:

"SINGULAR MESALLIANCE.

"The following historiette will be found to possess special interest to those who have read Irving's 'Broken Heart,' and remember the heroine of those beautiful lines of Moore, 'She is far from the Land,' &c.:

"William Sturgeon was a young man of unexceptionable character and of handsome personal exterior, but of the humblest origin, and totally destitute of the commonest rudiments of education. His parents resided in the county of Wicklow, on the property, we conjecture, of the Marquis of Rockingham, now possessed by his collateral descendants, the Earls Fitzwilliam. This is a surmise, but, admitting its truth, the fact will be readily accounted for of the youth in question having been sent to London, and engaged as servant in the family of Lord Rockingham—Charles, the second marquis, whose memory Burke has so ably panegyrised, and whose upright and patriotic conduct as a statesman was fully equalled by his virtues in private life.

"Here was William appointed a personal footman to the Lady Harriet Wentworth, youngest sister of the marquis, over whose large and splendid establishment she at this period (1764) presided as mistress. The lady was just twenty-six; plain in person, but clever and amiable.

"The growing interest which, after a short time, she began to evince for her new and handsome attendant was of course set down to motives purely benevolent, and therefore praiseworthy. She had him taught to read and write, and was herself at pains

with his education. That a warmer feeling influenced her conduct no one ever dreamed; or that a woman of superior rank and intellect, in daily association with the highly-born and highly-favoured of the land, the sister of one of the most celebrated statesmen of the day, and with every opportunity afforded her of forming a suitable connexion, could possibly contemplate so extraordinary a mesalliance as that of a union with her own footman!

"Such, however, proved to be the case; and for nine days this singular affair was the talk and wonder of the fashionable world of London. In the midst of her infatuation, this lady evinced a degree of calculating prudence and discretion doubtless commendable, but certainly not a little surprising, for she entailed her fortune with the utmost circumspection. An annuity of one hundred pounds was settled on the young man, and this sum was cautiously mentioned in anticipation of a mutual separation. On her children, if there should be any, she entailed the whole of her fortune; while, in the event of her marriage being unfruitful, it was to revert to her own family. This deed the lady put out of her own power by placing it in the keeping of the celebrated Lord Mansfield—her uncle by marriage—whom at the same time she nominated trustee. It was drawn up by her own hand; and, as his lordship—a good judge in such matters—remarked, as binding as any lawyer could make it.

"Just previous to Lady Harriet becoming the wife of Sturgeon, a suspicion was excited for the first time among his fellow-servants. Some trifling act of familiarity towards the lady, pardonable from one of her own rank, but impertinent and altogether absurd in a domestic, chanced to be detected, and being duly reported to the housekeeper of Lord Rockingham, that person considered herself as fully justified in seeking amongst the young man's property for confirmation of their suspicions. This was soon afforded in the shape of a letter which William had commenced writing to his parents in Ireland. It dwelt on the kindness of his lady, their intended union, and the hope that this event, so great for him, might afford the means of benefiting his father and mother.

"As may be conjectured, an express was at once sent off to Lord Rockingham, who at the time was visiting his estate in Yorkshire; but fortunately, or unfortunately, we hardly know which, it arrived too late. Before the marquess had reached London, the marriage had taken place. On pretence of going to view a collection of paintings which she wished to inspect before the hour for admitting strangers to the exhibition, Lady Harriet had left home unusually early; her liveried menial, as usual, in attendance. They had nearly reached the church when the young man discovered that in his agitation he had forgotten the ring. He hurried home

to procure it, and there being questioned as to his speedy return, he evaded the inquiry by remarking that his lady had neglected to bring the catalogue of the pictures.

"After the ceremony, the newly-married couple went to Ireland, Lady Harriet wisely dropping her title for that of Mrs. Sturgeon, by which humbler name she was ever afterwards known. William, who seems to have been a dutiful and exemplary son, often went to visit his parents, and was enabled, through his own comparative abundance, to administer in many ways to their comfort. Still he was very reluctant to introduce them to his high-born bride, fearing to shock her with the poverty of the parental roof and the homely ignorance of those who had given him birth. She however was not to be deterred; so, finding the unwillingness of her husband continue, the lady, availing herself of a temporary absence on his part, drove to the humble dwelling of the parents; who, it may well be supposed, were enraptured at the visit, and thought they could not do enough for her who had made the fortune of their son.

"Our story goes on to say that William Sturgeon, arriving unexpectedly, was most agreeably surprised, as well as gratified, by the scene which awaited him. It was indeed creditable to all parties, but especially so to the high-born wife, who, however improperly she may have acted in the first instance in descending from her proper sphere, evinced a right feeling, seldom met with, in not appearing ashamed of those with whom she had voluntarily chosen to connect herself.

"But, however kindly disposed towards the humble and grateful relatives of her husband, it may easily be imagined that Ireland was no agreeable residence for the sister of Lord Rockingham, who was then in the zenith of power and prosperity, and whose name was well known throughout the empire. A residence abroad was therefore wisely determined upon, and thither the pair proceeded. In one of the continental towns Mrs. Sturgeon and her husband lived in quiet privacy for many years. The conduct of the latter was perfectly unexceptionable; while that of his lady having eventually gained for her the forgiveness of the noble family to which she was allied, her son by Sturgeon was educated and brought forward by them.

"Of the father there is little more to relate. Having survived his wife, he returned to his native land, and once more resumed the humble occupation of the farm and unambitious pursuits of lowly rural life. Within the last twenty-five years he was yet living; having been seen by a friend of the writer. He was then a hale, venerable old man, of stately presence, and with the remains of much personal beauty. Of the curious particulars of his younger days few were aware. He seldom alluded to them.

"Of the son of this singularly matched couple it may not be uninteresting to say a few words ere we conclude our article. This youth possessed mental and personal advantages of no common order, while, as before stated, the noble relatives of his mother afforded him a good education. He was early destined for the army; and some years after, while quartered in the south of Ireland, was thrown into the society of a young lady, at that time the object of much interest and sympathy among the immediate circle of her personal friends and admirers. This was the daughter of the celebrated Irish barrister, John Philpot Curran; a lady whom the poet Moore, in the spirit of ardent patriotism, has immortalised in his beautiful lines beginning, 'She is far from the Land.' We find her also the heroine of that affecting-told tale, 'The Broken Heart,' in the 'Sketch Book' of Washington Irving, whose poetic imagination invests her with charms, personal and mental, to which Miss Curran had no pretensions.

"When first met by Major Sturgeon, she was still the victim of an all-absorbing passion for the brave but ill-fated Robert Emmet; whose misguided enthusiasm in the cause of his country had recently brought him to an ignominious death. In hopeless anguish she yet clung to the memory of him for whose sake filial ties had been broken, and she herself had become an outcast from the paternal roof; supported only by the charity of friends.

"Her sad history interested and gained for her the affections, of Major Sturgeon; who, much against the wishes of his relations persisted in a spirit of romantic ardour in his suit, though for a considerable time without success. A sense of gratitude, however, aided by the conviction of her painfully dependent state, induced Miss Curran, after awhile, to relent. She married, giving to her lover at the same time the not very satisfactory assurance that her affections could never be his. As a wife, we have reason to believe her conduct was irreproachable—but she did not long survive the union; while her gallant husband, who had he lived would probably have risen to the summit of his profession, was doomed to perish in the service of his country, having been shortly after killed in one of our Peninsular wars."*

The circumstance of her residence in a southern climate, and of her melancholy state of health and spirits at that period, is made the subject of a few lines of Moore, which, for their exquisite beauty and pathos it would be difficult, I will not say to equal, but to approach :

* From the preceding notice of Mrs. Sturgeon's decease, and that likewise of Mr. Lyons, and also of Dr. Bullen, it would appear that her death took place on the Continent. Such, however, is not the fact.

She is far from the land where her young hero sleeps,
And lovers around her are sighing;
But she coldly turns from their gaze and weeps,
For her heart in his grave is lying.

She sings the wild song of her dear native plains,
Every note which he loved awaking—
Ah! little they think who delight in her strains
How the heart of the minstrel is breaking.

He had liv'd for his love; for his country he died—
They were all that to life had entwined him;
Nor soon shall the tears of his country be dried,
Nor long will his love stay behind him.

Oh! make her a grave where the sunbeams rest
When they promise a glorious morrow.
They'll shine o'er her sleep like a smile from the west—
From her own lov'd island of sorrow.

Immediately after her marriage she accompanied her husband to Sicily, subsequently to Portugal, returned to England; and there, in the prime of life, the amiable, the gentle Sarah Curran closed her sad career in the course of a few weeks after her arrival. Her remains were conveyed to Ireland, and buried at Newmarket, the burial-place of her father's family. Whether their interment there was by her own desire, or in the fulfilment of her supposed wishes on the part of Captain Sturgeon, I am unable to state. In either case, the removal to her own land was an act which cannot fail to be a matter of mournful gratification to her countrymen.

To the reader who thinks too much has been said on this subject I have no apology to offer, not even for these last tributary lines to the memory of Sarah Curran:

Her sorrows are numbered—no longer she weeps—
Every pang she endured is requited;
With endless delight and in silence she sleeps,
For in death with her love she's united.

Like Sidney he died, but his memory shall live
In the bosoms of those who deplored him,
And Pity her purest of dew-drops shall give
To the sorrows of those who adored him.

For he loved—was beloved; but, alas! in his bloom
The ordeal of fate sore tried him;
And his spirit took flight from the world of gloom
To that glory which here was denied him.

From regions of bliss—the high heaven above—
Where sorrows can never invade him,
He saw her distress, and he beckon'd his love
To ascend, and with joy she obeyed him.

And she who is joined to the spirit she mourned,
Now in bliss, 'tis in vain to deplore her;
For her mem'ry shall live in their bosoms inurned
Who vowed e'en in death to adore her.

Whether hero, or lover, or else, matters not—
"Other times—other men shall divine him;"
Let him rest with his love, by the world forgot—
We have hearts large enough to enshrine him.*

Moore's beautiful lines, "She is far from the Land," &c., have been admirably translated into German by Victor Von Arentsschield. For the following copy of them I am indebted to W. H. F. Cogan, Esq., M.P.:

SIE IST FERN VON DEM LAND.

Sie ist fern von dem land vo gefallen ihr held;
Ob viel von freiern umworben,
Sie weint und ist kalt für die übrige welt,
Denn mit ihm ist ihr herz gestorben.

Sie singet sein wildes, sein klagendes lied
Von Erin's grausem verhängniss—
Ach! keiner der selig Lauschenden sieht
Ihres brechenden herzens bedrängniss.

Er lebte dem lieb nur, er starb für sein land,
Die banden allein ihn an's leben;
Seines Vaterlands leid wird so bald nicht gewandt,
Noch lang' ihn sein lieb überleben.

O! grabt ihr ein grab, wo des abendlichts kuss,
Verheisst einem glanzvollen morgen,
Dass es lächl' ihrem schlaf, wie aus westen ein gruss,
Ihrer viellieben insel der sorgen.

VICTOR VON ARENTSSCHIELD.

Poor Miss Curran, after the death of her lover, did not very long remain in her father's house. Her wretchedness found no alleviation there; and the very constraint imposed on her feelings was productive of additional misery. At length she quitted her father's house, "her home no more," and proceeded to Cork, accompanied by her sister. There she was received into the family of Mr. Penrose, a quaker—a gentleman, I believe, who was intimately acquainted with some of the leaders in the affairs of 1798. She was treated by the family of Mr. Penrose with the utmost kindness and most delicate attention. It was while she was on a visit with Mr. Penrose she became acquainted with Captain Sturgeon; and after some months this poor girl, friendless, homeless, depen-

* These lines I found appended to a copy of Robert Emmet's speech, printed in Paris on a single sheet.

dent on the kindness of people almost strangers to her, endured the attentions of a person singularly refined, delicate, and amiable in his disposition, moved less by her personal attractions than the sufferings of one so young, so good, so gentle, and yet so friendless and forlorn; that gentleman made an offer to her of his hand and fortune.

Sarah Curran was then beginning to manifest symptoms of decline. The sorrows that in silence and in the solitude of society (for such it was to her) had preyed upon her health, her appearance now betrayed in the unerring symptoms of that insidious disease, which mocks the hopes of its victims, and of those around them, and not unfrequently mimics the hue of health and the lustre of the bright eye of youth and loveliness.

Captain Sturgeon's proposal embraced the project of a residence in a southern climate. Any project that afforded an opportunity of leaving Ireland had a recommendation. Sarah Curran finally consented to become the wife of Captain Sturgeon. Robert Emmet's memory was not forgotten; its claim on her heart was recognised and acknowledged by the friend and protector who had assumed a husband's title, and proved the generosity and benevolence of his nature, by his care and protection of one who was worthy of so much pity as well as admiration.

In "The Literary Souvenir" of 1831, there is an article signed M——, entitled "Some Passages in the History of Sarah Curran," evidently written by a lady, and by one well acquainted with her. The writer, who I have reason to believe was a member of the family of Mr. Crawford, says: "When I first saw Sarah Curran she was in her twelfth year, and was even then remarkable for a pensive character of countenance, which she never afterwards lost. A favourite sister, to the best of my recollection a twin, died when she was eight years old [she was between twelve and thirteen], and was buried under a large tree on the lawn of The Priory (Mr. Curran's seat, near Dublin), directly opposite to the window of their nursery. Under its shade they had often sat together, pulled the first primroses at its root, and watched in its leaves the earliest verdure of the spring. Many an hour, for many a year, did the sorrowful survivor take her silent stand at the melancholy window, gazing on the well-known spot, which constituted all her little world of joys and sorrows. To this circumstance she attributed the tendency to melancholy which formed so marked a feature of her character through life." . . . . . .

There was another circumstance to which that tendency might have been attributed: at the age of fourteen she lost a mother's care—she lost a mother whom "she was fondly attached to; and, worse than death, had to do with that separation on that most me-

lancholy occasion." The Rev. Thomas Crawford of Lismore, an early college friend of Curran, offered an asylum in his house to the poor girl (the youngest and favourite daughter of her mother), who was overwhelmed with grief at this mournful event. The offer was accepted; and under the kind protecting care of this good man Sarah Curran remained, till better thoughts at home led to her return to it. "But there," says the writer of the notice above-mentioned, "my poor friend's life was but an April day; or rather it consisted of drops of joy with draughts of ill between."*

It is stated by the writer of this notice that Robert Emmet was first introduced to Sarah Curran by her brother, a fellow-student at college of the former; that Robert, soon after this acquaintance was made, had become a frequent visitor at The Priory, and this intimacy had terminated in an attachment as ardent as it was unfortunate, between him and the youngest daughter of Curran.

The writer states that, amongst Emmet's papers, several of Sarah Curran's letters were found, one strongly dissuading him from his fatal project, and another after the unfortunate issue of its attempted execution, pleading her love and duty to her father in reply to his solicitations to her to accompany him to America. This was at the period he was concealed in Dublin, and when measures were taking to secure a passage for him to the United States on board an American vessel. "The last time," continues the writer, "I saw my friend, she seemed happy; she believed him to be 'far away on the billow,' beyond the power of his enemies, and destined to reach in safety the more hospitable shores of America. That very day he was arrested! I shall not attempt to describe her feelings on receiving a letter from Emmet, informing her that, as she had refused to accompany him, he was determined to remain in Ireland and abide his fate." . . . . . When this intelligence reached Sarah Curran it was evident to her that Robert Emmet's doom was sealed; he abode his fate in Ireland, and died on the scaffold.

"A loss of reason, of some months' continuance, spared my poor friend," adds the writer, "the misery of travelling, step by

* The account of Miss Curran having gone directly from her father's house to that of Mr. Penrose, of Cork, is erroneous. Mr. Crawford was the kind friend who took on him the duties of a father, when these were abandoned in the case of poor Sarah Curran. The friendship that subsisted between her and all the members of this amiable family was only interrupted by her death. She constantly corresponded while she was in Cork, and after her marriage when on the Continent, with the Miss Crawfords, and I am much mistaken if the writer of this admirable notice in "The Literary Souvenir" be not a member of the Crawford family. The peculiar character of the correspondence of Sarah Curran is its beautiful, childlike simplicity, and fervour of expression, wholly devoid of affectation. Her letters give the idea of a creature of angelic purity and meekness, with all the tenderness and truth of a loving, noble nature.—R.R.M.

step, through the wilderness of woe which Emmet's trial and execution would have proved to her. As soon as her health permitted she left the residence of her father," &c. &c. What follows in the narrative respecting her departure, for the sake of her father's memory, I omit. Suffice it to say, that during her illness, and after her recovery, her father did not see her. In one of her letters to the friend who published the preceding account, in speaking of the kind and amiable family who had taken her into their house, and made it to this poor, heart-broken, homeless creature, a place of comfort and consolation, she says: "I find a pleasure in reflecting that my father introduced me to the dear Penroses, as if it were to atone for his continued severity towards me." It was while under the hospitable roof of Cowper Penrose of Woodhill, that "she became the object of an ardent and disinterested attachment." "A person of peculiarly engaging manner and deportment, Major Henry Sturgeon,* son of Lady Anne Wentworth, and grandson, by his maternal descent, of the celebrated Marquis of Rockingham, first met her at the Penrose's. In every member of that family he had a friend who pleaded his cause, and sought to make his suit acceptable to the object of it." At length orders suddenly came for his departure on military duty in a distant land. The united entreaties of all her friends wrung from her "a suppressed consent;" but no sooner was it given than "her heart failed her, and the morning of her wedding-day she implored her kind friends to allow her to proceed no further."

She was married, however, in Glanmire Church, "and was in truth a mourning bride." "One of the four female friends who attended her to church said she was in tears all the way."

Captain Sturgeon was ordered to Sicily, where he was accompanied by his wife, and there she endeavoured to make him happy, and so appeared cheerful herself! In 1808, the English having to abandon Sicily, Sturgeon and his lady returned to England, in a crowded transport, in very tempestuous weather. "A short time before they landed Mrs. Sturgeon gave birth to a delicate and drooping boy, whose death soon after seems to have put a finishing stroke to her sufferings at Hythe, in Kent."

In May, 1808, in a letter of Mr. Richard Curran to the author of the memoir of his sister (in "The Literary Souvenir"), Mrs. Henry W——, he announces the death of her "poor friend, his lamented Sarah" (on the 5th of May, 1808), and encloses an unfinished letter, "the last she ever wrote," addressed to Mrs. W.

The following is the "unfinished letter," written eighteen days before her death, referred to by her brother:

* The writer is mistaken in the rank then held by Sturgeon, which was that of captain.—R.R.M.

"Hythe, April 17.

"My dear M——,—I suppose you do not know of my arrival from Sicily, or I should have heard from you. I must be very brief in the detail of events which have been so fatal to me, and which followed our departure from that country. A most dreadful and perilous passage occasioned me many frights. I was, on our entrance into the channel, prematurely delivered of a boy, without any assistance, save that of one of the soldier's wives, the only woman on board but myself. The storm being so high that no boat could stand out to sea, I was in imminent danger till twelve next day, when, at the risk of his life, a physician came on board from one of the ships and relieved me. The storm continued, and I got a brain fever, which however passed off. To be short, on landing at Portsmouth, the precious creature for whom I suffered so much God took to himself. The inexpressible anguish I felt at this event, preying on me, has occasioned the decay of my health. For the last month the contest between life and death has seemed doubtful; but this day having called in a very clever man, he seems not to think me in danger. My disorder is a total derangement of the nervous system, and its most dreadful effects I find in the attack on my mind and spirits. *I suffer misery you cannot conceive.* I am often seized with heavy perspirations, trembling, and that indescribable horror which you must know if ever you had fever. Write instantly to me. Alas! I want everything to soothe my mind. O my friend, would to heaven you were with me! nothing so much as the presence of a dear female friend would tend to my recovery. But in England you know how I am situated—not one I know intimately. To make up for this my beloved husband is everything to me; his conduct throughout all my troubles surpasses all praise. Write to me, dear M——, and tell me how to bear all these things. I have, truly speaking, cast all my care on the Lord; but oh! how our weak natures fail every day, every hour, I may say. *On board the ship, when all seemed adverse to hope, it is strange how an overstrained trust in certain words of our Saviour gave me such perfect faith in his help, that, although my baby was visibly pining away, I never doubted his life for a moment. 'He who gathers the lambs in his arms,' I thought, would look on mine if I had faith in him. This has often troubled me since.*"

Tears—silence—stillness—these are the comments, the only comments, these mournful words of the last letter of Sarah Curran admit of. Her last request was, to be buried under the favourite tree at The Priory, beneath which her beloved sister was interred. "She was spared the cruelty of a refusal." It was after her death, adds the writer of the memoir, that Mr. Curran said, "He

would not have his lawn turned into a churchyard." The writer was mistaken—the request was refused, but not in the unfeeling manner above-mentioned; and this I state on the authority of one who was charged with the painful task of conferring with the father on the subject of his dying daughter's request.

Lord Cloncurry informed me, that when he spoke with Curran on the subject, his sole objection was on the ground of the misrepresented motives which would be assigned for the interment in a place not consecrated. He said when he had the remains of a beloved child, the sister of Sarah, interred in the lawn, at The Priory, he was accused of impiety—the burial was called an unchristian one; and if he consented to another interment there, his enemies would repeat their old calumnies and outcries against him.

Lord Cloncurry urged on him what he conceived to be the necessity of complying with the dying wish of his poor child. But he urged his suit in vain. The remains of his daughter were conveyed to Ireland, and they rest with those of her father's family at Newmarket, and even as I have reason to believe in accordance with her latest wishes.

"In person," says the author of the memoir in "The Literary Souvenir," "Mrs. S. was about the ordinary size; her hair and eyes black. Her complexion was fairer than is usual with black hair, and was a little freckled. Her eyes were large, soft, and brilliant, and capable of the greatest variety of expression. Her aspect in general indicated reflection, and pensive abstraction from the scene around her. Her wit was keen and playful, but chastened; although no one had a keener perception of humour or ridicule. Her musical talents were of the first order: she sang with exquisite taste. I think I never heard so harmonious a voice."*

Is there no duty left undone to the memories of Robert Emmet and of Sarah Curran, by the collector of those records (scanty though they be) of their short career and its sad story?

He has pointed out the neglected grave of Sarah Curran, but he has not stigmatised, as it deserves to have been, the shameful neglect that has left that spot, where the remains of Emmet's "own beloved Sarah" are laid, without a stone to bear her name, or remind us of those virtues of a constant, loving nature which endeared her to Robert Emmet.

The death of Mrs. Sturgeon is thus recorded in "The Gentleman's Magazine" for 1808 (vol. i. p. 468): "May 5th, 1808, at Hythe, in Kent, of a rapid decline, aged 26, Sarah, wife of Captain Henry Sturgeon, youngest daughter of the Right Hon. J. P. Curran, Master of the Rolls in Ireland."

The late Mr. William Henry Curran has been led into error

* "Literary Souvenir," 1831, p. 346.

respecting a monumental inscription in honour of the memory of Mrs. Sarah Curran, the mother of J. P. Curran, said to exist in the churchyard at Newmarket. In reference to this inscription, the words of Mr. W. H. Curran are the following: "Her remains lie in the churchyard of Newmarket; over them is the following epitaph, written by Mr. Curran:

"Here lies the body of
SARAH CURRAN.
She was marked by many years,
Many talents,
Many virtues,
Few failings,
No crime.
This frail memorial was placed here by a
Son
Whom she loved."*

In all probability J. P. Curran wrote the lines in question, and intended to have them inscribed either on a tombstone over his mother's grave, or a mural slab in the adjoining church; but the intention was never carried into effect. All the biographers of Curran have been led into the same error on the subject of this supposed tomb.

A gentleman of high intelligence, who had, previously to my visit, made the same inquiries for me, wrote the following lines on the subject: "I examined every tombstone in the churchyard of Newmarket, and can state that no such thing now exists in it. I examined the interior of the church also, and it is not there. I spoke to several of the inhabitants of Newmarket, and they never saw or heard of such an inscription. The sexton has been in his office for more than 40 years (46, I think), and he never saw one or heard of it."

No such epitaph is to be found over the remains of Mrs. Sarah Curran, of my own knowledge I can assert with perfect certainty. I visited the churchyard of Newmarket in August, 1858, and searched in vain for the epitaph above referred to. No such epitaph, I was assured by aged persons, some of whom had been at the interment of the remains of Mrs. Curran, had ever been placed over the remains of J. P. Curran's mother. There is indeed a tombstone over them and the remains that were buried there a little later of a beloved member of her family who bore her name, and that tombstone bears the following inscription:

Here lies the body
of
BOYLE PHILPOT,
Who died 25th August, 1751,
Aged 52 years.
He lived and died lamented.

* "Life of Curran," 1st edition, 1819, vol. i.

The Boyle Philpot whose tomb is thus inscribed, was the father of Mrs. Sarah Curran.

In another part of the churchyard, on the left-hand side of the avenue leading to the church, near the outer gate, there are two graves of members of the Philpot family thus inscribed:

Sacred to the memory
of
John Philpot, Esq.,
Who died July the 18th, 1832,
Aged 32 years.

The inscription on the other tombstone is as follows:

To the memory
of
Lysaght Philpot,
Who died in 1828,
Aged 73 years.

Mrs. Sturgeon was called after her grandmother, Mrs. Sarah Curran, for whom she had very strong feelings of affection, and by whom she was no less strongly loved.

The fact is, that Mrs. Sturgeon held the relatives of her mother and her grandmother in higher regard and respect than those of her father; and on the last occasion of her visiting Newmarket, either immediately previous or subsequent to her marriage, her grandmother, when parting with her, said "she hoped, as their hearts had never been separated in this world, their remains might be laid in the same grave." No doubt the remembrance of this desire did not pass away from the mind of her beloved grandchild, even when she was far away in a foreign country, or when she was dying in England; and it is remarkable that the desire above-mentioned should be carried into effect, not only by the burial of both in the same grave, but by the deaths of both within a period of a year and two months. Mrs. Sarah Curran died the 31st of March, 1807; Mrs. Sarah Sturgeon died the 5th May, 1808.

Old Mrs. Curran's death is thus recorded in "The Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxxvii. part i. p. 283: "March 1st, 1807, at Newmarket, county Cork, Mrs. Curran, mother of the Right Hon. John Philpot Curran, Master of the Rolls in Ireland."

The mother of J. P. Curran, Sarah Philpot, was descended from a family of good repute, and well respected in the county Cork. She was born about 1727, and died at the age of 80. The grave of Mrs. Sarah Curran is on the right-hand side of the avenue leading to the church, about midway, or rather nearer the church, and near a tomb of the Aldworth family, with an iron grating round it.

The Rev. Mr. Beechinor, P.P. of Newmarket for the last 29 years, addressed a letter to the editor of one of the Cork papers,

dated October 1st, 1856, correcting a gross error and misstatement which had been fallen into, respecting the burial-place of Mrs. Sturgeon, in Finden's "Beauties of Moore." Mr. Beechinor expresses his great surprise that so erroneous a statement should be made in the above-mentioned work, as that Mrs. Sturgeon had been buried in the grounds of her father's residence, called "The Priory," near Rathfarnham.

The error alluded to by Mr. Beechinor was the following. In the story of "The Exile," published in a work illustrated by Finden, the following very erroneous statement appeared: "Mrs. Sturgeon, in accordance with her own earnest desire, was buried beside her sister Gertrude, in the garden of The Priory, her father's residence near Dublin."

The writer was wholly misinformed. The remains of Curran's poor daughter Sarah were not buried in the grounds or garden of that residence of her father, where she had been treated, alas! with such great harshness. A favourite child, indeed, of Curran was interred there—a daughter, named Gertrude. This child was the idol of her father. It was not a large share of his parental affection that child might be said to have possessed, but rather the whole stock of love that was at his disposal.

The late Mr. William Murphy, of Mountmerrion, was on very intimate terms with Curran when he lost this favourite child, whose untimely death was the result of a fall from a window. Mr. Murphy, before the interment of the child's remains, visited the unhappy father, and found him in a state of such violent sorrow as might be termed frantic grief. Frequently have I heard Mr. Murphy relate the pitiable and fearful condition in which he found Curran. He told Mr. Murphy he would not suffer his beloved child's remains to be taken from The Priory—he would have them buried in the grounds, in a place where the grave could be seen from the window of his study; and accordingly there the remains of his child were buried, in opposition to the opinion, very strongly urged, of his friend Murphy; who thought that the feelings which actuated Curran in this matter would be misinterpreted, and that the burial of his child in unconsecrated ground would be considered an act of impiety, and an evidence of principles adverse to religion.

The child, however, was buried in a vault which Curran had caused to be constructed for her final resting-place, in the lawn of The Priory, near Rathfarnham, very near the house. There was originally an enclosed space over the grave, fenced in with shrubs, but these have now nearly disappeared, and a small square monumental metal plate was inserted in the slab over the grave, with the following inscription:

Here
Lies the body
of
GERTRUDE CURRAN,
Fourth daughter of JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN,
Who departed this life
October the 6th, 1792.
Age twelve
years.

In answer to some inquiries of mine respecting the precise spot in which the remains of Mrs. Sturgeon were buried in Newmarket churchyard, I received the following communication from the Rev. Mr. Beechinor, of Newmarket, who has been about 29 years parish priest of that town:

"About seven years ago the grave of Mrs. Sturgeon, in the churchyard of Newmarket, was opened to bury a near relative, and the breastplate on her coffin was found in a high state of preservation, with the following inscription: 'Sarah Sturgeon, died July, 1808.' I send you the names of some of the inhabitants of Newmarket who attended the funeral of Mrs. Sturgeon, and who still distinctly remember the interment, and the late hour of the evening when the funeral cortege arrived in the town: Mr. William Curran (cousin-german to Sarah Curran), Mrs. Robert Philpot, Mr. William Bunworth, Mr. John Greany, and Mr. Michael Brennan. I might name several others, still living. The plate above referred to was in the hands of Mr. Hartney, postmaster of Newmarket, who gave me therefrom the above inscription.

"J. BEECHINOR."

A statement was made to me by a professional gentleman of high character, and of long standing in the immediate vicinity of Newmarket, that Colonel Sturgeon had sent home from Sicily a marble tombstone, with an inscription, to be placed over his wife's grave at Newmarket, and that by mistake the stone was sent, many years ago, to Newberry, in the same county, instead of Newmarket, and had been lost sight of altogether. Another person, of a respectable station in life, informed me that it was to Mallow it had been sent, and not Newberry.

I called on the eminent antiquarian writer and Irish archæological scholar, my friend Mr. John Windele, of Blaris Castle, Cork, to throw some light on those conflicting statements, and received the following reply from that gentleman:

"Cork, 27th April, 1857.

"MY DEAR SIR—I delayed sending you the copy of the inscription on S. Curran's *coffin*, until I had made inquiry after the monument, which you said you had learned was left in a church-

yard near Mallow by a mistake. I some time since heard that this churchyard was that of *New*berry, about four miles west of the town, and the error arose from confounding *New*market with *New*berry. I thereupon wrote to my friend, the parish priest, as also to a Protestant friend, whose place of worship was Newberry church; from the former I have obtained a letter, and from the latter a personal visit to-day. The priest says, as the result of his inquiries: 'Neither the rector of Newberry (which is in my parish) nor the sexton know anything of this stone; still I shall not relax my exertions, and if possible shall poke it out.'

"The Protestant layman assures me that there is neither a stone nor a monument there, answering in any way the object of my inquiry. He adds, that the rector informed him that a Counsellor Curran, from Dublin, searched the place some four or five years since, and could find no trace of this missing memorial.

"I am disposed to regard this evidence as conclusive with regard to Newberry; but, like my friend, the priest, I shall continue on the alert for further information. The following is a copy of the paper I showed you, headed,

"'CURRAN'S DAUGHTER.

"'Mrs. Sturgeon lies buried in the churchyard at Newmarket, under the walnut tree. There is no tomb, nor mound, nor headstone over her. There was a stone cut at Naples, but it was never sent home. Mr. Leahy Arthur, of Cork, saw it there.

"'The grave mound was erased at the building of the present church. The body was buried in the earth. There is no vault. The inscription on the coffin-plate is: Mrs. Sarah Sturgeon, fifth daughter of the Right Hon. J. P. Curran, died May 5th, 1808, aged 26 years.'"

I wrote to Mr. Leahy Arthur, on the receipt of Mr. Windele's letter, alluding to the reference made to him; and, in reply to my letter, he assured me he had no information whatever on the subject, but recommended me to apply to another gentleman of the name of Leahy, who had been abroad, and might possibly know something of the matter in question.

I now determined on visiting Newmarket, and, previously to my visit, had some special inquiries made for me by an intelligent person, accustomed to deal with questions of evidence.

George Smith, Esq., of Newmarket, informed the gentleman who made the first inquiries for me on the spot, that he had heard a Mr. Leahy of Cork had seen, in some part of Italy, a monumental stone that was to have been sent home and erected over the grave of Miss Curran. That stone had never reached Newmarket.

William Curran, the nephew of J. P. Curran, informed the gentleman above referred to, that the Rev. Mr. Aldworth, now residing in a southern district of the county Cork, had informed him many years ago that Colonel Sturgeon had sent home a monumental stone, to be placed over the remains of his wife in Newmarket; but it never reached its destination. He had heard it stated, but he could not affirm, that the stone was brought to Ireland, had been detained in the Custom-house in Dublin for some time, and had been sent by mistake to Newberry, in the county Cork, instead of Newmarket, but had never more been heard of.

I had inquiries made at Newberry, of the Protestant and Catholic clergy of that parish, of the sexton and clerk of the church, and the result of those inquiries diligently made for me was, that no such tombstone had ever reached Newberry.

In the course of my inquiries at Newmarket, I communicated with eight or nine persons who had been present at the interment of the remains of Mrs. Sturgeon. Mr. Hartney, postmaster of Newmarket, was present on that occasion, and at the burial of a son of William Curran in the same grave, many years subsequently. The coffin of Mrs. Sturgeon was then exposed. The coffin-plate had fallen off; it was taken out of the grave by Mr. Hartney, and it remained in his possession for some days, and while in his hands he took a copy of it, but he has lost the inscription. Mr. Hartney said that the copy of the inscription sent me by Mr. Windele was correct, except in one particular—the word "Mrs." was not on the plate. It began, "Sarah Sturgeon," &c. He states further that a portion of the coffin was broken on that occasion, and a very strong odour of some spirituous liquor, used evidently for the preservation of the remains, was diffused around the grave. Mr. Hartney is of opinion that no tombstone had ever been sent home.

Mrs. Hartney, the mother of the postmaster, informed me she had a perfect recollection of the funeral of Mrs. Sturgeon. It was by her own special request that she was buried in the same grave that her grandmother was buried in—the mother of John Philpot Curran.

I do not believe there is a civilized country in Europe in which it is more difficult to get exact information, on any subject that does not immediately concern the pecuniary interests, the polemical principles, or the political views of the parties inquired of, than Ireland. This observation is not applicable alone to one class of the community, however it may be called—high, low, or middle. The complaint has perpetually to be made, by persons who seek information on matters that have transpired within the

sphere of the remembrance, and the limits of the locality, of parties to whom inquiries are addressed, that impressions of things inquired after and recalled assume all the importance of facts—get confounded in people's minds—so that it becomes absolutely impossible to discriminate between what they believe to be true, and know of their own certain knowledge to be so.

In bewilderments of judgment thus caused, it only remains for the inquirer to investigate, himself, on the spot, the matter which he desires to ascertain. And if he has to carry back the recollection of people—of country people especially—to periods of ten, twenty, or even twice twenty years distant from the present time, the inquirer must examine the parties of whom information is sought in the presence of one another, and as near as possible to the locality—be it place of birth, or death, or burial—of the persons who are the subjects of our inquiry, or of the events or things connected with them which are the objects of our researches; and above all things be it remembered, that "fair and easy goes far in the day," with regard to time spent in such pursuits, and that the inquirer's motto must be, "*Festina lente.*"

It was by acting on those ideas with eight or nine individuals, all far advanced in years, some of them in extreme old age, who had been present at the interment of the remains of Mrs. Sturgeon, that their conflicting testimony, in relation to the precise spot that was the site of her grave, could be brought to bear in one direction on some one or other important particular, and eventually to concur with regard to the precise spot where the great walnut tree grew in the churchyard, which overshadowed a considerable portion of the burial-ground, and by all was admitted to have been close to the head of the grave of Mrs. Sturgeon.

Twenty years had elapsed since that tree had fallen (broken down by the violence of a tempest—not torn up, for the roots still remained in the ground, though covered thinly with the soil). Several knew of the existence of the roots, but some members only of the Curran family were aware, that the spot where these were was close to a tombstone and an inscription, recording the death of the father of Mrs. Sarah Curran.

With these indications I had the mould removed from the spot where the well-known walnut tree stood, and there I found the roots were of a tree whose magnitude must have far exceeded that of any other tree in the churchyard. The persons who assisted at the burial of William Curran's son, some years ago, in the grave of Mrs. Sturgeon, a little to the right of that of Mrs. Curran, or rather side by side with it, had no difficulty now in recognizing the grave that was the object of inquiry.

BURYING-GROUND, NEWMARKET.

The tomb of Sarah (Curran) Sturgeon lies alongside and close to the grave, with a tombstone, of Boyle Philpot, on the right-hand side of the avenue entrance leading to the church, and immediately behind the stump of the walnut tree that formerly existed at the head of the grave of Mrs. Sturgeon, and which fell down in the memorable storm of 1839. I have had great difficulty in ascertaining the precise spot where her remains were interred; and now, beyond all doubt, the precise spot is fixed and indicated by a very large mass of stone (unwrought) which I had conveyed to the churchyard and placed over the grave, at the head of it.

The best guiding-mark to this grave is the tombstone of the grave, on the left hand of it nearest the church, of old Boyle Philpot, the father of Mrs. Sarah Curran, who was interred there in 1807, some fourteen months before her granddaughter Sarah's remains were laid beside her own, in pursuance of a wish expressed to Sarah Curran, her favourite grandchild, that their remains should be interred in the same place of burial, namely, that of her (old Mrs. Curran's) father.

The husband of Mrs. Curran was not interred in the churchyard at Newmarket, but in an old burying-place of Dromore, about a mile distant from the town.

In 1836, I received the following account from my fellow-passenger, Captain Masson, on board the *Emerald*, on our voyage to America, of his intimate friend and brother-officer in Egypt, Captain Sturgeon:

"Captain Henry Sturgeon, of the Royal Staff Corps, joined the Royal Artillery the 4th of April, 1796, a second lieutenant. He continued in the Artillery till 1803, when he was appointed to a company in the Royal Staff Corps. He was in the expedition to Egypt. He commanded two six-pounders on the 8th of March, 1801. He was an active, intelligent officer. He was wounded in the action of the 13th of March."

Captain Masson believes him to have been born in France. His mother was a daughter of Lord Fitzwilliam, and had eloped with his father. An elder brother of his was born in France. His means were ample—at least he always appeared to have money at his command; it was said he was the natural son of a distinguished nobleman. Captain Sturgeon was of middle size, a smart, active man, a very penetrating eye, pleasing smile, and of elegant address; altogether of a very prepossessing appearance. When in Egypt, he was about twenty-four years of age. On his return to England, he was appointed to the Horse Artillery; sub-

sequently he was quartered at Canterbury with Captain Masson till he was appointed to the Staff Corps. In the Duke of Wellington's despatches I find the services honourably mentioned, on several occasions, of Major Sturgeon of the Royal Staff Corps. His conduct at the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo is particularly noticed in the despatch dated the 20th of January, 1812; in several preceding ones, his services are also made honourable mention of. He was killed in the engagement near Vic Bigorre, in 1814.

In "The Gentleman's Magazine" for April, 1814, p. 417, the death of Colonel Sturgeon is thus recorded in the list of deaths in the preceding month of March:

"16th March, 1814.—During the march of the British army upon Vic, Colonel Sturgeon lost his life. This place is surrounded for nearly two miles by vineyards, among which this gallant officer having unguardedly advanced, a shot from a concealed enemy terminated his existence. Colonel Sturgeon had distinguished himself on many occasions, and his loss is greatly lamented."

The Marquess of Wellington, in a despatch to Earl Bathurst, dated Tarbes, March 20, 1814, gives an account of the attack on the French in the vineyards and town of Bigorre, and praises the conduct of several officers, but no mention is made therein of Colonel Sturgeon; but in the accompanying list of killed and wounded, we find in the list of killed the following: "March 19, 1814, General's Staff, Lieutenant-Colonel H. Sturgeon, Royal Staff Corps."

Extract from *London Gazette Extraordinary,* Wednesday, 5th February, 1812:

"DESPATCH FROM GENERAL VISCOUNT WELLINGTON.

"I have likewise particularly to report to your lordship the conduct of Major Sturgeon, of the Royal Staff Corps. He constructed and placed for us the bridge over the Agueda, without which the enterprise could not have been attempted; and he afterwards materially assisted Lieutenant-General Graham and myself in our reconnoissance of the place, on which the plan of attack was founded; and he finally conducted the 2nd battalion 5th Regiment, as well as the 2nd Cacadores, to their points of attack."

Viscount Wellington, in a despatch to Lord Liverpool, dated from Gallegos, 20th January, 1812, refers to the services of Major Sturgeon, at the storming and capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and the preceding operations.

In a despatch of Lord Wellington to Earl Bathurst, dated

Flores de Avila (near Salamanca), July 24, 1812, the services of *Lieutenant-Colonel* Sturgeon, who must have been promoted subsequently to the date of the former despatch, are thus referred to: "I am particularly indebted to the officers of the Staff Corps for the assistance I received from them, particularly Lieutenant-Colonel Sturgeon," &c.*

CHILDREN OF J. P. CURRAN.

John Philpot Curran, born in 1750, called to the bar in 1775, deceased the 14th October, 1817. Married, in 1774, Sarah, daughter of Richard Creagh, Esq., M.D., of Newmarket.† By this marriage—the result of which was a separation in 1795‡—there were seven children: 1. Richard, born about 1779, married in 1810, died without issue about 1816. 2. John B. H., entered the navy, attained the rank of captain, died in 1832. 3. William Henry, born about 1794, called to the bar in 1816, died unmarried in 1858. 4. Amelia, born about 1775, died unmarried prior to 1848. 5. Jane, married the Rev. Mr. Taylor, Incumbent of Clifden. 6. Gertrude, born in 1780, died unmarried in 1792. 7. Sarah, born in 1781, married in 1805, died in 1808, without issue.

* "Annual Register," 1812, p. 233.

† In "Pue's Occurrences," 3rd June, 1760, we find, in the list of deaths, the decease recorded of Mrs. Creagh, wife of Richard Creagh, Esq., M.D.

‡ "From *The Dublin Journal*, 14th January, 1795:

"Criminal Conversation—Court of Exchequer.

"*Curran* a. *Sands.*

"We had prepared a very accurate report of the evidence in this cause, in which public curiosity was so far interested that the court of Exchequer was filled at a very early hour on Saturday morning, and continued the whole day so crowded as to require the aid of a military guard to preserve order at the several entrances.

"Having so far prepared to satisfy the curiosity of our readers, we conceive that no negligence will be imputed to us when we state, as the reason for our declining the insertion of the report, the following notice, served last night at our office, purporting to be signed by the attorney for the plaintiff, Curran, and directed to the printer of this paper:

'Curran, *a.* Sands. } 'Sir—You are to take notice that a Bill of Exceptions was taken on behalf of the debts in the Court of Exchequer, on the trial at *Nisi Prius*, on Saturday last, and as this cause is still depending and remains undetermined until the ensuing term, you are requested not to publish or insert any account of such trial in *The Dublin Journal.*

'Dated this 16th day of February. 'R. Reeves.

'To the Printer of *The Dublin Journal.*'

"Out of the respect which we bear to the truly learned and venerable judges (the Chief Baron and Baron Smith) who presided in this cause, and from no other motive whatsoever—for we are above timidity or corruption—we shall state merely the general outline of the case, reserving a full account of the trial for a more fit opportunity.

"This was an action against the defendant at the suit of J. P. Curran, Esq., for criminal conversation with the plaintiff's wife. The damages were laid at £2,000. The jury found a verdict for £50.

"In copying the notice we have adhered literally to the copy served."

All the children of J. P. Curran are dead and gone, and no issue of theirs is left.

Richard, his eldest son, was called to the bar in 1799. In 1807 he was obliged to leave Ireland on account of an action taken against him by the husband of Mrs. Henry Johnston, a melodramatic actress of great personal attractions. In the proceedings in the King's Bench, he is described as deputy of his father in the Rolls Court. In an application made to the King's Bench, 11th May, 1807, the plaintiff asks to be allowed to substitute service of process on the defendant, on the ground of his having fled to England, to evade the service of the court. The court refused the application. See "Annual Register." He married a widow lady of fortune, Mrs. Wysell, of York-place, London, the 31st of July, 1810, and very soon after, he became insane, and lived six years in that most calamitous of all conditions.

Amelia, the eldest daughter of J. P. Curran, never married. She visited the Continent about 1821, and in 1822 was residing in Naples, when I became acquainted with her. She appeared to be then about forty years of age, and in bad health, labouring occasionally under hypochondriasis; and at periods when this disorder depressed her spirits severely, she used to sit in her drawing-room with the windows closed and all light excluded for many days, at times even for weeks together. She was mild, gentle, and amiable, notwithstanding those occasional fits of melancholy. She painted in oils admirably. A copy of a celebrated picture of Murillo, made by her at Rome, of great excellence, was given by her to her old friend, the late Lord Cloncurry, and now exists in the Roman Catholic Chapel of Blackrock, near Dublin, having been presented by his lordship to the Rev. Mr. Ennis.

Miss Amelia Curran from Naples went back to Rome, where she had already spent much time, and she returned no more from the Eternal City. I have been informed by the late Lord Cloncurry, that she became a Roman Catholic in Rome, and died there in that religion. The following passage, from the "Memoirs of Lord Cloncurry," will show the estimation in which he held her:

"My friendship with Curran and his family was for many years of the closest and heartiest kind. During the past year (1848), I had the melancholy satisfaction of marking my recollection of it, by causing a memorial of her own worth, and of my continued esteem, to be placed near the final resting-place of the eldest of his daughters. A tablet, designed and executed by Hogan, and bearing the following inscription, has been erected in the church of St. Isidore, at Rome, within the last few months:

"Amelia Curran
Was the most talented and virtuous daughter of
John Philpot Curran,
Who fearlessly pleaded the cause of his country and
His oppressed fellow-citizens,
Before corrupt Judges and hostile Juries.
They were true Patriots.
To their memory this Tablet is inscribed by
Their surviving friend, Valentine, second Lord Cloncurry."*

The second daughter of J. P. Curran, who married a clergyman of the name of Taylor, incumbent, I believe, of the parish of Clifden, near Bristol, has manifested in a very graceful and becoming manner her respect for her father's memory, by erecting a mural monument in the church to which her husband is attached, in honour of his name, genius, and patriotism. This lady was one of the three children of J. P. Curran who attended on him in his last illness, and were with him when he died. The other two were Captain J. B. H. Curran, R.N., and Mr. W. H. Curran.

M. T.
Johannis Philpot Curran,
A secretioribus Domini Regis consiliis
Curiæ Regalis rotulorum in Hibernia
Olim Præsulis Primarii.
Morum comitate, salibus atticis,
Splendare ingenii celeberremî,
Qui in horis maximè procellosis reipublicæ,
Longe latè que versatus
Fidissimum infausta tutamen
Nullum sibi inimicum fecit,
Nullo patriæ inimico
Pepercit.
Fori senatusque eloquio
Inter principes princeps,
Ad summa jura erectus
Crescente famà
Animo magis magisque lucente,
Labente tantum corpore
Sexages. Sept. jam agens annum
Heu
Immaturè mortuus est
Orbi natus,
Orbi memoriam relinquens
Filia
Superbiam inter et lachrymas
H. M.
Dicavit.
Natus in Hibernia, A.D. 1751,
Ob. Londini, A.D. 1818.†

* "Autobiography of Lord Cloncurry," p. 145.

† The inscription errs in both dates. *Vide* "Gentleman's Magazine," October, 1844. Curran was born in 1750, and died in 1817.—R. R. M.

APPENDIX I.

The manifesto of the provisional government, drawn up by Robert Emmet, and found at the depot in Marshalsea-lane, was produced on the trial of Edward Kearney. Lieutenant Coltman, of the 9th regiment, proved that several bundles of this document were found in the depot "quite wet from the press." Extracts from the documents have been published, and the entire manifesto that was produced on Kearney's trial is given in Ridgeway's Report; but, knowing the unscrupulous conduct of the government agents of that day with respect to such documents, I thought it desirable to give an exact copy of the original paper, the authenticity of which might be depended on. I am indebted to Miss M'Cracken for the copy of that document, and of the proclamation annexed to it, which were found among Russell's papers:

"THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

"You are now called upon to show the world that you are competent to take your place among nations; that you have a right to claim their recognizance of you as an independent country, by the only satisfactory proof you can furnish of your capability of maintaining your independence—your wresting it from England with your own hands.

"In the development of this system—which has been organised within the last eight months, at the close of internal defeat, and without the hope of foreign assistance—which has been conducted with a tranquillity mistaken for obedience—which neither the failure of a similar attempt in England has retarded, nor the renewal of hostilities has accelerated—in the development of this system you will show to the people of England that there is a spirit of perseverance in this country beyond their power to calculate or repress; you will show to them that as long as they think to hold unjust dominion over Ireland, under no change of circumstances can they count on its obedience, under no aspect of affairs can they judge of its intentions; you will show to them that the question which it now behoves them to take into serious consideration is not whether they will resist a separation, which it is our fixed determination to effect, but whether or not they will drive us beyond separation—whether they will, by a sanguinary resistance, create a deadly national antipathy between the two countries, or whether they take the only means still left of driving such a sentiment from our minds, by a prompt, manly, and sagacious acquiescence in our just and reasonable determination. If the secrecy with which the present effort has been conducted shall have led our enemies to suppose that its extent must

have been partial, a few days will undeceive them. That confidence which was once lost by trusting to external support, and suffering our own means to be gradually undermined, has been again restored. We have been mutually pledged to each other to look only to our own strength, and that the first introduction of a system of terror, the first attempt to execute an individual in one county, should be the signal of insurrection in all. We have now, without the loss of a man, with our means of communication untouched, brought our plans to the moment when they are ripe for execution, and, in the promptitude with which nineteen counties will come forward at once to execute them, it will be found that neither confidence nor communication are wanting to the people of Ireland.

"In calling on our countrymen to come forward, we feel ourselves bound at the same time to justify our claim to their confidence by a precise declaration of our views. We therefore solemnly declare that our object is to establish a free and independent republic in Ireland; that the pursuit of this object we will relinquish only with our lives; that we will never, unless at the express call of our country, abandon our posts, until the acknowledgment of its independence is obtained from England; and that we will enter into no negociation (but for exchange of prisoners) with the government of that country while a British army remains in Ireland. Such is the declaration on which we call first on that part of Ireland which was once paralysed by the want of intelligence, to show that to that cause only was its inaction to be attributed; on that part of Ireland which was once foremost in its fortitude in suffering; on that part of Ireland which once offered to take the salvation of the country on itself; on that part of Ireland where the flame of liberty first glowed; we call upon the north to stand up and shake off their slumber and their oppression.

"Men of Leinster! stand to your arms; to the courage which you have already displayed is your country indebted for the confidence which truth feels in its own strength, and for the dismay with which our enemies will be overcome when they find this effort to be universal. But, men of Leinster, you owe more to your country than the having animated it by your past example—you owe more to your own courage than the having obtained protection by it. If six years ago you rose without arms, without plan, without co-operation, with more troops against you alone than are now in the country at large, you were able to remain six weeks in open defiance of the government, and within a few miles of the capital, what will you now effect, with that capital and every other part of Ireland ready to support you? But it is not on this head we have need to address you. No; we now speak to you, and, through you, to the rest of Ireland, on a subject dear to us even as the success of our country—its honour. You are accused by your enemies of having violated that honour by excesses, which they themselves had in their fullest extent provoked, but which they have grossly exaggerated, and which have been attri-

buted to you. The opportunity for vindicating yourselves by actions is now for the first time in your power, and we call upon you to give the lie to such assertions, by carefully avoiding all appearance of intoxication, plunder, or revenge; recollecting that you lost Ireland before, not from want of courage, but from not having that courage rightly directed by discipline. But we trust that your past sufferings have taught you experience, and that you will respect the declaration we now make; which we are determined by every means in our power to enforce. The nation alone has the right, and alone possesses the power of punishing individuals, and whosoever shall put another to death, except in battle, without a fair trial by his country, is guilty of murder. The intention of the Provisional Government of Ireland is to claim from the English government such Irishmen as have been sold or transported by it for their attachment to freedom; and for this purpose it will retain, as hostages for their safe return, such adherents of that government as shall fall into its hands. It therefore calls upon the people to respect such hostages, and to recollect that in spilling their blood they would leave their own countrymen in the hands of their enemies.

"The intentions of the Provisional Government is to resign its functions as soon as the nation shall have chosen its delegates, but in the meantime it is determined to enforce the regulations hereunto subjoined; it in consequence takes the property of the country under its protection, and will punish with the utmost rigour any person who shall violate that property, and thereby injure the resources and future prosperity of Ireland.

"Whosoever refuses to march to any part of the country he is ordered, is guilty of disobedience to the government, which alone is competent to decide in what place his service is necessary, and which desires him to recollect that in whatever part of Ireland he is fighting, he is still fighting for its freedom. Whoever presumes, by acts or otherwise, to give countenance to the calumny propagated by our enemies, that this is a religious contest, is guilty of the grievous crime, that of belying the motives of the country. Religious disqualifications are but one of the many grievances of which Ireland has to complain. Our intention is to remove not that only, but every other oppression under which we labour. We fight that all of us may have our country; and that done, each of us shall have our religion.

"We are aware of the apprehensions which you have expressed, that, in quitting your own counties you leave your wives and your children in the hands of your enemies; but on this head have no uneasiness. If there are still men base enough to persecute those who are unable to resist, show them by your victories that you have the power to punish, and by your obedience that you have the power to protect; and we pledge ourselves to you that these men shall be made to feel that the safety of everything they hold dear depends on the conduct they observe to you. Go forth then with

confidence, conquer the foreign enemies of your country, and leave to us the care of preserving its internal tranquillity. Recollect that not only the victory, but also the honour of your country is placed in your hands; give up your private resentments, and show to the world that the Irish are not only a brave, but also a generous and forgiving people.

"Men of Munster and Connaught, you have your instructions—you will execute them. The example of the rest of your countrymen is now before you; your own strength is unbroken. Five months ago you were eager to act without any other assistance; we now call upon you to show, what you then declared you only wanted the opportunity of proving, that you possess the same love of liberty and the same courage with which the rest of your countrymen are animated.

"We turn now to that portion of our countrymen whose prejudices we had rather overcome by a frank declaration of our intentions, than conquer in the field; and, in making this declaration, we do not wish to dwell on events which, however they may bring tenfold odium on their authors, must still tend to keep alive in the minds both of the instruments and victims of them a spirit of animosity, which it is our wish to destroy. We will enter into no detail of the atrocities and oppressions which Ireland has laboured under during its connexion with England; but we justify our determination to separate from that country on the broad historical statement, that during six hundred years she has been unable to conciliate the affections of the people of Ireland; that during that time five rebellions were entered into to shake off the yoke; that she has been obliged to enter into a system of unprecedented torture in her defence; that she has broken every tie of voluntary connexion, by taking even the name of independence from Ireland, through the intervention of a parliament notoriously bribed, and not representing the will of the people; that, in vindication of this measure, she has herself given the justification of the views of the United Irishmen, by declaring, in the words of her ministers, 'That Ireland never had, and never could enjoy, under the then circumstances, the benefits of British connexion; that it necessarily must happen, when one country is connected with another, that the interests of the lesser will be borne down by the greater; that England had supported and encouraged the English colonists in their oppression towards the natives of Ireland; that Ireland had been left in a state of ignorance, rudeness, and barbarism, worse in its effects and more degrading in its nature, than that in which it was found six centuries before.'* Now to what cause are these things to be attributed? Did the curse of the Almighty keep alive a spirit of obstinacy in the minds of the Irish people for six hundred years? Did the doctrines of the French revolution produce five rebellions? Could the misrepresentations

* Lord Castlereagh's speech.

of ambitious, designing men drive from the mind of a whole people the recollection of defeat, and raise the infant from the cradle with the same feelings with which his father sank to the grave? Will this gross avowal, which our enemies have made of their own views, remove none of the calumny that has been thrown upon ours? Will none of the credit which has been lavished on them be transferred to the solemn declaration which we now make in the face of God and our country?

"We war not against property—we war against no religious sect—we war not against past opinions or prejudices—we war against English dominion. We will not, however, deny that there are some men who, not because they have supported the government of our oppressors, but because they have violated the common laws of morality, which exist alike under all or under no government, have put it beyond our power to give to them the protection of a government. We will not hazard the influence we may have with the people, and the power it may give us of preventing the excesses of revolution, by undertaking to place in tranquillity the man who has been guilty of torture, free-quarter, rape, and murder, by the side of the sufferer or their relations; but in the frankness with which we warn those men of their danger, let those who do not feel that they have passed this boundary of mediation count on their safety.

"We had hoped, for the sake of our enemies, to have taken them by surprise, and to have committed the cause of our country before they could have time to commit themselves against it; but, though we have not altogether been able to succeed, we are yet rejoiced to find that they have not come forward with promptitude on the side of those who have deceived them; and we now call upon them, before it is yet too late, not to commit themselves against a people which they are unable to resist, and in support of a government which, by their own declaration, had forfeited its claim to their allegiance. To that government, in whose hands, though not the issue, at least the features with which the present contest is marked or placed, we now turn. How is it to be decided? Is open and honourable force alone to be resorted to? or is it your intention to employ those laws which custom has placed in your hands, and to force us to employ the law of retaliation in our defence?

"Of the inefficacy of a system of terror, in preventing the people of Ireland from coming forward to assert their freedom, you have already had experience. Of the effect which such a system will have on our minds, in case of success, we have already forewarned you. We now address to you another consideration: if, in the question which is now to receive a solemn and we trust final decision—if we have been deceived, reflection would point out that conduct should be resorted to which was best calculated to produce conviction on our minds.

"What would that conduct be?

"It would be to show us that the difference of strength between

the two countries is such as to render it unnecessary for you to bring out all your forces; to show that you have something in reserve to crush hereafter, not only a greater exertion of the people, but one rendered still greater by foreign assistance. It would be to show us that what we vainly supposed tobe a prosperity growing beyond your grasp, is only a partial exuberance, requiring but the pressure of your hand to reduce to form.

"But, for your own sakes, do not resort to a system which, while it increased the acrimony of our minds, would leave us under the melancholy delusion that we had been forced to yield, not to the sound and temperate exertions of superior strength, but to the frantic struggle of weakness concealing itself under desperation.—Consider that the distinction of rebel and enemy is of a very fluctuating nature; that during the course of your own experience you have already been obliged to lay it aside; that should you be obliged to abandon it towards Ireland, you cannot hope to do so as tranquilly as you have done towards America; for in the exasperated state to which you have roused the minds of the Irish people—a people whom you profess to have left in a state of barbarism and ignorance—with what confidence can you say to that people: 'While the advantage of cruelty lay upon our side we slaughtered you without mercy, but the measure of your own blood is beginning to preponderate. It is no longer our interest that this bloody system should continue. Show us then that forbearance which we never taught you by precept or example, lay aside your resentment, give quarter to us, and let us mutually forget we never gave quarter to you.' Cease, then, we entreat you, uselessly to violate humanity, by resorting to a system inefficacious as a mode of defence—inefficacious as a mode of conviction—ruinous to the future relations of the two countries in case of our success, and destructive of those instruments of defence which you will then find it doubly necessary to have preserved unimpaired. But if your determination be otherwise, hear ours: We will not imitate you in cruelty; we will put no man to death in cold blood. The prisoners which first fall into our hands shall be treated with the respect due to the unfortunate; but if the life of a single unfortunate Irish soldier is taken after the battle is over, the orders thenceforth to be delivered to the Irish army are, neither to give nor to take quarter. Countrymen, if a cruel necessity forces us to retaliate, we will bury our resentment in the field of battle; if we fall, we will fall where we fight for our country. Fully impressed with this determination—of the necessity of adhering to which past experience has but too fatally convinced us—fully impressed with the justice of our cause, which we now put to issue, we make our last and solemn appeal to the sword and to heaven; and as the cause of Ireland deserves to prosper, may God give us the victory."

"Conformably to the above proclamation, the Provisional Government of Ireland decree as follows:

"1. From the date and promulgation hereof tithes are for ever abolished, and church-lands are the property of the nation.

"2. From the same date all transfers of landed property are prohibited, each person paying his rent until the national government is established, the national will declared, and the courts of justice be organized.

"3. From the same date all transfer of bonds, debentures, and all public securities, are in like manner forbidden, and declared void for the same time, and for the same reason.

"4. The Irish generals commanding districts shall seize such partizans of England as may serve as hostages, and shall apprize the English commanders opposed to them that a strict retaliation shall take place, if any outrages contrary to the laws of war shall be committed by the troops under command of each, or by the partizans of England in the district which he occupies.

"5. That the Irish generals are to treat (except where retaliation makes it necessary) the English troops who may fall into their hands, or such Irish as serve in the regular forces of England, and who shall have acted conformably to the laws of war, as prisoners of war; but all Irish militia, yeomen, or volunteer corps, or bodies of Irish, or individuals who, fourteen days after the promulgation and date hereof, shall be found in arms, shall be considered as rebels, committed for trial, and their properties confiscated.

"6. The generals are to assemble court-martials, who are to be sworn to administer justice, who are not to condemn without sufficient evidence, and before whom all military offenders are to be sent instantly for trial.

"7. No man is to suffer death by their sentence but for mutiny; the sentences of such others as are judged worthy of death shall not be put into execution until the Provisional Government declares its will; nor are court-martials on any pretence to sentence, nor is any officer to suffer the punishment of flogging; or any species of torture to be inflicted.

"8. The generals are to enforce the strictest discipline, and to send offenders immediately to the court-martial, and are enjoined to chase away from the Irish armies all such as shall disgrace themselves by being drunk in presence of the enemy.

"9. The generals are to apprize their respective armies that all military stores and ammunition belonging to the English government be the property of the captors, and the value equally divided, without respect of rank, between them—except that the widows, orphans, parents, or other heirs of those who gloriously fall in the attack, shall be entitled to a double share.

"10. As the English nation has made war on Ireland, all English property in ships or otherwise is subject to the same rule, and all transfer of them forbidden and declared void in-like manner as is expressed in Nos. 2 and 3.

"11. The generals of the different districts are hereby empowered

to confer rank, up to colonels inclusive, on such as they conceive merit it from the nation, but are not to make more colonels than one for fifteen hundred men, nor more lieutenant-colonels than one for every thousand men.

"12. The generals shall seize on all sums of public money in the custom-houses in their districts, or in the hands of the different collectors, county treasurers, or other revenue officers, whom they shall render responsible for the sums in their hands. The generals shall pass receipts for the amount, and account to the Provisional Government for the same.

"13. When the people elect their officers, up to the colonels, the general is bound to confirm it; no officer can be broke but by the sentence of a court-martial.

"14. The generals shall correspond with the Provisional Government, to whom they shall give details of all their operations; they are to correspond with the neighbouring generals, to whom they are to transmit all necessary intelligence, and to co-operate with them.

"15. The general commanding in each county shall, as soon as it is cleared of the enemy, assemble the county committee, who shall be elected conformably to the constitution of the United Irishmen. All the requisitions necessary for the army shall be made in writing by the generals to the committee, who are hereby empowered and enjoined to pass receipts for each article to the owners, to the end that they may receive their full value from the nation.

"16. The county committee is charged with the civil direction of the county, the care of the national property, and the preservation of order and justice in the county; for which purpose the county committee are to appoint a high-sheriff, and one or more sub-sheriffs, to execute their orders; a sufficient number of justices of the peace for the county; a high, and a sufficient number of petty constables in each barony, who are respectively charged with the duties now performed by those magistrates.

"17. The county of Cork, on account of its extent, is to be divided, conformably to the boundaries for raising militia, into the counties of North and South Cork, for each of which a county constable, high-sheriff, and all magistrates above directed are to be appointed.

"18. The county committee are hereby empowered and enjoined to issue warrants to apprehend such persons as shall appear on sufficient evidence to have perpetrated murder, torture, and other breaches of the acknowledged articles of war and morality on the people; to the end that they may be tried for these offences as soon as the competent courts of justice are established by the nation.

"19. The county committee shall cause the sheriff, or his officers, to seize on all the personal property of such, to put seals on their effects, to appoint proper persons to preserve all such property until the national courts of justice shall have decided on the fate of the proprietors.

"20. The county committee shall act in like manner with all state and church lands, parochial estates, and all public lands and edifices.

"21. The county committee shall, in the interim, receive all the rents and debts of such persons and estates, and give receipts for the same; shall transmit to the government an exact account of their value, extent, and amount, and receive the directions of the Provisional Government thereon.

"22. They shall appoint some proper house in the counties where the sheriff is permanently to reside, and where the county committee shall assemble; they shall cause all the records and papers of the county to be there transmitted, arranged, and kept, and the orders of the government to be there transmitted and received.

"23. The county committee is hereby empowered to pay out of these effects, or by assessment, reasonable salaries for themselves, the sheriffs, justices, and other magistrates, whom they shall appoint.

"24. They shall keep a written journal of all their proceedings, signed each day by members of the committee, or a sufficient number of them, for the inspection of government.

"25. The county committee shall correspond with government on all subjects with which they are charged, and transmit to the general of the district such information as they shall conceive useful to the public.

"26. The county committee shall take care that all state prisoners, however great their offences, shall be treated with humanity, and allow them sufficient support; to the end that all the world may know that the Irish nation is not actuated by a spirit of revenge, but of justice.

"27. The Provisional Government wishing to commit, as soon as possible, the sovereign authority to the people, direct that each county and city shall elect, agreeably to the constitution of United Irishmen, representatives to meet in Dublin, to whom, the moment they assemble, the Provisional Government will resign its functions; and, without presuming to dictate to the people, they beg leave to suggest, that for the important purpose to which these electors are called, integrity of character should be the first object.

"28. The number of representatives being arbitrary, the Provisional Government have adopted that of the late House of Commons, 300; and according to the best returns of the population of the cities and counties, the following number are to be returned from each: Antrim, 13; Armagh, 9; Belfast Town, 1; Carlow, 3; Cavan, 7; Clare, 8; Cork county, north, 14; Cork county, south, 14; Cork city, 6; Donegal, 10; Down, 16; Drogheda, 1; Dublin county, 4; Dublin city, 14; Fermanagh, 5; Galway, 10; Kerry, 9; Kildare, 14; Kilkenny, 7; King's county, 6; Leitrim, 5: Limerick county, 10; Limerick city, 3; Londonderry, 9; Longford, 4; Louth, 4; Mayo, 12; Meath, 9; Monaghan, 9; Queen's county, 6; Roscommon, 8; Sligo, 6; Tipperary, 13; Tyrone, 14; Waterford county, 6; Waterford city, 2; Westmeath, 5; Wicklow, 5.

"29. In the cities, the same regulations as in the counties shall be

adopted; the city committees shall appoint one or more sheriffs, as they think proper, and shall take possession of all the public and corporation properties in their jurisdiction, in like manner as is directed in counties.

"30. The Provisional Government strictly exhort and enjoin all magistrates, officers, civil and military, and the whole of the nation, to cause the law of morality to be enforced and respected, and to execute, as far as in them lies, justice with mercy, by which liberty alone can be established, and the blessings of divine Providence secured."

Another printed document, purporting to be a proclamation, was likewise found in the depot off Thomas-street:*

"CITIZENS OF DUBLIN,

"A band of patriots, mindful of their oath, and faithful to their engagements as United Irishmen, have determined to give freedom to their country, and a period to the long oppression of England. In this endeavour they are now successfully engaged, and their efforts are seconded by complete and universal co-operation from the country, every part of which, from the north to the south, pours forth its warriors in support of our hallowed cause.

"Citizens of Dublin, we require your aid; necessary secrecy has prevented to many a knowledge of our plan, but the erection of the national standard—the sacred, though long degraded green—will be found a sufficient call to arms, and rally round it every man in whose breast exists a spark of patriotism or sense of duty; avail yourselves of local advantages—in a city each street becomes a defile, and house a battery; impede the march of your oppressors; charge them with the arms of the brave, the pike; and from your windows hurl stones, bricks, bottles, and all other convenient instruments on the heads of the satellites of your tyrant—the mercenary and sanguinary soldiery of England.

"Orangemen, add not to the catalogue of your follies and crimes; already have you been duped, to the ruin of your country, in the legislative union with its ——. Attempt not an opposition which will carry with it your inevitable destruction; return from the paths of delusion—return to the arms of your countrymen, who will receive and hail your repentance.

"Countrymen of all descriptions, let us act with union and concert; all sects, Catholic, Protestant, Presbyterian, are indiscriminately embraced in the benevolence of our object; repress, prevent, and discourage excesses, pillage, and intoxication: let each man do his duty, and remember that during public agitation inaction becomes a crime. Be no other competition known but that of doing good; remember against whom you fight—your oppressors for six hundred years—remember their massacres, their tortures; remember your murdered

* This proclamation was written by Mr. Long.

friends, your burned houses, your violated females; keep in mind your country, to whom you are now giving her high rank among nations, and, in the honest terror of feeling, let us all exclaim, that as in the hour of her trial we serve this country, so may God serve us in that which shall be our *last*."

APPENDIX II.

REPORT IN MANUSCRIPT OF ROBERT EMMET'S SPEECH, SAID TO BE THE ORIGINAL DRAFT OF THAT SPEECH IN ROBERT EMMET'S OWN HANDWRITING.

I HAVE to bring to the notice of my readers the existence of a report, in manuscript, of Robert Emmet's speech, said to be the original draft of that speech in Robert Emmet's handwriting, lately in the possession of an officer of the British Museum—Mr. Henry Marshall—and now in mine. In January, 1846, the existence of this document was brought to my knowledge by Mr. Carew O'Dwyer, who had obtained his information of its existence from the late Charles Phillips. I entered into communication, immediately on receipt of this intelligence, with Mr. Marshall, and requested to have the document sent to me for examination, and a statement of any facts relating to its history which he might be in possession of, with a view to the purchase of it if it should appear to me a genuine document.

Mr. Marshall complied with my request, and stated, as I have no doubt, conscientiously, his belief of the genuineness of the document, and the authenticity of the account given him of its history, which was simply this—that the late Viscount Henry Augustus Dillon had obtained it from Counsellor Curran; that Lord Dillon had given it to a lady with whom he had been intimately acquainted; and from that lady that he (Mr. Marshall) had obtained it.

On comparing the handwriting of the document with several autographs of Emmet in my possession (notwithstanding a remarkable resemblance), I came to the conclusion that it was not the original draft of the speech, but a report made by some person who had been present at the trial, or who might have had access to the original draft. With this view I desired to get possession of this document, and accordingly I purchased it from Mr. Marshall. Here I shall only refer to two passages in it which are not to be found in Ridgeway's Report.

PASSAGES IN REPORT OF THE SPEECH OF ROBERT EMMET.

[Said to be in his handwriting.]

"I appeal to the immaculate God—I swear by the throne of heaven, before which I must shortly appear—by the blood of the murdered patriots who have been sacrificed from time to time—that an ambassador is at this moment in France, and accredited there as the representative of the people of Ireland; there is now an Irish

agent in every port of the French republic inspecting the preparations making for the descent on this country. . . . .

"I am charged with being the key-stone of the conspiracy; I only acted a subaltern part. There are men who manage it that are far above me, or even you, my lord, in all your fancied greatness; men who would not disgrace themselves by shaking your blood-stained hand. You, my lord, tell me that I am accountable for the blood which has been and will be shed in this business. I do not fear approaching the Omnipotent Judge to answer for the conduct of my past life. But, my lord, were it possible to collect all the blood that you have shed into one common reservoir, for great indeed must it be, your lordship might swim therein!"

For four reasons I conclude that this document is not what it purports to be—a genuine draft of the speech of Robert Emmet in his own handwriting.

1. The heading to this document, "*Robert Emmett's address to Lord Norbury, previous to his receiving sentence of death,*" is in the same handwriting as the draft of the speech, but the speaker never wrote his name in the way it appears in the heading, with two t's; he invariably wrote his name with one—thus, Emmet. Various documents in his handwriting, and several signatures of his are in my possession, and therefore I can speak with confidence both as to his handwriting and to his signature; but with respect to the handwriting I freely admit that the writing in the draft of the speech bears a very great resemblance to the handwriting of Robert Emmet in my possession—so great, that if I formed a judgment on that evidence alone, I would be disposed to believe that document is genuine. There are some differences however, in the *capitals especially*, between the handwriting of the document and the autographs in my possession.

2. At the conclusion of one of the most solemn passages in the speech—where Emmet is reported in the draft as saying, in reference to the appearance of all men before the great tribunal of God's judgment: "'It will then remain for the great Searcher of all Hearts to show to the collected universe, who was engaged in the most atrocious actions, or who was actuated by the purest motives,"'—these words follow: "He was again interrupted, and desired to attend to the sentence of the law. *The prisoner then, in a very pathetic manner, appealed to the court by saying*: 'My lord, shall a dying man be denied,'" &c. It seems to me highly improbable that Robert Emmet ever wrote these words, "The prisoner then, in a very pathetic manner, appealed," &c.; they are wholly out of keeping with the character of Robert Emmet.

3. The document purporting to be the draft of Robert Emmet's speech is thus endorsed: "Written by Robert Emmet's own hand, and given by Counsellor Curran to Henry Augustus Viscount Dillon." This endorsement is in a different handwriting to that of the draft of the speech. If the Counsellor Curran above referred to were John Philpot Curran, we must suppose the latter was in friendly commu-

nication with Emmet subsequently to the conviction of the latter, and it is certain that such was not the case; John Philpot Curran was not his counsel, and the terms on which they then were did not admit of any similar communication between them. The Counsellor Curran above referred to might, however, have been the eldest son of John Philpot Curran, who was on terms of most intimate friendship with Robert Emmet to the last day of his life; and on the morning of the last day Robert Emmet wrote a letter to him, which will be found elsewhere; but it is by no means likely that a draft of his speech would have been allowed to have been transmitted with a letter to Richard Curran, and had the latter received such a document we may be quite sure mention would have been made of it by Mr. W. H. Curran in the life of his father, wherein we find the letter inserted of Robert Emmet to his brother.

4. Henry Augustus Viscount Dillon was born in 1777, succeeded to the title 1813, and died in 1832. His father was a member of the privy council in 1803, and if the document in question had come into the possession of a member of the Dillon family, it would be more likely to have come into the hand of Viscount Dillon, an ultra-Tory peer, who was a privy councillor in 1803, than into those of the son; inasmuch as every scrap of writing of Robert Emmet, after his conviction, was likely to be submitted to the privy council, and in this way some of its members might have been allowed to retain the document referred to. But it may be presumed that neither J. P. Curran nor his son was likely to have obtained it from a member of the council at that period, and at a subsequent time to have given it to his descendant.

The preceding observations and account of this document were written when a very remarkable letter of the late Thomas Moore to Dr. R. Shelton MacKenzie in reference to it, published in a New York newspaper by Mr. MacKenzie, was brought to my knowledge in a pirated edition of my Memoirs of Robert and T. A. Emmet, recently published in New York by Mr. Haverty, with the following notice:

"The following letter of Thomas Moore's appeared in a communication of Dr. Shelton MacKenzie's to Meagher's New York *Irish News*, of June 7th, 1856.

"'May 10, 1845.

"'Dear Sir—I had the pleasure, some time ago, of expressing my gratitude for your kind and interesting letter respecting the manuscript of poor Emmet's speech in Mr. Marshall's possession. My "History of Ireland," so long on hand as to have made it latterly a heavy duty of task-work rather than the "labour of love" which it originally promised to be, was completed without including any notice of Emmet's attempted revolt in 1803; therefore I did not give myself any especial trouble about Mr. Marshall's manuscript. I was in town for a couple of days last July, but in no mood of mind

to take especial interest in anything but the mournful duty I had to discharge. This time I have been less occupied, and scarcely lost an hour before I saw Mr. Marshall at the British Museum. Unfortunately the precious manuscript was at his private residence, so I was disappointed for the instant. Yesterday I was more fortunate. The writing is unquestionably Robert Emmet's. Nearly half a century ago, when he and I were warm friends and constant companions, I knew his writing as well as my own. Nor was it without emotion that I looked at one of the very latest of his autographs. You, who are acquainted with my literary efforts, must have gathered from them how much I loved him living, and attempted to honour him when dead; as the peasant, in our native land, who casts a stone upon the cairn of some lamented friend, pays a tribute as great, according to his means, as when the pride of wealth raises a mausoleum over the ashes of the dead.

"'With abundance of materials in the Museum library, I was able to compare the manuscript with the spoken speech. There are several points of difference, arising chiefly out of the repeated efforts of Lord Norbury to embarrass Emmet by a series of scolding interruptions. In such attempts his lordship did not succeed; for though Emmet did not deliver more than two-thirds of what he had prepared, there was force and eloquence in the sentence which he interpolated, on the instant, in reply and reproof to the judicial scold. Emmet was naturally so eloquent (he was one of the best speakers of our Historical Society in college) that there was no reason, except *one*, why he should have carefully elaborated the few sentences to be spoken before judgment was passed upon him. It is more than probable that he distrusted his own powers at that trying crisis, and was anxious no doubt that his last words in public, actually addressed (to use Lord Byron's fine expression) "to time and to eternity, and not to man," should be well deliberated. He knew their importance.

"'In the manuscript, as originally struck yourself, the allusion to aid from France is more decided than in the published speech. Emmet certainly intended saying that there was at that moment in Paris a member of the Irish Provisional Government, empowered to negotiate for an invading expedition, but with orders not to allow it to sail until the French government had given Ireland a guarantee for her liberties similar to that obtained by Franklin for America. This is much more than I can find in any report of the speech. Emmet may not have spoken these words, but it is just as probable that he *did*. The report of the trial was published under the editorship of the then under-secretary of the Castle, Mr. Marsden, who is known to have greatly garbled the account.

"'I have always been doubtful whether Robert Emmet, who was fastidious in his language, ever designated Plunket as a viper whom his father had nurtured to sting his child. There is no trace of such words in the manuscript, but indeed they could only have been suggested, if ever uttered, by the line taken by Plunket on the trial—a

course of procedure which evidently had but one motive, and upon which there could scarcely be a second opinion.

"'The kindness of Mr. Marshall has given me not only the inspection, but the possession of Emmet's manuscript. I vainly essayed to make him accept some price for it, knowing that his circumstances cannot be good; but he declined so decidedly that I did not venture to insist. I have sent him, as a small acknowledgment, the late edition of my verses, and beg that when you again see him you will say how much I am his debtor.

"'As you are curious, with pertinacity in your curiosity, about Robert Emmet, I have only to add that I shall return to Sloperton in a few days, and should the facilities of railroad travelling tempt you to give me a few days' visit, you may then make a copy of the speech, which I should gladly do for you, but the mere *work* of writing greatly fatigues me now, and indeed I have taken several days to this letter. Pardon its great length, and believe me

"'Your obliged and faithful servant,

"'THOMAS MOORE.

"'To Dr. Shelton MacKenzie.'

"It was not in my power to visit Moore in his cottage in Wiltshire, and thus I lost the opportunity of obtaining a copy of the document. The original remains most probably among Moore's papers.—R. S. M."

The substance of that letter of Moore I felt it my duty very recently to communicate to Mr. Marshall, and request an explanation of the circumstances—to me incomprehensible—therein stated That explanation I have received, and now lay before my readers:

LETTER FROM MR. HENRY MARSHALL TO R. R. MADDEN.

"British Museum, 17th November, 1859.

"DEAR SIR—In reply to your letter of the 15th instant, I beg to state that I showed the speech of Robert Emmet to Thomas Moore and Dr. Shelton MacKenzie. The former said that he was at college with Emmet, and knew his handwriting, and expressed his belief that the speech which is now in your possession was in Emmet's own handwriting, and that he would see me again upon the subject. I, however, heard of his death some time after, and never saw him after the interview here alluded to. As I have before said, Dr. Shelton MacKenzie saw and read the speech in my presence, and I believe it was he who recommended me to apply to you concerning it. However, to cut the matter short, *the document was never out of my possession* from the time it was given to me by Mrs. Mara, who with her daughter always insisted that it was given to her (Mrs. Mara) by a Counsellor Curran, as the handwriting of Robert Emmet, at the time of the trial, and that whatever has since been published, whether in America or anywhere else (in contradiction to this statement), are entirely fabrications and deliberate misstatements.

"Mrs. Mara has been dead now some years, and was related to

the Dillons. Miss Mara, her daughter, became a convert to the Roman Catholic religion, and I have not seen or heard of her for several years; but I did learn that she married and went to reside in France; but I have no means of ascertaining where she is, or I would apply to her for further information on the subject.

"I trust this explanation will be quite satisfactory, and I conclude with stating that the document was never out of the walls of the British Museum, after I became its possessor, until purchased by and delivered into your custody.

"I remain, dear Sir, yours truly,
"HENRY MARSHALL."

On this strange subject I have only further to say that in reply to a recent letter of mine to Mrs. Moore, the widow of T. Moore, I was informed by that lady that no such document as I referred to, existed among her husband's papers, or had been ever seen by her in his possession.

ORIGINAL DRAFT OF THE SPEECH OF ROBERT EMMET.

Said to have been in the possession of the late Viscount Dillon, and to have been obtained by his lordship from Mr. Curran.

"'ROBERT EMMETT'S ADDRESS TO LORD NORBURY, PREVIOUS TO HIS RECEIVING SENTENCE OF DEATH.

"'As to why judgment of death and execution should not be passed upon me according to law, I have nothing to say; but as to why my character should not be relieved from the imputations and calumnies thrown out against it, I have much to say. I do not imagine your lordships will give credit to what I am going to utter. I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of the court; I only wish your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories, until it shall find some more hospitable harbour to shelter it from the storms with which it is at present buffeted. Was I to suffer only death after being adjudged guilty, I should bow in silence to the fate which awaits me; but the sentence of the law which delivers over my body to the executioner consigns my character to obloquy. A man in my situation has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, but those of prejudice also. Though the man dies, his memory lives; and that mine may not forfeit all claim to the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me. When my spirit shall be wafted to a more friendly port—when my shade shall join the shades of those martyred heroes who have shed their blood on the scaffold and in the field in the defence of their country, I will look down with complacency on the destruction of that perfidious government that upholds itself by the cries of the orphan and the tears of the widow.'

"He was stopped by Lord N., who told him that the means of the wicked enthusiasts who felt as he did were inadequate to the accomplishment of such wild designs.

"'I appeal to the immaculate God—I swear by the throne of heaven, before which I must shortly appear—by the blood of the murdered patriots who have been sacrificed from time to time—that an ambassador is at this moment in France, and accredited there as the representative of the people of Ireland—there is now an Irish agent in every port of the French republic inspecting the preparations making for the descent on this country. Think not, my lord, that I say this for the paltry gratification of giving you a transitory uneasiness. A man who never yet raised his voice to assert a lie will not hazard his character with posterity by advancing a falsehood on a subject so important to his country. Yes, my lord—a man who does not wish to have his epitaph written until his country is righted, will not leave such a weapon within the reach of envy to impeach that probity which he means to preserve him in the grave.'

"He was again interrupted.

"'Again I say that what I have spoken is not intended for your lordship—it is meant as a compensation to my countrymen. If there be a true Irishman present let my last words cheer him in these hours of his affliction.'

"Again interrupted by Lord N., who told him he did not preside in that court to hear high treason.

"'I have ever understood it to be the duty of a judge, when the prisoner was convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law. I have also understood that a judge sometimes thought it his duty to hear with patience and speak with humanity—to deliver an exhortation to the prisoner, and pass his opinion as to the motives which might actuate him in committing the crime of which he had been found guilty. That a judge has sometimes thought it his duty to do so I have no doubt. Where, then, is the boasted freedom of your laws—where the boasted impartiality, clemency, and mildness of your courts of justice—if an unfortunate prisoner, just about to be delivered into the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to vindicate his principles and explain the motives by which he was actuated. You, my lord, are a judge; I am the supposed culprit. You are a man—I am a man also; and if, standing at the bar of this court, I dare not vindicate my character, how dare you calumniate it. I have a right to vindicate my character and motives from the aspersion of calumny, and, as a man to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of it in rescuing my name and memory from the foul and odious imputation thrown upon them. And as men we must appear on the great day—it will then remain for the great Searcher of all hearts to show to the collective universe, who was engaged in the most atrocious actions—or who was actuated by the purest motives.'

"He was again interrupted, and desired to attend to the sentence of the law. The prisoner then in a very pathetic manner appealed to the court by saying:

"'My lord, shall a dying man be denied the legal privilege of

exculpating himself in the eyes of the community of an undeserved reproach thrown upon him during his trial, by charging him with ambition and attempting to sell his country to France. O my country! had it been ambition that influenced me, I should now rank among the proudest of your oppressors. Sell my country to France! O God! No, my lord—no connexion with France was intended further than as mutual interest was concerned. Were Frenchmen to assume any authority inconsistent with the present independence, that would be the signal for their destruction. I would fight them with the sword in one hand and the torch in the other. I would burn every blade of grass in the land sooner than allow any foreigner to tyrannize. If the spirit of the illustrious dead can witness the scenes of this transitory life, dear shade of my father! look down with complacency on your suffering son, who never for a moment deviated from those patriotic principles you taught him—in the defence of which he is now willing to die.'

"'I am charged with being the key-stone of the conspiracy. I only acted a subaltern part. There are men who manage it that are far above me, or even you, my lord, in all your fancied greatness—men who would not disgrace themselves by shaking your blood-stained hand. You, my lord, tell me that I am accountable for the blood which has been and will be shed in this business. I do not fear approaching the omnipotent Judge to answer for the conduct of my past life. But, my lord, were it possible to collect all the blood that you have shed into one common reservoir—for great indeed must it be—your lordship might swim therein.'

"Again interrupted.

"'My lords, I have but a few words more to say. I am now going to my cold and silent grave. My lamp of life is nearly extinguished. My race is finished—the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. I have but one request to make at my departure from this world—it is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph; for as no man who knows my motives dare now vindicate them, let not ignorance or prejudice asperse them. Let them and me repose in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain uninscribed till other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place amongst the nations of the earth—then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written. I am done.'"

APPENDIX III.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONDUCT OF MR. W. C. PLUNKET ON THE TRIAL OF ROBERT EMMET—LEGAL PROCEEDINGS OF MR. PLUNKET AGAINST COBBETT, IN 1804, FOR LIBEL—LEGAL PROCEEDINGS FOR LIBEL INSTITUTED AGAINST MESSRS. GILBERT AND HODGES, BY MR. PLUNKET, IN 1810—AFFIDAVITS OF MR. PLUNKET—NOTICE OF THE CAREER OF LORD PLUNKET.

That marvellous power of fascination which belonged to Robert Emmet, and gave him an influence over the feelings and affections of people of all conditions, of the most opposite characters, with whom he came in contact, to an extent that it is easier to estimate inadequately than to exaggerate, did not forsake him in his dungeon. Charles Phillips says there was a characteristic enthusiasm in his nature, of an heroic character, which, "tempered as it was by the utmost amenity of manners, rendered him an object of love and admiration, even in his prison. Of his conduct there," he observes, "I have had, well authenticated, some very curious anecdotes.

"One day, previous to his trial, as the governor was going his rounds, he entered Emmet's room rather abruptly; and observing a remarkable expression in his countenance, he apologised for the interruption. He had a fork affixed to his little deal table, and appended to it there was a tress of hair. 'You see,' said he to the keeper, 'how innocently I am occupied. This little tress has been long dear to me, and I am plaiting it to wear in my bosom on the day of my execution.' On the day of that fatal event, there was found sketched by his own hand, with a pen and ink, upon that very table, an admirable likeness of himself, the head severed from the body, which lay near it, surrounded by the scaffold, the axe, and all the frightful paraphernalia of a high treason execution. What a strange union of tenderness, enthusiasm, and fortitude do not the above traits of character exhibit! His fortitude, indeed, never for an instant forsook him. On the night previous to his death he slept as soundly as ever; and when the fatal morning dawned he arose, knelt down and prayed, ordered some milk which he drank, wrote two letters (one to his brother in America, and the other to the secretary of state, enclosing it), and then desired the sheriffs to be informed that he was ready. When they came into his room, he said he had two requests to make—one, that his arms might be left as loose as possible, which was humanely and instantly acceded to. 'I make the other,' said he, 'not under any idea that it can be granted, but that it may be held in remembrance that I have made it—it is, that I may be permitted to die in my uniform.'* This of course could not be allowed, and the request seemed to have had no other object than to show that he gloried in the cause for which he

* "The colour of the rebel uniform was *green*."

was to suffer. A remarkable example of his power both over himself and others occurred at this melancholy moment. He was passing out, attended by the sheriffs and preceded by the executioner—in one of the passages stood the turnkey who had been personally assigned to him during his imprisonment: this poor fellow loved him in his heart, and the tears were streaming from his eyes in torrents. Emmet paused for a moment; his hands were not at liberty—he kissed his cheek—and the man who had been for years the inmate of a dungeon, habituated to scenes of horror and hardened against their operation, fell senseless at his feet. Before his eyes had opened again upon this world, those of the youthful sufferer had closed on it for ever. Such is a brief sketch of the man who originated the last state trials in which Mr. Curran acted as an advocate. Upon his character, of course, different parties will pass different opinions. Here he suffered the death of a traitor—in America his memory is as that of a martyr, and a full-length portrait of him, trampling on a crown, is one of their most popular sign-posts. Of his high honour Mr. Curran had perhaps even an extravagant opinion. Speaking of him to me one day, he said, 'I would have believed the word of Emmet as soon as the oath of any one I ever knew.' Our conversation originated in reference to some expressions said to have fallen from him during his trial, reflecting on Mr. Plunket, who was at that time solicitor-general. However, the fact is that Mr. Plunket's enemies invented the whole story. Emmet never, even by implication, made the allusion; and I am very happy that my minute inquiries on the subject enable me to add an humble tribute to the name of a man who is at once an ornament to his profession and his country—a man whom Mr. Curran himself denominated the *Irish Gysippus*, 'in whom,' said he, 'were concentrated all the energies and all the talents of the nation.'"*

Moore, in his diary, 15th February, 1831, mentions Burrowes having remarked to him, on the subject of Plunket's conduct in Emmet's case, "Plunket could not have refused the brief of government, *though he might have avoided, perhaps, speaking to evidence.* It was not true, I think he said, that Plunket had been acquainted with young Emmet. The passage in a printed speech of Emmet, where he is made to call Plunket '*that viper*,' &c., was never spoken by Emmet; and the secret of its finding a place there was owing, Curran said (William Henry Curran, who was present at the conversation), to the following circumstance: the person who took down the report of the speech at the trial was, I think, M'Nally, the son of the barrister of that name, and he had afterwards some conversation with Emmet in the prison. It was during that conversation that Emmet, in speaking of Plunket, used those expressions which M'Nally introduced subsequently in the speech. Peter Burrowes spoke of the wonderful strength and resolution of Emmet in standing so long (twelve hours, I think), through all the fatigue and anxiety of the

* C. Phillips' "Life of Curran," edition 1818, p. 261.

trial, and then delivering that noble speech with such energy, before the pronouncing of sentence."*

So much for Mr. Phillips and Mr. Moore's generous effort to vindicate the course pursued by Mr. Plunket on Emmet's trial.

The speech of Mr. Plunket on Emmet's trial has however been the subject of much controversy; which it is impossible in the memoir of Robert Emmet to leave unnoticed. I feel anything but a desire to enter on this subject; however, having to treat of it, I shall place before my readers all the authentic information on the subject that can be obtained, and leave them to draw their own conclusions.

As it has been fully admitted by all persons competent to form an opinion on the subject of the truth or falsehood, of Robert Emmet, in his speech on his trial, having addressed certain words to Mr. Plunket, wherein he spoke of that gentleman as "the viper his father had nourished in his bosom," that no such words had been spoken by him, Mr. Plunket, his advocates ride off on that admission, and give the public to understand that R. Emmet had nothing to complain of at the hands of the former, and had uttered no complaint against him.

Robert Emmet, unfortunately for Mr. Plunket's fame, had much to complain of in the acrimonious speech made by him—the unnecessarily acrimonious, bitter, and galling speech of that gentleman Robert Emmet did complain of vehemently; the foul and unfounded imputations brought against him by the ministers of angry justice were complained of; and although he did not name Mr. Plunket, there can be no doubt Mr. Plunket's truculent and virulent invective was aimed at, indicated, and denounced in the following passage of unquestionable authenticity in Emmet's speech:

"My lords, it may be a part of the system of angry justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to the purposed ignominy of the scaffold; but worse to me than the purposed shame or the scaffold's terrors, would be the tame endurance of such foul and unfounded imputations as have been laid against me in this court."

I have now before me ten published reports of the speech of Robert Emmet on his trial, the 19th of September, 1803. These are contained in the following accounts of the trial of Robert Emmet and reports of the detached address:

1. Counsellor Ridgeway's Report of the Trial of Robert Emmet. Dublin, 1803.

2. The Trial of Robert Emmet, &c. Taken in short-hand by a professional gentleman. Dublin, Holmes and Charles, 4th ed. 1804.

3. The Trial of Robert Emmet, &c. Taken in short-hand by John Angel, professor of stenography. 1803.

4. The Trial of Robert Emmet, Esq., &c. To which is added an account of his Execution. Cork, 1803.

5. The Trial of Robert Emmet. In a government publication entitled "The Insurrection of the 23rd July, 1803."

* "Moore's Memoirs," vol. vi. p. 172.

6. The Trial of Robert Emmet, in a collection of Remarkable Criminal Trials. Edited by Medlard and Wealby, London, in two vols. 1804.

7. The Genuine Speech of Robert Emmet, Esq., &c. Carefully taken in short-hand by a professional gentleman. Printed at the request of his friends. Dublin, 1821.

8. Version of the speech of Robert Emmet, published by Charles Phillips in his "Recollections of Curran." Ed. 1818, p. 258.

9. Version, in French, of the speech of Robert Emmet, by Madame de Haussonville. Translated from the French of the speech above-mentioned.

10. Report of the speech of Robert Emmet, printed on a broad sheet—no date.

MS. Report of speech of Robert Emmet, purchased by R. R. M. from Mr. H. Marshall, of the British Museum. Said to be the original draft of said speech in the handwriting of Robert Emmet.

There is not in any one of the reports of Emmet's speech, above cited, the passage which Judge Johnstone introduced into his account of Emmet's speech, wherein Emmet is alleged to have spoken of Mr. Plunket as "the viper whom my father (Dr. Emmet) nourished," &c.

Cobbett's first prosecution in England, on account of his newspaper writings, was for libels in letters on affairs in Ireland, signed "*Juverna*," published in "The Register" of November, 1803, on the Earl of Hardwicke, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, Mr. Alexander Marsden, under secretary, and Mr. Justice Osborne, one of the judges of the King's Bench in Ireland. The trial took place the 24th of May, 1804.

The alleged libels were in reference to Emmet's insurrection in May, 1803, and his trial, and the conduct of the law officers of the crown, and the subsequent acts of the Irish government. Cobbett of course was found guilty; for Lord Ellenborough presided on this trial, and the case was libel.

Cobbett had an interval of repose from prosecution of *two days* generously allowed him, when, at the suit of the Right Hon. W. C. Plunket, solicitor-general of Ireland, he was again called on to sustain an action for libels contained in letters signed "*Juverna*," published in "The Register," reflecting on Mr. Plunket's conduct on the occasion of R. Emmet's trial. Cobbett was again convicted, and damages were awarded to the plaintiff to the amount of £500.

The matter of the libel on the lord lieutenant and Irish officials was shortly afterwards re-opened on the trial of the Hon. Robert Johnstone, one of the judges of the Common Pleas in Ireland, as the author of the libel. The judge was arrested by warrant, under a *post facto* act, which, his counsel contended could not operate retrospectively. The matter was discussed, during six days, in the King's Bench in Ireland, in the January of 1805. The legality of the warrant was confirmed. In the meantime, the *persecuted* judge procured a writ of *Habeas Corpus* from the Court of Exchequer, where

the case was argued the 4th and 7th of February, and subsequently in the Court of Common Pleas; and in both courts the arrest was held good. The judge was then brought over to London, and put on his trial before Lord Ellenborough, the 23rd of November. Cobbett was examined as a witness for the crown; but his evidence only went to prove that the MS. was left at his shop, and did not tend to criminate the judge. But there can be no doubt that Cobbett owed his escape from judgment, after his late conviction for publishing a similar libel, to his giving information concerning the author of the present libel, by the production of the original MS., which was ascribed to Judge Johnstone. Lord Ellenborough, true and consistent—always ready to lend the weight of his judicial character and position to the government on any seditious libel case prosecution, unjustly on this occasion threw discredit on the respectable witnesses produced by Judge Johnstone, to prove that the MS. of the libel prosecuted was not in the handwriting of the defendant. But the jury, misdirected by Lord Ellenborough, brought in a verdict of "Guilty;" the attorney-general however never applied for judgment. The judge was allowed to retire from the bench on a pension for life.

The libel above-mentioned I know (on the authority of Lord Cloncurry), though the production of Judge Johnstone, was sent to Cobbett in the handwriting of the judge's daughter.

I am indebted to the late Dr. Bullen, of Cork, for some strictures on the memoir of Robert Emmet published in the first edition of my work, which I think it incumbent on me to lay before my readers:

"At p. 247 of the third volume of 'The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen,' the author states that he has endeavoured to give a faithful report of the address of Robert Emmet, delivered previous to receiving sentence of death. Although the author has entered into full details in the same volume (p. 249) respecting Lord Plunket's refutation of the charge brought against him by Robert Emmet, Dr. Madden has omitted the words used by Emmet in making that charge. It is very probable that additions were made to that address, which he was right in rejecting; but there can be no doubt that Emmet reflected very severely on Mr. Plunket, whether justly or unjustly is not the question. We have the very words used, given by Judge Johnstone when he was a colleague of Lord Norbury, sitting on the Common Pleas Bench with him, and who, by giving them publicity in his letters signed '*Juverna*,' has stamped them with authenticity. The publication may be almost said to be cotemporaneous with the trials; and Dr. Madden will find the words used, beginning, 'That viper,' &c., in the trial of the King *v.* Cobbett, tried May 24, 1804, vol. xxix. p. 29. Lord Plunket brought an action against Cobbett for a libel in publishing the charge, tried 26th of May, 1804, and reported in the same volume; and though he had Erskine for his counsel, and relied on the fact

that Cobbett did not plead a justification, or attempt to prove the truth of the charge, still it is nowhere alleged that Robert Emmet did not make it. We are therefore warranted in assuming that the words were used by Robert Emmet in his address, and the report can hardly be considered accurate which omits not only the words, but all allusion to them."

I may have been wrong in not having made a reference to the words imputed to Robert Emmet in the publication of Judge Johnstone; but I do not think I should have given insertion to them in the address—for they are to be found alone in the report of the proceedings on Cobbett's trial, and are not inserted in any published report of Emmet's speech; and those who positively assert the words were used by Emmet cannot point out in what portion of his address they were spoken. I now give the precise words, from the authorities above referred to, and some other data respecting the trials referred to, from "Howell's Reports of State Trials," vol. xxxix. p. 2, ed. 1821.

In the libel, Lord Hardwicke was described as "a very eminent feeder of sheep in Cambridgeshire;" Lord Redesdale, to whom Dr. Addington had entrusted the care of Ireland, as "a very able and stout-built Chancery pleader from Lincoln's Inn;" Mr. Justice Osborne as "the most corrupt instrument of a debased and degraded government, lending himself as a screen to conceal them from the disgrace their actions would naturally bring upon them;" and lastly, Mr. Marsden as a person of rapacity "in office," in respect to whose deeds, "except as to momentary effects, rebellion and invasion might be viewed with indifference, if it can be supposed that the stained hands of a petty clerk had been washed in the very fountain of justice."

Cobbett was found guilty, but in consideration of his coming forward as a witness for the crown, on the subsequent trial of the supposed author of the letters signed "*Juverna*," Judge Johnstone, he was never called upon to receive sentence on the conviction.

On the 26th of May, 1804, William Cobbett was again tried for publishing a libel on W. C. Plunket, Esq., solicitor-general of Ireland. This was an action for damages brought by Mr. Plunket, and the libel was contained in one of the same letters of "*Juverna*," for the publication of which Cobbett was previously prosecuted. The case was tried by a special jury before Lord Ellenborough. The counsel for the plaintiff were Messrs. Erskine, Garrow, Dampier, and Nolan; for the defendant, Mr. Adam and Mr. Richardson.

The declaration of the plaintiff opens by stating, "That whereas the said W. C. Plunket now is, and from the time of his maturity hath been, a *true*, faithful, and honest subject of our lord the king." . . . . That at the time of the trial of "one Robert Emmet," indicted in Ireland on a charge of high treason, "the said W. Connyngham was much employed in his profession of a barrister-at-law, whereby he got great gains and profits, and was also much

consulted and entrusted by divers persons holding high offices in the administration and government of Ireland, . . . and had always conducted himself as deservedly to have gained and retained the esteem of all persons by whom he was so as aforesaid retained, employed, and entrusted, to his great comfort and advancement in life. Yet the said William Cobbett, well knowing the premises, but greatly envying the happy state and condition of the said William Connyngham, and combining, and maliciously intending to injure him in his said profession of a barrister, &c. &c., on the 10th of December, in the year of our Lord 1803, &c., did publish a certain false and malicious and defamatory libel of and concerning the said William Connyngham; and of and concerning his conduct as a barrister-at-law, upon the said trial of Robert Emmet; and of and concerning his conduct as a member of the House of Commons of Parliament in Ireland, and the opinions by him there delivered," &c. &c.*

The declaration proceeds with the libellous matter:

"If any one could be found," meaning that the said W. Connyngham was that man, "of whom a young but unhappy victim of the justly offended laws of his country," meaning the said Robert Emmet, "had, on the moment of his conviction and sentence," meaning the aforesaid conviction of Robert Emmet and his sentence thereon, "uttered the following apostrophe: '*That viper*'" meaning the said W. Connyngham, "'*whom my father nourished! He it was from whose lips I first imbibed those principles and doctrines which now, by their effects, drag me to my grave,*'" meaning that the said Robert Emmet had first imbibed principles and doctrines, by their effects which led him to commit high treason; "'*and he it is who is now brought forward as my prosecutor, and who, by an unheard-of exercise of the prerogative, has wantonly lashed with a speech to evidence,*'" meaning the observations upon the evidence given on said trial of Robert Emmet, made by the said W. Connyngham, "'*the dying son of his former friend, when that dying son had produced no evidence—had made no defence; but, on the contrary, had acknowledged the charge and submitted to his fate,*'" meaning that the said W. Connyngham had acted in like manner above described in the said libel. "Lord Kenyon," meaning the late Lord Kenyon, "would have turned with horror from such a scene, in which, although guilt was on our part to be punished, yet in the whole drama justice was confounded, humanity outraged, and loyalty insulted."

After the declaration had been read, the Hon. Thomas Erskine addressed the jury. In his address he called on the jury, "As it was a civil action not to suffer their minds to be distracted by those important considerations of the liberty of the press, which have so often agitated parliament and courts of justice. It would ill become him to say anything against that sacred privilege, seeing that he

* Howell, p. 55.

considered it almost the only honour of his public life that he had taken an active part in framing the statute for its protection," &c. . . . . Eheu!!! Referring to the interruptions on the part of Lord Norbury when Emmet addressed the court, Mr. Erskine said: "Highly as every one must approve the conduct of the noble lord, it is nevertheless to be lamented that it should have become necessary to have interrupted him, for, gentlemen—what will you say to the confessions of this libeller?—this unfortunate young gentleman, after he had retired, had made this declaration: *that such had been the mildness of the government of Lord Hardwicke that he was obliged to push on the catastrophe that took place, lest there should have been an end of rebellion by the causes of it having ceased.* Mr. Emmet," continued Mr. Erskine, "after he had been prevented from doing any more mischief, *so far from complaining that he had been insulted by my client, Mr. Plunket, openly acknowledged that it was the wisdom, the moderation, the forbearance, the prudence, and virtue of the government that were dissolving rebellion*," &c.

Here certainly is a denial, on the part of Mr. Plunket's advocate, of Emmet's having complained of being insulted by his client. But no evidence whatsoever was adduced on the trial of Cobbett, by the prosecutor, to prove that Emmet had not used the language imputed to him in the libel, although witnesses from Ireland were examined for the plaintiff, who deposed to the fact of having been present at the trial.*

Mr. Erskine, again referring to the words of the libel charging his client with wantonly lashing, in a speech to evidence, the dying son of a former friend, who on his trial had produced no witnesses, made no defence, acknowledged the charge, and submitted to his fate, said: "Now, gentlemen, what can be said of a man worse than this? Lord Coke, with all his great fame, never has outlived, and never will outlive the memory of the manner in which he treated Sir Walter Raleigh in a court of justice. So revolting was his conduct that it stands like a blot upon his escutcheon. The conduct imputed to Mr. Plunket would have been brutal, even if Mr. Emmet had been a perfect stranger to him, instead of the dying son of his former friend. *But the assertion is false*, or Mr. Cobbett might have proved it to be true. Was Mr. Cobbett present when Mr. Emmet made use of these words? And if not, where was his authority? Has he any right to insert in his papers what renders me the object of universal horror and detestation? No crime can be more detestable than that which the plaintiff is here charged with—that he had instilled into the mind of this young man principles which by their effects dragged him to the grave," &c.†

Mr. Adam, for the defence, in replying to a portion of the libellous letters signed *Juverna*, where the reports of speeches attributed to Mr. Plunket in the Irish parliament were referred to in

* Howell, p. 71. † Howell, p. 67.

very strong terms of reprobation, as appealing to the people from the parliament in particular cases, and exempting the people from obedience to a particular law by the general law, said: "This part of the question relates to a circumstance the particulars of which we have been prevented, by the established law of parliament, from diving into, nor do I wish to bring it forward in this place—but I have a right to state, that if any person should have printed, so far back as the year 1799, a speech importing to be a speech made by the plaintiff, and if it should appear that the passage I have just read to you is an exact copy of a passage in that speech, I submit that this is a case extremely favourable to my client." The passage he had just read was to the following effect—that "by law an appeal lay from the decision of the tellers of the houses of parliament to that of the tellers of the nation. . . . . And if a particular law were disagreeable to the people, however it might have been enacted with all royal and parliamentary solemnity, nevertheless it was not binding; and the people, by the general law, were exempted from obedience to such a particular law, because the people were the supreme and ultimate judges of what was for their own benefit."

If Mr. Erskine, in a public assembly, had pronounced such an opinion, "What species of moral offence," continued Mr. Adam, "would it have been to have said that he was an improper person to become the law-officer of the crown? . . . . . And more, if it could be proved that these expressions had been published, and attributed to him in newspapers and pamphlets from the year 1800 to the present year, 1804, and that he had never called upon any of those publishers for an explanation—what sort of damages, I ask, would you have given to my learned friend? Having said this, let me read to you *the infamous libel* attributed to Mr. Plunket. It is stated in this book, purporting to be a collection of speeches on the Union, that in the Irish House of Commons, on the 22nd of June, 1799, Mr. Plunket made use of those words: '*I, in the most express terms, deny the competency of parliament to do this act,*' meaning the Act of Legislative Union between the two countries. '*I tell you that if, circumstanced as you are, you pass this act, it will be a mere nullity, and that no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it. I make the assertion deliberately; I repeat it—and I call on any man who hears me to take down my words.*'

Lord Ellenborough said, in the shape of evidence no such matter could be given to the jury, but he had no objection to the statement of it as supposition. There was no justification of the libel attempted on the part of the defendant, no evidence brought forward to prove that the words attributed in the libel were pronounced by Emmet, or that the statements in it were true.

Lord Ellenborough in charging the jury said, that the part of the libel that weighed with him was the apostrophe attributed to Emmet: "That viper whom my father nourished," &c. "Is it possible," said his lordship, "to state anything more detestable, than

that a person who had been nourished by the father of a man who had rendered himself amenable to the infliction of the law, should insult and sting the son to death."

"As to the language," continued his lordship, "which the plaintiff may be supposed to have held in the Irish house of parliament, it might, if true, render him unfit for recommendation to his majesty; it might be improper. This, however, the defendant has not attempted to justify." The jury retired for about twenty minutes, and returned with a verdict for the plaintiff—damages £500.*

November the 23rd, 1805, the Hon. Justice Johnstone, of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland, was brought to trial in the Court of King's Bench, Westminster, charged with being the author and publisher of a libel against the government of his sovereign, contained in certain letters signed *Juverna*, published in the "Political Register." From the month of December, 1804, a course of proceedings of a very extraordinary description had been carried on against Judge Johnstone, with singular pertinacity, in the Irish Court of Exchequer and English Court of King's Bench, in reference to the libels for which the Irish government and the solicitor-general, Mr. Plunket, had already obtained two verdicts. A third verdict was deemed essential to their characters.

Judge Johnstone was brought to trial in England, and to do this an act of parliament was framed in the interim between the prosecutions. The attorney-general, Percival, attributed the libel to private malice and hostility to the Irish administration. The libel was the same for which Cobbett had undergone two prosecutions; but on this trial a portion of the original manuscript letters was produced, and Mr. Cobbett brought forward to state how it came into his hands. Cobbett deposed that the letters signed *Juverna* were sent, in October, 1803, to his office in Pall Mall, No. 100, in an envelope with the Irish post-mark, and an accompanying communication from the author, in the same handwriting as the letters. The purport of this communication was to inquire if certain useful and true information from Ireland, respecting affairs there, would be acceptable to the editor of the "Political Register." Several official persons from Ireland proved the manuscript letters signed *Juverna* to be in the handwriting of Judge Johnstone. Five witnesses were brought forward by the defendant who deposed that the handwriting of the letters signed *Juverna* was not that of Judge Johnstone. One of these witnesses was a gentleman of unenviable notoriety in Ireland, from 1794 to 1798, Mr. John Giffard, who was no longer "the dog in office;" for, on cross-examination, he swore that he was turned out of office by Lord Hardwicke "because he was a Protestant," of which assertion, Lord Ellenborough in his charge said: "It would be a libel on that noble lord's character to suppose that there was any truth in such a statement."

Another of the witnesses, Dr. Jebb, had deposed that a person of

* Howell, p. 79.

the name of Card had come forward, and said he would avow himself the author of the letters but for his apprehensions that his avowal would be attended with injury to his family, and that his handwriting exactly resembled that of Judge Johnstone.

The jury, after deliberating for about a quarter of an hour, returned a verdict of "Guilty."

In Trinity term, 1806, a *nolle prosequi* was entered upon this indictment by the attorney-general, Sir Arthur Pigott, and Mr. Justice Johnstone retired from the bench for life.

In the case of Plunket against Cobbett, the fine of £500 was not enforced. The obnoxious judge was got rid of; and, strange to say, he had been as his advocate truly observed "in all his former life a supporter of government in parliament, and had been placed in executive situations of great trust."

He had voted for the Union, and was thankful no doubt, like others, to Providence for having a country to sell the independence of, for the office of a judge.

But when the business was done, the buyers and sellers hated one another. On the other hand, the gentleman who had talked of "flinging the connexion to the winds," and "clasping his country to his heart," had powers and character to make his services of value; they were valuable, they were valued, and good value in promotion and preferment was given for them. They are rewarded to this hour in the persons of his descendants. They are requited, in one instance at least, adequately, with a mitre on the head, and a crozier in the hand, and some £4,000 a-year in the purse of his successor, the right reverend father in God, Thomas, Lord Bishop of Tuam.

The old Unionist lawyer, who had got the prompt payment for his vote in 1800, when he was pitchforked into the Common Pleas, and adorned with the sacred coif and ermine in 1806, was then pushed aside. New services had to be rewarded, and in due time were rewarded—such as those highly energetic and intrepid ones (considering the acknowledged friendship that did subsist between Mr. Plunket and the brother of Robert Emmet, both in college and at the Inns of Court) which the solicitor-general, in 1803, rendered to the state by the speech in evidence, volunteered on that occasion against the culprit, whose temerity was such that he produced no evidence and made no defence.

Plunket's prosecution in England against Cobbett had little effect on those in Ireland who treated of his conduct on Emmet's trial. Cox, in his "Irish Magazine," a little later, reproduced the offensive matter which had been made the subject of a criminal prosecution in England. All the gist of Johnstone's *Juverna* letters was to be found in Cox's article, with some slight modifications of language:

"To the disgrace of the bar—to the duties of hospitality, a man appeared who formerly lived by the bounty of the prisoner's father, out of his place and beyond the duties of his office to stand up, and in a studied speech of considerable length attack the

unprotected youth in the severest tone of legal and political asperity. So unnecessary was this effusion of artificial loyalty, and such was the atrocity of this violation of former friendships and early intimacy, that the conduct of the man has been spoken of in terms of the liveliest abhorrence by persons of every party in the two countries. To give a livelier idea of the character of this lawyer, he used the utmost powers of legal eloquence, and an appropriate affectation of horror at the imputed criminality of the silent prisoner, and detailed the consequences that would affect all social order, were such opinions allowed to have any countenance from the mildness of the laws, or the mistaken lenity which is often exercised by the authority vested in the sacred person of majesty. With all this bombast and loyalty a crowded court seemed not to consider the orator as a man of the highest moral character, whatever their political principles might be notwithstanding; but how would they be affected as parents, guardians, and men, were they to know that this pleader, who so strenuously demanded the life of the prisoner, was the tutor of that prisoner, and actually taught him those very political lessons, and the democratic and anti-Anglo doctrines which formed so prominent a part of the accusation—and at the table of Dr. Emmet the prisoner had learned those lessons from the lips of this pleader."

In 1810, new recourse to legal proceedings was had by Mr. Plunket for the vindication of his character and the ease of his conscience. He commenced an action for libel against Messrs. Gilbert and Hodges, eminent Dublin booksellers, for a libel contained in a work published by them, entitled "Sketches of History, Politics, and Manners, taken in Dublin and the North of Ireland. By — Gamble, Esq."

The libellous matter was contained in a passage referring to Plunket's conduct on Emmet's trial to the following effect: "Mr. Plunket, who was then only king's counsel, conducted the prosecution against this unfortunate young man with a rancour and virulence which shocked and surprised every person acquainted with his obligations to his father and his family," &c.

Having caused a search to be made in the Court of King's Bench for an affidavit of Lord Plunket, in the case of the King at the suit of the Right Honorable W. C. Plunket against Gilbert and Hodges, I found that an affidavit had been filed by Mr. Plunket in that case in the latter part of 1811, and that two orders had been pronounced on it in Hilary term, 1812.

"THE KING *re* GILBERT AND HODGES.

"The Right Honorable William C. Plunket, of Stephen's-green, in the city of Dublin, maketh oath and saith, that he hath read in a book, entitled 'Sketches of History, Politics, and Manners, taken in Dublin and the North of Ireland in 1810,' the following passage: Mr. Plunket, the late attorney-general of Ireland, is an admirable public speaker, either at the bar or in parliament. This gentleman,

however, was much reprobated for his conduct on the trial of Mr. Emmet for high treason, about seven years ago. Mr. Plunket, who was then only king's counsel, conducted the prosecution against this unfortunate young man with a rancour and virulence which shocked and surprised every person acquainted with his obligations to his father and family. Mr. Plunket's reason for this conduct has never been made known, though it injured him very much in public estimation. Crown lawyers have at all times been of the blood-hound tribe; they seldom lose scent of their prey either from considerations of gratitude or humanity. We have an instance of this in the prosecution of Lord Essex, on whom the celebrated Bacon, then attorney-general, exhausted every opprobrious term in the English language, though this amiable nobleman had been his greatest benefactor and constant and unalterable friend.' This deponent saith he believes himself to be the person designated in the foregoing passage by the name of Mr. Plunket, and that the object of the said passage is to represent this deponent as having conducted a prosecution for high treason against the late Robert Emmet with rancour and virulence, so gross as to shock and surprise the public mind, and that the passage is further intended to represent this deponent as having violated the dictates of gratitude and honour, by exciting such virulence and rancour against a person from whose father and family this deponent had received considerable obligations. This deponent saith that the entire of the charges and insinuations against this deponent contained in these passages are untrue. This deponent saith that he was personally an utter stranger to the said Robert Emmet, never having, to the knowlege of this deponent, seen him until he was arraigned, and on the trial in the Dublin court, and never having had any intercourse with him of any kind, directly or indirectly; and this deponent saith that he never received the slightest or remotest obligation from the said Robert Emmet, or from the father, or from any one individual of the family of the said Robert Emmet. And this deponent saith that the father of the said Robert Emmet was a physician, residing in the city of Dublin; this deponent was not even on such terms of acquaintance with the said Dr. Emmet as to bow to him in the streets; and this deponent never was, to his recollection or belief, in a private company with the said Dr. Emmet, or in a room, in his life, save once, and that, as this deponent believes, upwards of twenty years ago, at the house of the said Dr. Emmet, on the invitation of his son, Thomas Addis Emmet, with whom the deponent had been intimate when in the University of Dublin, and when a student at the Inns of Court in England; but this deponent saith that, within a very short time after the said Thomas Addis Emmet had been called to the Irish bar, which was, as the deponent saith, some time in May, 1790, all intimacy between him and this deponent had ceased—principally in consequence, as this deponent saith, of a total opposition between the opinions of Thomas Addis Emmet and this deponent on the political affairs of this country, which about that

period assumed a form so very important as deeply to affect the private sentiments and character of reflecting persons, insomuch so that, for some years before the arrest and imprisonment of the said Thomas Addis Emmet in the year 1798, there subsisted no sort of intercourse between this deponent and the said Thomas Addis Emmet, save unless what arose from occasionally meeting in the streets or in the Four Courts, although this deponent was not then fully apprized of the danger in which the said Thomas Addis Emmet was implicated with the party who were engaged in the political pursuits in this country which ended in so much public disaster. This deponent further saith that he did not conduct the trial for high treason against the said Robert Emmet, the same being then conducted by the then attorney-general, the present Chief Baron of the Exchequer in England. But this deponent admits that he was one of the counsel employed and consulted in the conduct thereof; and this deponent saith that he declares the said trial was conducted with perfect propriety and moderation by the said attorney-general, and by all the counsel concerned; and this deponent positively saith that he was not, in the part which he took in the said trial, actuated by any feeling at all partaking of the nature of virulence or rancour; but, on the contrary, this deponent saith that he felt sincere compassion for the said Robert Emmet, whom this deponent considered as possessing many high endowments, but who had, as this deponent conceived, sacrificed them and himself to the suggestion of an unregulated enthusiasm, and who had involved in his wild enterprise the fate of many deluded persons of the lower orders of society. This deponent saith that he was then of opinion that it would be of some service to the public that this deponent should avail himself of the public opportunity of speaking to the evidence in the said trial, by pointing out the folly and wildness, as well as the wickedness of the treasonable conspiracy which at that time subsisted; and this deponent saith that in the observations which he made on the same trial this deponent did remark on the unworthy use which the said Robert Emmet had made of his rank in society, and of his high abilities, in endeavouring to dissatisfy the lower orders of labourers and mechanics with their lot in life, and engaging them in schemes of revolution from which they could reap no fruit but disgrace and death; and this deponent did also remark on the danger and ruin to which the said Robert Emmet had exposed his country, by having proposed (as this deponent conceives the fact to be) to call in the assistance of the French. But this deponent saith that he is not conscious of having made use of any expressions on that occasion which were calculated to give unnecessary pain to the said Robert Emmet, or which in any degree departed from the respect which was due to a gentleman in his unfortunate situation. And this deponent begs leave to refer to the report of the cases of high treason published in the year 1803, in which, although the report of this deponent's observations to the jury is very inaccurate as to composition, and was published without

any revisal by or communication with the deponent, the substance of the said observations is stated fairly and without suppression. This deponent saith that a libellous statement similar to that which this deponent now complains of having been made many years ago in a London periodical print, this deponent did bring an action in England against the publisher thereof, and did the same time, in the year 1804, obtain a verdict and damages to the amount of £400, but which the deponent did not levy; and this deponent saith that the same scandal having been revised and propagated with some industry, this deponent feels that he owes it to his own character to take this public method of disproving on oath the base and unworthy conduct which has been attributed to him, and which this deponent believes is calculated to lower him in the estimation of those who are not acquainted with his character and sentiments and habits of life. This deponent saith that he believes that a great many copies of the publication above-mentioned, entitled, &c., &c., have been circulated in this city by the publisher; a copy thereof was, on the 14th of this month, sold at the shop of Messrs. Gilbert and Hodges.

"November 23rd, 1811."

This is a wily, cautious, lawyer-like document, by no means explicit, straightforward, or satisfactory. What Lord Plunket swears about the nature of his intimacy with Dr. Emmet, and his habits of intercourse with him, may be true—probably is true—but enough remains undefended in that document to leave his memory still to be vindicated.

There are two persons who, if Lord Plunket had been intimate in the family of Dr. Emmet, must have known it—Mr. John Patten and Mr. St. John Mason, inmates of the house of Dr. Emmet in Stephen's-green, at various periods during the time of the alleged intimacy; and both gentlemen state that they never saw Lord Plunket at Dr. Emmet's. Mr. Mason says on the occasion of Messrs. Plunket and M'Naghten's (members of the Irish parliament) making speeches in 1798, strongly opposed to the proceedings of the state prisoners, Dr. Emmet did complain of Mr. Plunket on that occasion. Mr. Mason informs me the persons who, within his recollection, had been frequent visitors at Dr. Emmet's, and personal friends or acquaintances of T. A. Emmet, were the following: Dr. Drennan; A. O'Connor; Lord E. Fitzgerald; Rev. Walter Blake Kirwan; Soloman Richards, surgeon; Dr. Macneven; the two Pennefathers (subsequently judges); Chamberlain (afterwards judge); Baron George; Bushe, the late chief justice; Burton, late judge; Sir Edward Newenham; Peter Burrowes, late commissioner of bankrupts; Lady Anne Fitzgerald, a constant visitor at Dr. Emmet's.

From all I can learn from the immediate friends and connexions of the Emmets, Lord Plunket was not intimately acquainted or connected with any member of the family except T. A. Emmet. Lord Plunket states in his special-pleading deposition that he had been intimate with T. A. Emmet in the university, and at the Inns of

Court in London, and that the intimacy had ceased in 1790, and there was no sort of intercourse between them for some years before 1798, "*unless what arose from occasionally meeting in the streets and in the Four Courts.*" I presume this means they were on terms of intimacy and of apparent friendship up to the period of T. A. Emmet's arrest, in all their casual intercourse whenever and wherever they met.

The occasion of Emmet, O'Connor, and Macneven, on the 27th of August, 1798, having published an advertisement—refuting the newspaper publication, purporting to be abstracts of the report of the secret committee, "As astonishing misrepresentations, not only unsupported by, but in many instances directly contradictory to the facts stated on these occasions," when certain members of the House of Commons recommended treating the persons who signed the advertisement in a summary manner—is referred to, not by Emmet, but by Dr. Macneven, in their joint publication, entitled "Pieces of Irish History," in the account of the compact with the government. Therein Macneven states that "Mr. Plunket had been the bosom friend of Emmet—the companion of his childhood and the friend of his youth."* Mr. T. A. Emmet, in his portion of the work, makes no reference to the subject. His portion of the treatise does not come down to that period. Mr. Plunket's affidavit limits the intimacy to relations with Emmet at college, and in their early professional career, and leaves some sort of acquaintance to be inferred, apparently amounting to what is called being "on speaking terms," down to Emmet's arrest in 1798. These are the facts of the case, and I have stated them fairly. But what was the conduct of Mr. Plunket in the House of Commons, on the occasion of his friend's life being placed in great peril by the truculent course pursued by Mr. M'Naghten?

The affidavit of Mr. Plunket, and the unsworn statement of William James Macneven—in the publication entitled "Pieces of Irish History," published in New York in 1807, with the express concurrence of Thomas Addis Emmet—respecting the nature of the relations that had subsisted between Mr. Plunket and Mr. Emmet, are at variance. If—to come to a decision on this subject—we must either rely on the oath of Mr. Plunket, and reject the statement of Macneven, stamped with the concurrence of T. A. Emmet; or adopt that unsworn statement; those who knew Macneven, as I did, intimately, and are cognizant how T. A. Emmet was appreciated by men of great worth and wisdom, will find it impossible to do otherwise than adopt that statement.

Here it is: "The sending forth of this advertisement (in denial of the published abstracts in the newspapers of their evidence before the secret committee of the House of Commons as correct versions of it) from the body of a prison, and authenticated by the names of the parties, left no doubt of its allegations. A tempest of folly and fury

* "Pieces of Irish History," p. 102.

was immediately excited in the House of Commons. Blinded by their rage, the members of the *honorable* assembly neglected the obvious distinction between the newspapers and their report. They took to themselves the falsehoods that had been repelled. Mr. M'Naghten and two virulent barristers, Francis Hutchinson and Conyngham Plunket, were even clamorous for having the persons who signed the refutation disposed of by a summary execution. Plunket had been the bosom intimate of Emmet—the companion of his childhood and the friend of his youth."*

The speech on Emmet's trial of the attorney-general (Standish O'Grady) should be read by any one desirous of forming a fair estimate of the speech of the solicitor-general (William Conyngham Plunket) on the trial of Robert Emmet. The attorney-general's speech is all that could be expected from a law-officer of the crown on such an occasion, by the government of which he was the first legal functionary, or by the prisoner who was prosecuted by him. It was an able, unimpassioned, lucid, and logical exposition of facts and examination of evidence laid before the jury, delivered by an advocate who appeared to feel he had a solemn duty to discharge to the public, and was not forgetful of the position of the unfortunate young gentleman at the bar, or the claims on his sympathy of one so young, so talented, so connected with members of his own profession of great eminence, and one of another profession who had held an honorable office under the government for nearly a quarter of a century. It was the speech of an advocate of consummate ability, sufficient for its legitimate aim and end—conviction; and beyond these objects it did not go.

The speech of Mr. Plunket, on the contrary, went beyond the purposes of a crown prosecutor. It was a harsh speech—a hard, laborious, unduly elaborate, unnecessarily strenuous, and unseasonably vehement effort to vilify the prisoner, to stigmatize his principles, and to pain his feelings.

Mr. Plunket had manifestly in remembrance his own violent harangues in the Irish House of Commons, in 1799 and 1800, while he was denouncing the practical conclusions which the prisoner had drawn from them, and was not sorry to have an opportunity of making an *amende honorable* for them—of having a broad distinction drawn between inflammable words and violent denunciations of government, and frenzied acts and desperate courses, which might be regarded as modes of expression of them.

Robert Emmet's insurrection in 1803 was a practical inference drawn from the principles laid down in the speeches of William Conyngham Plunket in 1799 and 1800.

Mr. Plunket in 1803 felt that it was his duty to his country to proclaim opinions which could not possibly leave people to imagine that the opinions which were ascribed to him in printed speeches and pamphlets, in 1799 and 1800, were ever seriously entertained by

* "Pieces of Irish History," Article by Dr. Macneven, p. 162.

him, or perhaps made by him at all; or, if made, were anything more than mere rhetorical flourishes—flights of poetry, such as youthful lawyers fancy when they love popularity. If Robert Emmet had unfortunately read those passages in the printed speeches of 1799 and 1800, which Cobbett's advocate had referred to, and remembering the old friendship that had subsisted between his brother and the gentleman to whom those speeches were attributed, had attached an undue importance to the sentiments—had formed, perhaps, an erroneous opinion of the authorship, and had been misled by them in consequence of being thus mistaken—it was evident Mr. Plunket thought it could never be too late to undeceive the prisoner, who might possibly be one of the deluded. It was by no means essential to the just vengeance of the law that the young gentleman, who was most likely to be hanged the following day, should be allowed to go to the gallows without having his mind disabused, and an opportunity given him of thinking more soberly and sanely on subjects in respect to which he had so short a time to make his peace with the Almighty. This kind of teaching of the community, and of preaching at malefactors, is considered always seasonable; the public finds the practice serviceable—prisoners perhaps somewhat sharp; but it cannot be dispensed with—

It mends their morals—never mind the pain.

We are told in Divine Writ that "the love of money is the root of all evil, and they that lust after it pierce themselves through with many arrows." All classes of men are liable to the mischief that lies at this root of all evil. But there is one class of men who belong to a particular profession, who love money and dignity, and who lust after advancement and preferment with an intensity that renders them peculiarly liable to all the evil that lies at the root of this passion. Mr. Plunket belonged to it. All his life long, at the bar and in the senate, he was governed by this passion—a devouring appetite for advancement, for preferment, and emolument.

The manifestation of this strong passion was very clear and obvious in 1803. Be it borne in mind that Plunket was not solicitor-general when Robert Emmet was tried, on the 19th of September in that year. He was king's counsel; and did not become solicitor-general till the 5th of November following.

The solicitor-general at the period of Emmet's trial was Mr. James M'Clelland. Mr. Plunket at that date was unconnected with the government. He had to earn its favours, and to win his first office under the crown. The trial of Robert Emmet, the brother of his old friend and fellow-student, afforded an opportunity for making a claim on government: he stepped out of his way to make it, and the solicitor-general, Mr. M'Clelland, was kept out of the way on that occasion to enable him to establish that claim—and he was successful. The remembrance of the violent speeches against the government on the Union question, in 1799 and 1800, was to be effaced by the virulent speech of 1803 against young Emmet, and

the vehemence of his eulogistic oratory in defence of government and the British constitution.

Let us contrast a few passages in the speech on the latter occasion, in 1803, with others in the speeches of the same orator, in 1799 and 1800.

THE MR. W. C. PLUNKET ON EMMET'S TRIAL IN 1803.

"Gentlemen, I should feel it a waste of words and of public time were I to address you, or any person within the limits of my voice—were I to talk of the frantic desperation of the plan of any man who speculates on the dissolution of that empire whose glory and whose happiness depends upon its indissoluble connexion. But were it practicable to sever that connexion, to untie the links which bind us to the British constitution, and to turn us adrift upon the turbulent ocean of revolution, who could answer for the existence of this country as an independent country for a year? God and nature have made the two countries essential to each other. Let them *cling* to each other to the end of time, and their united affection and loyalty will be proof against the machinations of the world. . . .

"But while they (R. Emmet and his adherents) were introducing their newfangled French principles, they forgot to tell the people whom they address that they had been enjoying the benefit of equal laws, by which the property, the person, and constitutional rights and privileges of every man were abundantly protected. *They have not pointed out a single instance of oppression.* . . . . Did any man presume to invade another in the enjoyment of his property? If he did, was not the punishment of the law brought down upon him? What did he want? What is it that any rational freedom could expect and that this country was not fully and amply in possession of?"

THE MR. W. C. PLUNKET IN 1800 (16TH JANUARY).

"There are principles of repulsion," said Mr. Plunket; "yes, but there are principles of attraction; and from these the enlightened statesman extracts the principle by which the countries are to be harmoniously governed. As soon would I listen to the shallow observer of nature who should say, 'There is a centrifugal force impressed on our globe, and therefore, lest she should be hurried into the void of space, let us rush into the centre to be consumed there.' No; I say to this rash arraigner of the dispensations of the Almighty, 'There are impulses from whose wholesome opposition Eternal Wisdom has declared the law by which we revolve in our proper sphere, and at our proper distance.' So I say to the political visionary, 'From the opposite system which you object to, I see the wholesome law of imperial connexion derived; I see the two countries preserving their due distance from each other, generating and imparting heat, and light, and life, and health, and vigour; and I will abide by the wisdom and experience of the ages which are past, in preference to the

speculations of any modern philosophy.' See—I warn the ministers of this country against persevering in their present system. Let them not proceed to offer violence to the settled principles, or to shake the settled loyalty of the country. Let them not persist in the wicked and desperate doctrine which places British connexion in contradistinction to Irish freedom. I revere them both—it has been the habit of my life to do so. For the present constitution I am ready to make any sacrifice. I have proved it. For British connexion I am ready to lay down my life. My actions have proved it. Why have I done so? Because I consider that connexion essential to the freedom of Ireland. Do not, therefore, tear asunder, to oppose each other, these principles which are identified in the minds of loyal Irishmen. For me, I do not hesitate to declare, that if the madness of the revolutionist should tell me, 'You must sacrifice British connexion,' I would adhere to that connexion in preference to the independence of my country. But I have as little hesitation in saying, that if the wanton ambition of a minister should assault the freedom of Ireland, and compel me to the alternative, I would fling the connexion to the winds, and I would clasp the independence of my country to my heart. I trust the virtue and wisdom of the Irish parliament and people will prevent that dreadful alternative from arising. If it should come, be the guilt of it on the heads of those who make it necessary."*

The "dreadful alternative" came in a few weeks after the delivery of Mr. Plunket's able speech, and the indignant orator "clasped his"—hands with astonishment, outlived the Union, and in three years and a-half after its accomplishment poor Robert Emmet very foolishly thought Mr. Plunket had been in earnest in what he so eloquently threatened to do; he unfortunately "flung the connexion to the winds" in reality; and Mr. Plunket was one of his prosecutors who, in the necessary discharge of his duty, had to call on a jury to condemn the young man who had done what he himself had vowed to do hypothetically and metaphorically in his place in parliament. Mr. Plunket's appointment to the office of solicitor-general was not gazetted till the 17th of November, 1803.

Three years and six months had passed over since the one thing needful to the happiness of Ireland was to have been clasped to the heart. It had been torn away, and lo and behold! there was not a single instance of oppression—nothing of rational freedom that the country was not fully and amply in possession of!

The trophies of eloquent eulogy, dedicated in Plunket's speech to the good genius of the British constitution, sounded strangely in the ears of many of his auditors, on the occasion of Emmet's trial.

* Speech of Mr. Plunket, delivered in the Irish House of Commons in a debate on the Union, on the 16th of January, 1800. (From the "Parliamentary Debates," p. 89. Moore, Dublin.)

There is an inscription at Blenheim palace, which, with the substitution of the word *Hiberniæ* for *Europæ* might have served Plunket for a motto to the published report of his speech on Emmet's trial:

"Hiberniæ hæc Vindex Genio decora alta Britanno."*

THE MR. W. C. PLUNKET IN 1799.

In the debate on the Union, commenced the 22nd of January, 1799, Mr. Plunket said:

"I thank the administration for this measure. They are, without intending it, putting an end to our dissensions. Through the black cloud which they have collected over us I see the light breaking in upon this unfortunate country. They have composed our dissensions, not by fomenting the embers of a lingering and subdued rebellion—not by hallooing Protestant against Catholic, and Catholic against Protestant—not by committing the north against the south—not by inconsistent appeals to local or to party prejudices—no! but by the avowal of this atrocious conspiracy against the liberties of Ireland, they have subdued every petty and substantive distinction; they have united every rank and description of men by the pressure of this grand and momentous subject; and I tell them that they will see every honorable and independent man in Ireland rally round the constitution, and merge every other consideration in opposition to this ungenerous and odious measure. *For my part I will resist it to the last gasp of my existence, and with the last drop of my blood; and when I feel the hour of my dissolution approaching, I will, like the father of Hannibal, take my children to the altar, and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their country's freedom!*

"In the most express terms I deny the competency of parliament to do this act. I warn you, do not dare to lay your hands on the constitution. I tell you that if, circumstanced as you are, you pass this act, it will be a nullity, and that no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it." (See Par. Debates, 1799).

"Amilcar, the lion" of Carthage, was the father of Hannibal. It is recorded of him that his great enmity to the Romans was the cause of the second Punic war, and that in his old age, and in his impotent indignation for the wrongs he and his country had suffered at the hands of the Romans, he led his son Hannibal to an altar, and having placed the boy by its side, standing on his helmet, he administered to him an oath of "vengeance eternal" against the Roman robbers and oppressors of his country.

The late Dr. William Drennan of Belfast, a man of great intellectual powers, and eminently endowed with the divine gift of poetry, made a metrical Latin version of the Greek account of the vow of the young Hannibal at the altar to which he was conducted by Amilcar. I have given an English version of the Latin one in a former volume of this work, which I cannot help thinking is more

* "The avenger of Erin dedicates these lofty trophies to the Genius of Britain."

worthy of Dr. Drennan's Latin translation than that which has been given in a late edition of the works of Dr. Drennan.

The modern representative of "Amilcar the lion," Lord Plunket, had six sons. History does not inform us how many sons the old Carthaginian general had. We are only made acquainted with one—a soldier—and his name was Hannibal. It was sufficient for the glory of a generation of Amilcars—for the renown of the people called Carthaginian—to have produced him. Lord Plunket had many arrows in his quiver; but, unlike the old Carthaginian general, he devoted the son who was to be his successor to the service of the altar, before which he had undertaken to swear him to the performance of another kind of duty.

Amilcar's enacted vow was registered, if not in the court of heaven or that of hell, at least in history. Plunket's vow was not registered in either of the courts of the realms, or of the region above referred to. Perhaps, on cool reflection, he saw the folly of swearing his young Hannibal to undying hate against Rome and Romanism, or feared he might be misunderstood in referring, as he did metaphorically, to the ancient mistress of the world. No other reason, consistent with his avowed determination, can be assigned for the abandonment of the intention of Mr. Plunket. In 1801, when the time came for the oath of vengeance, the period of the consummation of the Union had arrived and transpired, one of the young Master Plunkets was just of the age, in that year, to be led to the altar by his father, and elevated on his wig block, in lieu of the helmet of Amilcar, to pronounce the vow which the Carthaginian boy had uttered. The latter was only nine years of age when he was sworn. In 1801 a son of the Hibernian Amilcar had just attained the same age.

When Grattan left the House of Commons after the last debate on the Union, and that measure was carried which had been in vain resisted by him, he retired terribly dejected and depressed—to use his own expression—"heart-broken." When Mr. Fox came into office he was offered one of the highest offices in the Irish administration, and he declined to accept it. When Mr. Plunket turned his back, in 1800, on the Irish House of Commons, fortunately for him he had no heart to break. He had played out his part—performed admirably, for the last time on that stage, in his favourite part of "The flaming Hibernian Patriot;" went through the scene of swearing his young Hannibals on the altar of his country to wage eternal war with its enemies, with great eclat; walked home and went about his business, jauntily as if nothing had happened. On his way from the house, at the vestibule even he was passing for the last time, had he met Bushe or Barrington, and was complimented on his equanimity of temper and resignedness of spirit, he might have said to them in the words of Horace: "*Impudens, liqui patrios penates.*" Ah! what philosophy we find in the worldly wisdom of those subtle lawyers who condescend to play the game of politics, and to figure in the *role* of patriots! They have two characters to support, two

sets of principles to reconcile, two sorts of natures with which their instincts and their interests are connected; they are neither fish nor flesh—but of an intermediate order of beings, half lawyer, half politician, wholly place-hunting, exceedingly selfish, and self-seeking.

Let us suppose that Emmet's trial took place in England at the present time; that a solicitor-general made the speech reported to have been delivered by Mr. Plunket in the peculiar circumstances of the case of a prisoner making no defence; that he denounced opinions and principles, ascribed to the prisoner, which he, the solicitor-general, had promulgated publicly, only three years previously, in language of advised, deliberate, vehement hostility to the Bristish government—*sonans et tonans seditionis;* that the prisoner's counsel was not in the pay of the government, like Mr. M'Nally—was not employed by it to pick the brains of his unfortunate, unsuspecting client for his prosecutors—would he not have retracted the purpose intimated of abandoning all defence, when Mr. Plunket proclaimed his intention of speaking to evidence? Would he not have shown from the speeches in parliament that the prisoner at the bar had acted only on the principles promulgated in the senate by the crown lawyer who so vehemently called for his conviction? Might we not conclude that the English jury would have flung the oratory of Mr. Plunket to the winds, and clasped the honour of their tribunal and their own best qualities, honesty and a love of fair play, to their hearts, and have declined to condemn the prisoner?

There have been time-serving, inconsistent men, reckless of all consequences prejudicial to character arising from sudden changes in public conduct, in political opinion, in private friendships; men of ungenial dispositions and ungenerous natures; selfish, cold-hearted men, of callous feelings, yet of great intellectual powers, in high judicial places, in all times and in all countries. But I think it is very questionable if there ever was a great lawyer and renowned orator, not thoroughly vicious, corrupt, and flagitious—yet so hollow, so easily detached from friends, from principles supposed to be involved in questions of great pith and moment, to which potent energies and noble talents had been devoted—so insincere in his profession of devotion to them, so untrue to the generous instincts of exalted genius, so regardless of the antecedents of a great career, so unfaithful to vows of patriotism, and so reckless of the fame achieved by his marvellous abilities as William Conyngham Plunket.

Plunket, in 1799 and 1800, at the onset of his career, was a flaming patriot—a fiery champion of Irish independence, declaring that separation from England was a thing to be contemplated, nay, advocated in certain circumstances; that he was ready in these circumstances to fling the connexion with England to the winds, and to clasp the independence of his country to his heart.

In three years' time this theoretical separatist, or trader in patriotism, or patriot, as the case may be, finds the independence of his country "taken away by force and fraud," and instead of clasping his

poor country to his heart, we find him, in 1803, accepting office, professional emolument, and preferment, from those whom he denounced as tyrants—robbers—enemies to be resisted to the death.

Mr. Plunket was appointed solicitor-general in November, 1803; attorney-general in 1805; Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1827; and Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1832. It is stated to his honour, by Mr. Henry Grattan, that he refused the office of attorney-general in 1807, when Mr. Fox's party left power, and thereby sacrificed upwards of £100,000.

In 1827, Mr. Plunket was appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, *vice* Lord Norbury, and the same year was created an English peer. In 1832, he had been appointed chancellor, *vice* Sir Anthony Hart, and continued in that office till 1835, when he was succeeded by Sir Edward Sugden. The following year, 1836, Lord Plunket was again chancellor, and so continued to be till 1841, when the dying-out Whig government, in order to provide a retiring chancery salary for Lord Campbell, ousted Lord Plunket, and placed the former in custody of the seals, which he held for some months, and made way for Sir Edward Sugden, who once more became lord chancellor.

Lord Campbell was appointed lord chancellor; Lord Plunket was ignominiously dismissed by the Whigs. From that hour the vengeance of the ill-used party-man was alone considered. The liberal principles of the great politician were forgotten—a great change had come over the spirit of Lord Plunket's dreams, or rather, over his mode of demonstrating his feelings and opinions in public matters, especially in regard to political and polemical opinions. Lord Plunket, I am informed by friend of mine (a Protestant gentleman of Conservative principles) who visited him frequently, and was on the most intimate terms with him at that period, that he (Lord Plunket) altogether changed his opinions on the Catholic question, that he regretted his exertions in its behalf, and that he instilled into the minds of those about him sentiments of a very different kind from those which he rendered so marvellously effective by his eloquence in parliament.

The indignation naturally excited by the treatment he received at the hands of his party was unfortunately not confined to the party by whom he was wronged. It extended to the cause of toleration, which he had ennobled and advanced by his transcendant abilities and services. He repented, in private life, the direction he had given them throughout a long career of glory. That repentance was the ordinary theme of his reflections in the period of his decline intellectual and political. The lessons of his latter years were not in accordance with the teachings of his brighter and better days; unfortunately they were not lost, and bitter have been their fruits.

William Conyngham Plunket was the son of a Presbyterian clergyman, the Rev. Thomas Plunket, by his marriage with Miss Mary Conyngham. He was born in 1764, entered Trinity College,

about 1780, and became eminently distinguished in that university. He was called to the Irish bar in 1787. He entered the Irish parliament in 1797, and it is needless to speak of his brilliant career in it. He married, in 1791, Catherine, only daughter of John M'Causland, Esq., of Strabane, by whom (who died 14th March, 1821) he had issue eleven children. Of his six sons he gave three to the Church. The eldest, Thomas, the present Lord Plunket, Lord Bishop of Tuam and Killala, and an Ecclesiastical Commissioner for Ireland. The Rev. William Conyngham, who became bishop's chaplain and private secretary, and incumbent of Kilmoylan (Tuam), rector of Bray, deceased. His youngest son, Robert, became dean of Tuam, rural dean, bishop's chaplain, and rector of Headfort. His other three sons he gave to the legal profession. John, who married a daughter of C. K. Bushe, and became a Q.C., an assistant-barrister of the county Meath, and crown prosecutor of the Munster circuit. David, who became a Master in Chancery, and prothonotary and examiner in the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland. Patrick, who became a Commissioner of Bankrupts in Ireland, and died in 1859.

Plunket had become a chancellor and a lord by assuming the championship of the Catholic question. He fought the battles of that question bravely, and with consummate ability. But while he was fighting those great battles, exercising the powers of a great oratorical gladiator in that arena where he had few equals and no superior, his feelings were little engaged in the contest. He had no sympathies with the advocates of that cause, or the professors of that religion for whose civil rights he battled. He died in 1854. The care and charge of his memory has not been such, as to banish all ideas of those times when Nemesis was supposed to deal with the renown of great men who had not been without some grave defects.

Mr. Plunket, in his speech on Emmet's trial, made one observation, the truth and justice of which no one of sound judgment, coolly exercised, will feel disposed to call in question: "If the wisest head that ever lived had framed the wisest system of laws which human ingenuity could devise—if he were satisfied that the system were exactly fitted to the disposition of the people for whom he intended it, and that a great portion of the people were anxious for its adoption, he would take leave to say that, under all these circumstances of fitness and disposition, *a well-judging mind and a humane heart would pause awhile, and stop upon the brink of his purpose, before he would hazard the peace of his country by resorting to force for the establishment of his system.*"

Would to God that wise and truly Christian sentiment had tempered the ardour and controlled the enthusiasm of that noble-minded being, whose youth and inexperience had been thrown on such bad times, and were so unfit to contend with the villany in high places, and in circles, too, of *soi disant* patriots, that predominated in them.

LINES BY DR. DRENNAN.*

Prostrate, unarmed, no more alive,
Had ceased Kilwarden's breath—
The savage strife was then to give
A death-wound after death.

When Emmet self-convicted stood,
In fate already hung,
P—— still longed to taste the blood,
And piked him with his tongue.

Now, which of these barbarians—say,
Waged the most cruel war—
The savage of the bloody fray,
Or savage of the bar.

APPENDIX IV.

OFFICIAL VINDICATION OF LORD HARDWICKE'S ADMINISTRATION IN IRELAND.

Lord Hardwicke's vindication of his administration of the Irish government, against the statements of General Fox, Commander of the Forces in Ireland, in relation to the measures adopted for the suppression of the insurrection attempted in July, 1803, by Robert Emmet. This remarkable document, in MS. quarto, extending to sixty pages, has never heretofore been published *in extenso*. Portions of it were introduced into parliamentary papers in defence of Lord Hardwicke's government in 1803, and at a later period. This valuable original and authentic document fell into the hands of the Rev. Beaver W. Blacker, Rector of Booterstown, Dublin; and to that gentleman's liberality and courtesy I am indebted for the use of it:

"In order to give a distinct idea of the insurrection in Dublin on 23rd July, 1803, and to afford the means of forming an impartial judgment upon the merits and demerits of the Irish government, it will be necessary to take a short view of the state of that country after the preliminary of definitive treaty of peace.

"The rebellion of 1798 was so far suppressed as to give the country an appearance of internal peace; yet it cannot be said to have been completely subdued. Many of the principal instigators and contrivers of that rebellion, and even some of the chief actors in it remained; and although many of them were in custody, and others had fled, yet they found means to maintain such communication with their associates through Ireland as to keep alive the spirit of disaffection with the hope of exciting future disturbance. Without foreign aid but little expectation of success could be entertained;

* This piece, heretofore unpublished, was given to me by Miss M'Cracken.—R.R.M.

therefore the agents of the disaffected in France were active, and industriously raised in the minds of their friends in Ireland an expectation of invasion; and it was evident, so long as the war continued, the tranquillity of the country could only be secured by the distribution of a considerable military force, amounting on the 1st of October, 1801, to 60,000 men.

"The Martial Law Act was continued by the parliament, in its first session, for twelve months from the 25th of March, 1801. It was at that time principally applied to cases which had arisen at an early period; it tended evidently to strengthen the hand of government by the force which it gave. On the 4th of October, 1801, news having arrived of the signing of the preliminary articles of peace in London, several prisoners confined in the gaols of Wicklow and Kildare, for acts connected with the rebellion, were tried by a special commission which was issued for those counties in the month of November. This measure—which it was thought right to adopt to try the disposition of the juries and witnesses, and to ascertain the state of the country by the ordinary course of law and regular administration of justice—was decidedly approved of by Lord Chancellor Clare, who recommended Mr. Justice Downs and Mr. Justice Chamberlain for the special commission. The experiment answered the most sanguine expectations of the government, and the winter passed without any outrage being committed, even in those parts of Ireland which had been the most disturbed.

"After the signing of the definitive treaty considerable reductions took place in the military establishment, from the disembodying of the militia, and the disbanding of the fencibles and second battalions, consisting principally of volunteers from the militia in 1799 and 1800, under the ambiguous term of five years' service or during the war. Notwithstanding this reduction of the military force from nearly 60,000 men, including militia, to less than 20,000, the country still continued to enjoy uninterrupted tranquillity. On the approach of the winter which followed the peace, apprehension was expressed by several gentlemen in the counties of Kildare, Tipperary, Waterford, and Limerick, that a system of robbery and outrages would be renewed; and application was made for troops to be garrisoned in several of those places from whence they had been removed, particularly in Kildare county, where a tenant of Lord Courtown, who had come from Wexford to occupy some land in Kildare, had been fired at and desperately wounded, and was for some time in considerable danger from the vengeance of the family whom he had succeeded in the farm. There was another instance of outrage, committed in June, 1802, on the borders of Waterford and Tipperary, which are mentioned principally to show that though in some instances outrages were committed, they did not appear to have arisen from any causes connected with rebellion. With the exception of those, and a few instances of mail robberies, every part of Ireland was perfectly calm.

"Report however prevailed of disaffection in Limerick county,

and particularly in that barony bordering upon the city, where there was at that time 1,500 men in garrison. Unfortunately a party spirit pervaded the county—one set of gentlemen being inclined to represent it as in a very disturbed state, the other apparently manifesting a very contrary disposition, and anxious to ascertain the truth of any instances of alleged disaffection, though unwilling to give credit to reports of treasonable or rebellious meetings being held, as circulated by the opposite party, but of the truth of which no satisfactory evidence has ever been procured. At a meeting held about this time at Limerick, consisting of several gentlemen of the county and the magistrates of the city and neighbourhood, it was resolved to present to the lord lieutenant a memorial, requesting of his excellency to proclaim that county in a state of disturbance. This application made a strict investigation necessary, and accordingly Mr. Oliver, one of the members for the county, and a man of known spirit and firmness, and one on whose impartiality as to the state of his county every reliance was to be placed, was desired by the lord lieutenant to call a general meeting of the magistrates, in order to ascertain the real state of affairs in the county, and particularly to inquire into the cause of the alarm which prevailed in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, and at a time when the other districts were perfectly quiet. Though this meeting did not confirm the necessity of addressing the lord lieutenant to proclaim the county, they did not agree upon any particular system of conduct. The same spirit of party continued, and the effect produced was an increase of perturbation and alarm, and a propensity to exaggerate every outrage or robbery that was committed into an enraged system of disaffection and rebellion.

"From the impropriety of relying upon the reports circulated in Limerick, it was thought fit that Mr. Wickham, accompanied by one of his majesty's law officers, should proceed to that city, in order to ascertain, if possible, the real state of affairs, and to investigate the circumstances, as well as to trace the cause of the outrage which had been repeated with so much exaggeration, such as at all times has been too frequent in Ireland. Nothing could be ascertained respecting the supposed intention to attack the city, which had been unanimously communicated by letter to General Monisson, and which had excited much alarm and anxiety; nor could it be proved that at any period 100 men had illegally assembled in the county. The attack upon Colonel Bourchier, 'late of the Royal Irish Artillery,' far exceeded in atrocity any act that had been committed, and from every evidence adduced appeared to have proceeded from the unpopularity of that gentleman in the neighbourhood, in consequence of his having recently hired the lands of a minor to the disappointment of other persons. Those concerned in the affair of Colonel Bourchier were tried by special commission, and, together with two persons who had been guilty of a murder during the rebellion of 1798, and whose guilt was incontrovertibly proved, were convicted and executed,

without the least disturbance on the spot where the crimes had been committed, escorted by part of a yeomanry corps in preference to a detachment from Limerick garrison.

"About this time a special commission was issued for the counties of Tipperary and Waterford, for the trial of persons who had been guilty of some daring act of violence near Four-mile House; other persons, guilty of burglaries in Tipperary county which had been marked by circumstances peculiarly cruel, were tried before the same commission; and of thirteen who were convicted four only received pardon, on the particular recommendation of the judges.

"Immediately after the close of the commission a few of the magistrates assembled at Clonmel, and transmitted a memorial to the lord lieutenant, requiring that he would proclaim the county of Tipperary 'in a state of disturbance, or in danger of becoming so.' The impropriety of acceding to this request was too obvious to admit of a moment's hesitation—first, because it was reasonable to expect that the examples under the sentence of a special commission would be attended with a salutary effect; secondly, it did not appear that the powers of the Insurrection Act could be legally enforced, excepting when the disturbance actually existed in the districts. At this period, it must be recollected that important discussions were going on with France, and it was presumed that in any determination to be taken by the First Consul, a consideration of the state of Ireland would have the greatest weight; it was therefore of the highest importance to prevent, as far as possible, a wilful misrepresentation of the disposition of the people. A detailed statement was transmitted to the secretary of state, on the 25th of January, of the result of the investigation which had taken place in the county of Limerick, from which it will appear that so far from any wish in the Irish government to suppress the truth, the sole object was to prevent an exaggeration.

"On the 8th of March, 1803, the king's message on the subject of the French government was delivered to both houses of parliament, and from that time apprehensions began to be entertained that the spirit of disaffection would again appear in Ireland, if the discussion with France should unfortunately terminate in the renewal of the war. The state of Ireland was therefore represented to ministers as affording strong reasons for avoiding hostilities so long as it was possible.

"It must be recollected that after the signing of the definitive treaty of Amiens, the persons confined at Fort George had been liberated—some being freely pardoned, others pardoned upon condition of transportation and sent to Hamburg, and many who had been in confinement in Ireland were pardoned on condition of leaving the country; those who were thus banished under the authority of an act of parliament, or by their own consent to avoid trial, were permitted to retain their property in Ireland, and had a right on that ground to maintain a correspondence with the country which the law did not prohibit.

"In the month of March government received information of O'Quigley's return, and others of the exiled rebels, and that they were endeavouring to sound the disposition of the people of the county of Dublin. A confidential agent was in consequence sent into that county, whose accounts were very satisfactory as to the state of the people, and of the unwillingness of any of the middle class who had property to lose to engage in any scheme of rebellion. It was also communicated that in Dublin scout meetings were held by the disaffected, and amongst others at the house of Stockdale the printer; that there were strong grounds to believe that their numbers were few; and that they had not made any progress of moment towards the completion of their object.

"As the prospect of a war became more apparent, different representations were made to the English ministry of the necessity of suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act in Ireland. The strongest of those representations was made by the lord chancellor of Ireland, who was in London during the month of April, and who had frequent communication with the chancellor of England and Mr. Addington upon the subject. He not only told the latter that he considered the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act as really necessary immediately upon the renewal of war, but offered to move it himself in the House of Lords, and to put the question upon these grounds, that although there was every reason for hope that the disposition of the Irish people towards the government was much improved, and that it would be difficult again to excite large numbers into rebellion, yet that, as a measure of sound policy, it was proper to take the immediate precaution of arming the government of Ireland with this additional power—a power which the conduct of that government showed it had no inclination to abuse, having endured the blame of being deluded into too favourable an opinion of the general disposition of the people, and having resorted to the ordinary tribunals for the punishment of offences which might have been the object of more summary proceedings by court-martial; but this power was now required as a measure of precaution; the chancellor, at the same time that he pressed with much earnestness to obtain the point, adding his firm conviction that the change in the temper of the people was great, and might probably render the exercise of such extraordinary power unnecessary. In thus stating the object of the government of Ireland, as connected with Ireland only, it is by no means intended to question the propriety of a determination which was undoubtedly formed upon grounds of general policy, with a view to the empire at large, but merely to show that the government were neither blind to the situation of the country, nor guilty of deluding the minister by a false representation.

"It had been settled for several months prior to the war that General Fox was to succeed Sir William Meadows as commander of the forces in Ireland; and on the 18th of March the Duke of York told Lord Pelham that the general would be sent immediately into

Ireland, as lieutenant-general under Sir William Meadows, until the 1st of June, on which day he was to assume command. General Fox, however, did not arrive until the 20th of May, and on the 1st of June Sir William resigned. On the 10th of that month General Fox had a very full conversation with the lord lieutenant upon the state of the country, and of the probability and effect of a French invasion. Lord Hardwicke observed to the general, amongst other things, that the establishment of signal stations upon the coast, and of a system of telegraphs to communicate intelligence from the western coast to the capital, would be attended with the greatest advantage; and in consequence of the entire concurrence of General Fox in that opinion, a letter was written on the following day to Mr. York, which was communicated to Mr. Wickham, by way of laying a ground for an official letter upon the subject, with a view to obtain the assistance of the admiralty and ordnance boards.

"In conversing with General Fox, Lord Hardwicke observed that he considered it necessary for the public safety, since the renewal of the war with France, that government should be armed with power of detaining suspected persons; that it did not appear of much importance to have a Martial Law Act similar to that which had been in force in 1798–9, as of late there was not any difficulty in obtaining conviction of persons tried for different outrages in parts of the country said to be disaffected. General Fox showed much satisfaction at the opinion expressed by the lord lieutenant that the Martial Law Act might be dispensed with, and seemed in every respect to coincide with his excellency's opinions. In the course of June and beginning of July Mr. Marsden repeatedly conversed with General Fox on the state of the country and the reports received by government; and from some informations that were made from parts of the counties of Meath and Kildare, detachments of troops were stationed by the commander of the forces at Robertstown and Dunboyne; and a correspondence on the subject of those detachments, as well as others at Rathangan, took place between Mr. Marsden and the commander of the forces on the 12th of July, the day previous to General Fox setting out for Athlone and Galway.

"Nothing particular occurred in regard to the state of the country, generally speaking, during the absence of the commander of the forces; but a circumstance took place in Dublin that had more the appearance of mischief than any circumstance which had come within the knowledge of government since the commencement of the war.

"On the 16th of July, about the hour of ten o'clock in the morning, an explosion took place in Patrick-street, which, from the appearance of the house where it happened when examined next day, was supposed to have been occasioned by an attempt to manufacture gunpowder. It appeared, upon further investigation, that there had not been any powder manufactured in the place, but that the explosion arose from a quantity of loose gunpowder taking fire, which two men were employed in grinding for the purpose of making fusees, and one

of them thrusting his arm through the window to prevent suffocation from the smoke cut an artery, and being afraid to call for assistance, lest it should lead to a discovery of the business they were employed in, bled to death; the other person was taken in the house by some persons whom the noise of the explosion had brought to the house. On the following morning two men were observed, at a very early hour, by the watchman on duty, conveying a large cask, which they set down at the door of one Palmer in St. Kevin-street, the father of a most notorious rebel, and he himself strongly suspected of disaffection. On setting down the cask they pushed at the door, but perceiving themselves discovered by the watchman, who had followed after them, immediately made off, leaving behind the cask, which by the shock on the pavement had opened, and was found to contain pike-heads and ball-cartridges. Palmer, who came down soon after, finding the watchman at the door, shut it immediately and went in again. The watchman rolled away the cask, but was soon after met by a party who rescued it from him. Neither the survivor of the man in Patrick-street, nor Palmer, who was the next day examined, would give any information. Those particulars were minutely stated in a letter from Lord Hardwicke to General Fox; but though it was directed to Tullamore, according to the information of his note from Colonel Beckwith, his military secretary, it does not appear to have reached him until a week after.

"On the 22nd July, the lord lieutenant was informed by General Fox that he had returned the night before to the Royal Hospital, and he directed the general to call at the Phœnix Park the following day at two o'clock."

"When the general arrived, finding that he had not received the letter of the 18th of July, the lord lieutenant related to him the circumstances of the explosion in Patrick-street, and also the apprehensions expressed by Mr. Clark of Palmerston, on Thursday, the 21st, and of the change in his opinion on the following day. This gentleman, who is in the commission of the peace, and a man of most respectable character, is the proprietor of a cotton manufactory near Dublin, where he has in constant employment upwards of three hundred people, and from his local situation is enabled to judge of the general disposition of the lower orders of persons, by his frequent intercourse amongst his own people, as well as those of the Liberties.

"On the 21st of July, he (Mr. Clark) stated to Mr. Marsden that he was apprehensive, from appearances which he had observed, that some mischief was on foot amongst the manufacturers at Palmerstown. He promised to investigate particularly into the business, and report the result of his inquiry without delay to Mr. Marsden. Accordingly, on the following day, the 22nd of July, he called upon Mr. Marsden at the Castle, and acquainted him with much satisfaction that he (Mr. Clark) had been entirely deceived in the opinion formed on the preceding day; that as soon as his workmen had assembled, that he had examined them closely with regard to their sentiments,

and inquired whether they had any particular grievance or cause of complaint—they answered unanimously that they had not, but on the contrary were all satisfied and contented. Those circumstances were mentioned to the general by his excellency, and whilst they were together a note came from Mr. Marsden, which his excellency communicated immediately to General Fox. This note was sent by Mr. Marsden in consequence of recent intelligence received by him.

"On the morning of the 23rd of July, Mr. Clark had returned to the Castle, and informed Mr. Marsden that it was with great pain he felt himself necessitated to contradict his assertion of yesterday; that he had observed symptoms amongst his people which revived his former suspicions—a want of attention to their business, a desire to leave it, and, above all, a pressing request, urged in an unusual manner, that they might be paid their wages at an early hour that morning. This statement, added to others which came to the knowledge of Mr. Marsden in the early part of the day, induced him to send to the lord lieutenant at two o'clock, to inform him of the alarm prevailing, and to request that he would come to the Castle with General Fox, as he knew that the general was to call at the Phœnix Park by appointment at that hour, adding that he would not make this request on any light grounds.

"As soon as the note had been read by the general, his excellency ordered his carriage, and proceeded to the Castle with General Fox; they arrived at about a quarter past three o'clock. Mr. Marsden immediately waited upon them, and stated the different informations received; and, with others, a particular circumstance communicated by Mr. Alderman Manders, that a Roman Catholic priest had informed him that morning, 'that a person whom he would not name had communicated to him intelligence of an intended rising;' and that other persons had been with him from the county of Kildare, with information that there was considerable commotion at Naas, and that upon the preceding night the garrison of that town had been under arms, which circumstance was reported to General Fox by the officer commanding, and the general admitted his having received the report. By this time it was pretty well ascertained that considerable numbers of persons had come into town in the course of the morning, particularly along the line of canal leading from Kildare. As General Fox had been absent from Dublin nearly a fortnight, Mr. Marsden related to him the substance of the different reports, one in particular from a confidential correspondent in the north, who had asserted in his last communication that a rising was intended both in Dublin and Belfast. Those and all other communications mentioned by Mr. Marsden went particularly to say, that an attempt upon Dublin was finally determined upon. The conversation afterwards turned upon some of the principal points to which it would be more immediately necessary to attend. Mr. Marsden stated the necessity of placing a guard at Clondalkin powder mills, about seven miles from town, on the Naas road. He also recommended the doubling the Chapelizod guard,

with a view of counteracting the attempts of the manufacturers at Palmerstown.

The state of the Pigeon House was also particularly considered, and General Fox seemed particularly impressed with the necessity of giving attention to this magazine, as also that in the Park. The two prisons of Kilmainham and Newgate were also mentioned as objects that would require an early attention. The lord lieutenant particularly adverted to the state of the Bank, on account of the different communications had with the governors of the late and present year. Other circumstances relative to the general state of Dublin were mentioned. A person was then named to the general, who had been particularly pointed out as a man intimately connected with the disaffected, and one of those who it was intended to arrest, had government been vested with a power of detaining suspected persons. There was another person mentioned, not only on account of his being named in the same information recently received by Mr. Marsden, but on account of his profession, being a gunsmith. It was also stated that he lived near one of the avenues leading into town, which was also named and described by reference to a bridge. General Fox observed that he was too little acquainted with Dublin and its environs to know in what quarter that bridge was situated. These circumstances are no otherwise material than to show the number of points to which the conversation tended, and it is one of the many others which the general himself can have but little difficulty in recollecting.

"When Mr. Marsden concluded his statement, the general proposed to take leave, observing that it was a most fortunate circumstance that so good an officer and so sensible a man as Colonel Vassal was field officer of the day, adding that he would send for him immediately. It was then observed to the general that all necessary precaution might be taken without creating an alarm in the city. No injunctions, however, were conveyed, or could be enforced from that observation to omit or defer any part of the precaution which it was expected to be the immediate result of the conference. General Fox took his leave, apparently with the intention of sending orders immediately to the field-officer of the day, that the garrison might be ready to act on the first appearance of disturbance, and the troops might be so disposed as to act in every quarter. These precautions, with that of patrol (as the garrison consists of four thousand men), seemed to be all that was necessary, and not only would have prevented any assembly of people, but might have intercepted the Kildare rebels upon their return from town, if discreetly managed. Mr. Marsden also mentioned to the general his intention of remaining in his office at the Castle that night.

"His excellency having transacted some business with Sir Edward Littlehales, to whom he related generally what had passed in the conference with the general, returned to the Lodge in the Park, between five and six o'clock, under the impression that immediate

notice would be given to the garrison to hold themselves in readiness, and not entertaining the smallest doubt, that as the commander of the forces had been apprized of the grounds of apprehension, as well as the principal points that required attention, any rising which might be attempted in the city, or any attack upon it from without, would be suppressed immediately. About 7 o'clock in the evening, Colonel Aylmer, of the Kildare regiment of militia, called at the Park with intelligence received from a tenant of the Duke of Leinster near Maynooth, as well as from a steward of Sir Fenton Aylmer, that a party of rebels was to proceed to Dublin from Maynooth, in order to make an attack upon the Lodge in the Phœnix Park, which if carried they would then proceed into Dublin. Lord Hardwicke informed General Fox of this circumstance in a note, no copy of which was then retained, but of which a copy was procured from the appendix to the general statement, and cannot be considered otherwise deserving of attention than that it is the letter the postscript of which Mr. Fox quoted in the army estimates—at least as is reported in the newspaper statement of that debate—in proof that the preparations made by the commander of the forces, against the insurrection, was beyond what his excellency expected.

"The unfortunate event and atrocities of the night of the 23rd are too well known to require repetition, and it has since appeared that although precautions were taken (but at a very late hour) with a view to particular objects—the powder mill at Clondalkin, Pigeon House, and Chapelizod—yet no general precautions were adopted, either by strengthening the posts where danger might be apprehended, or by patrols, or even putting the officers of the garrison upon their guard, or providing any succour in case of an attack upon James'-street barracks or the Coombe; and it was not until the hour of nine o'clock that the general officer was summoned to attend at the Royal Hospital.

"It further appears, from the evidence of Lieutenant Brady at the trial of Byrne, that no orders had been sent to the barracks of the 21st regiment of foot in James'-street, or Cork-street, at a quarter of an hour before ten o'clock; for it was in consequence of the rebels having assembled in the neighbourhood of Barrack-street, that he was proceeding with a detachment of the regiment to Colonel Brown's lodgings upon Usher's-quay, at the south end of Queen's-bridge, where he fell in with a party of rebels, principally armed with pikes, and who dispersed upon receiving his fire. Lieutenant Brady's passing through Thomas-street was a mere accident, as he might have marched to the quays by other streets. It was before this that Lord Kilwarden, on his coming into town, unfortunately fell in with a party of rebels, and was inhumanly murdered.

"Those misguided people were directed by their leaders, Emmet and O'Quigley, who fled to the mountains, in consequence of finding their party so reduced by the absence of people from Kildare, who had refused to act from the insufficiency of the preparations. The

Kildare deputies, about ten in number, arrived in Dublin about the hour of eleven o'clock on the morning of the 23rd July, having heard that the Dublin people would not act. They questioned Robert Emmet very closely with respect to his means and state of preparations, and insisted upon being introduced to the other leaders, also that they should see the depot of arms. Accordingly they were conducted to the street by Emmet himself, and upon their return reported to their confederates that there was a considerable number of pikes, with a quantity of combustibles and ball-cartridges, but no fire-arms. Upon this the people from Kildare to a man declared that they would not be concerned, and immediately set off for their respective homes, sending back such of their friends as they met on the roads: some few of the latter only who had straggled into town were engaged in the business of the evening.

"Before the murder of Lord Kilwarden and his nephew, Mr. Richard Wolfe, an orderly dragoon had been piked in Thomas-street, after having conveyed a second note to Colonel Orlando Manly, and was returning to the Royal Hospital.

"In a statement of this kind it is unnecessary to dwell on points universally known—the discovery of the object, of pikes, as well as the proclamation; the formation of the depot and secrecy with which it was formed may require explanation.

"Mr. Robert Emmet, who was the leader of the conspiracy, had been educated for the bar, and received, soon after the death of his father, Dr. Emmet, who had been state physician, a legacy of £3,000, which he dedicated to that object, having no other resource, and paying for everything out of this fund. It appears that but few were acquainted with the preparation, and that those whom he found it necessary to interest in the course of the proceedings on the 23rd of July, were not suffered to leave the depot for fear of detection. This circumstance accounts for the secret manner that this part of the plan proceeded in, and the chances of success from numbers appear entirely sacrificed to the security of limited communication.

Having stated the general opinion prevailing through Ireland, with regard to the disposition of the people in general, together with the several informations received by the government, and the use made of those communications, we shall turn to the conduct of the commander of the forces, in order to see how far the transactions of the 23rd July can justify him amid the confusion.

"It does not appear that General Fox, upon his leaving the Castle at half-past four o'clock, issued any orders to the general officer in the garrison, or the commanding officers of regiments, but repaired immediately to the Royal Hospital, and from thence wrote a letter to Colonel Manly, which was delivered to him about half-past six o'clock, to apprize him of the intention of a rising, and to desire that proper precaution might be taken for the security of the Pigeon House and artillery barrack. That orders of similar import were not sent to the other commandants in the garrison can never be sufficiently regretted.

"Upon the receipt of the general's order, Colonel Manly despatched the orderly dragoon to the Pigeon House for Major MacLean and Captain Godfrey, that they might receive orders. The commandant of the forces wrote also to Sir Charles Asgill, who commanded in Dublin district, and resided in Rutland-square, a considerable distance from the Royal Hospital, apprizing him generally of the communications made by the lord lieutenant, and desiring Sir Charles to come to the Hospital that evening at nine o'clock, *or the next morning, if more convenient*, and to come *in a blue coat, privately.* He also wrote in a similar style to General Dunne, and directed Colonel Cotton, of the 16th Light Dragoons, and Lieutenant Colonel Vassal, field officers of the day, to call upon him at nine o'clock.

"Sir Charles, having dressed for a dinner-party, did not avail himself of the general's permission to delay his attendance until next morning, but drove immediately to the Hospital, and was directed by the commander of the forces to return to the Castle, to obtain further intelligence if any new circumstance had arisen. Sir Charles proceeded accordingly to the office of Mr. Marsden at the Castle, where he remained about half an hour, excused himself of his dinner engagement at Mr. Marsden's request, and agreed to take a slight refreshment whilst he gave the former an account of the prevailing reports. Those were further confirmed by the arrival of several persons during Sir Charles's delay at the office, amongst others Colonel Finlay of the Dublin county militia, who said that he had just returned from the Royal Hospital, where he had delivered a letter from Mr. Marsden to the commander of the forces, the object of which was to procure a party to escort Colonel Finlay to the county of Kildare. He stated that he had obtained the party, and mentioned some circumstances observed by him, as also some informations received since he had seen Mr. Marsden in the early part of the day. Major Swan was also in the room.

"Sir Charles Asgill left the office about seven o'clock in order to return to the Royal Hospital, but according to General Fox's desire went round by Rutland-square to take off his uniform, and to mount his horse as a more expeditious conveyance. He reached the Royal Hospital at eight o'clock, an hour before the appointed time, and was directed by General Fox to wait the arrival of General Dunne, Colonel Cotton, and Vassal, who came shortly after. Colonel Beckwith, military secretary to the commander of the forces, with the officers just mentioned, comprised the whole who attended the conference, no intimation whatever having been given to any other of the commanding officers in the garrison. General Fox stated that an idea prevailed at the Castle of a rising in Dublin, but that he could not believe it; and the general opinion seemed to be that there could be no cause of apprehension. Sir Charles Asgill observed that he had been in Ireland during the rebellion of 1798, and had witnessed some extraordinary occurrences; that it was their duty to be prepared for whatever event might take place. After some further

conversation it was agreed upon the officers commanding regiments should be put upon their guard. It being now near ten o'clock, Sir Charles was directed to return to Mr. Marsden's office in the Castle. In passing through Thomas-street, about half way between Bridge-foot-street, Dirty-lane, and the Market-house, he met a large mob armed with pikes, and saw some shots fired by the party under Lieutenant Brady of the 21st foot. Sir Charles turned about, and meeting an orderly dragoon who was going to the Castle, called to him to return or else he would be killed. They then rode abreast and galloped back to the Royal Hospital. Sir Charles informed the commander of the forces that the insurrection had actually commenced, at which he appeared greatly astonished, rose quickly from his seat, and ordered that Sir Charles would proceed to the Royal Barracks and collect the troops, but without giving any further instructions. Sir Charles replied that he would endeavour to go to the barrack, and on leaving the Hospital took his road down the avenue which comes out under the archway of the artillery barrack by Sarah-bridge, for the purpose of avoiding the armed mob. The troops stationed in the barrack were immediately got under arms, and remained so until the hour of eleven o'clock, Sir Charles not conceiving himself authorized to give any orders, and being in momentary expectation of General Fox's arrival. However, at eleven o'clock, after a communication with General Dunne, Sir Charles took upon him to send a reinforcement to the Lodge guard in the Park, also to those of the Bank and Newgate prison. General Dunne, who had been at the Royal Hospital when Sir Charles Asgill was there, had returned to the barracks through James's-street and the upper part of Thomas-street, by Barrack-bridge, but not without being obliged to quicken his pace in order to avoid danger.

"It appears therefore to be perfectly true that Generals Asgill and Dunne were actually in Thomas-street about the hour of ten o'clock, as stated by General Fox, but, from the predicament in which they found themselves, that circumstance can hardly be urged as a vindication, or assumed in proof of military precaution. The hour of one o'clock had arrived before orders had been received by the garrison to act, and at half-past one Mr. Marsden was informed by General Asgill that patrols had been sent out in different directions, all which had taken place without any orders on the part of General Fox.

"It appears from the date of the several orders that, of the different points to which General Fox's attention had been directed at the conference in the Castle—namely, the additional guard at Chapelizod, Clondalkin powder mills, Kilmainham and Newgate prisons, the Bank, the magazines of the Pigeon House and Phœnix Park, the two latter were the only objects attended to at an early hour. The Clondalkin guard, seven miles upon the Naas road, was sent off at seven o'clock; the reinforcement at Chapelizod was ordered to march at eight; no other orders or notices were issued; everything was

delayed for the event of the conference of officers at nine o'clock. It is now requisite to state the grounds, so far as any knowledge of them can be obtained, upon which the commander of the forces has since attempted to justify his disbelief of the expected rising, and his consequent *want* or *total delay* of preparation.

"It appears that General Fox complains that during his residence in Ireland, from 20th May to 23rd July, no communication had been made to him, directly or indirectly, that a spirit of disaffection was increasing—but, on the contrary, every such idea was positively denied.

"The conversation which has been referred to in an early part of this statement, and what took place soon after General Fox had assumed the command, would of itself prove that a free and unreserved intercourse subsisted between the lord lieutenant and the commander of the forces; but Mr. Marsden asserts, and his assertions are confirmed by facts, that he had frequent conversations with General Fox on the state of the country, and particularly on the subject of sending troops into the counties of Kildare and Meath. The general admits that he had heard unpleasant reports from Sir E. B. Littlehales, before he arrived at the Phœnix Park, on the morning of the 23rd July. He also admits that his excellency had informed him, in general terms, of the event which had taken place in that week, and which had been detailed in the letter of the 18th, which letter the general had not received. He also admits his knowledge of Mr. Marsden's note to the lord lieutenant, requesting him to come to the Castle, adding that 'he (Mr. Marsden) would not have made the request upon any light ground;' and further, the reports made to his excellency and the commander of the forces at the conference went to prove the certain intention of a rising; yet the general says 'that those reports were not credited.' It is very difficult to conceive upon what grounds General Fox can make an assertion of the kind, or, in that case, for what reason he supposed himself to be brought to the Castle; no expression whatever dropped from Mr. Marsden implying any disbelief of the reports which he himself had brought to the lord lieutenant and General Fox, or that he disbelieved the probability of a rising in Dublin. But it is at the same time perfectly true that he expressed his decided conviction that with such a garrison as Dublin had, so numerous and so well appointed, no attempt could be made that would justify apprehension. It has been said, on the part of the general, that the cause of his omitting the obvious precaution of putting the officers of the garrison upon their guard, was his having been directed to *defer until night* any communication with officers upon duty, or with general officers, for fear of spreading an alarm.

"The letter to Colonel Manly disproves those orders, and the only remark made upon the subject of alarm, previous to the general quitting the audience room, was, 'that all the necessary precaution might be taken without causing apprehension or creating an alarm

in the city.' The general concurred in the opinion; and whoever considered the attendant consequence of alarm in a populous city, not only upon the loyal but disaffected, who would have assembled in great bodies from every quarter, must be at once convinced of the propriety and necessity of avoiding equally the danger and insecurity arising from terror; neither is there any foundation whatever to ground this assertion upon.

"That midnight was the time which, according to the reports as stated by the general, the attempt was to have been made, if anything was intended. No such information was ever received, and if there had it could not have justified a delay of the necessary precaution, or the giving Sir Charles Asgill the option of calling that night or the following morning at the Royal Hospital. His excellency's note is again brought forward as enjoining General Fox to avoid alarm. This note was written in consequence of a communication from Colonel Aylmer, of an intention in the Kildare rebels to attack the Phœnix Lodge, and stop the mail-coaches passing from Dublin—Colonel Aylmer not having met Mr. Marsden, in consequence (as it appeared afterwards) of his having mistaken the lord lieutenant, and gone to Mr. Marden's house in the Park in place of the office at the Castle. This note was written to apprize General Fox of the intelligence which had been communicated.

"Upon a review of the note it appears that the communication it contains was perfectly proper. It is well known that on the 23rd May, 1798, the stopping of the mail-coaches was a plan concerted by the rebels in the vicinity of the metropolis, to notify to their friends in the country the commencement of the rebellion. It seemed therefore to be an object of the utmost importance to guard against a similar plan; and as soon as the lord lieutenant was informed by Colonel Aylmer that it was intended to stop the mails at Maynooth, he recommended to General Fox to order an escort of dragoons to accompany the coaches beyond the first stage from Dublin, in order to avoid the alarm which would have spread through the country should the coaches be stopped; and, as before said, from the recollection of what had taken place in 1798, the precaution will neither appear superfluous or liable to the insinuations which it appears the object of the general to convey, and justifies himself upon the ground of his excellency's dread of alarm. The postcript to this note evidently applies to a notification being received of General Fox's intention of sending a reinforcement to the sergeant's guard, usually stationed at the Lodge, of a subaltern officer and eighteen men, since the sending of a reinforcement naturally induces the lord lieutenant to suppose that the general had received from some other quarter information similar to that which had been communicated by Colonel Aylmer. The postscript cited evidently applies to the intelligence contained in the note, which quoted and printed separately, as it has been in several of the papers, must appear unintelligible. It cannot, however it may be taken, bear the construction which has

been so unfairly put upon it—as if it expressed surprise at the *magnitude* of the general's preparations against the insurgents in the city Other notes passed between his excellency and the general, who it appears afterwards was not apprized of Colonel Aylmer's intelligence. It appeared to the lord lieutenant that the number of men on the Lodge guard was too small, should an attack be made there; and should it be found requisite to increase the guard to any considerable extent, that number of troops would necessarily be drawn from the city, which could be much more usefully employed in case the insurrection extended itself; and had any necessity existed his excellency could have been summoned to the Castle of Dublin, where he would be in perfect safety. Yet the general would wish to justify his own incredulity upon the grounds of his excellency's absence from the city; and upon the same principle was Lord Hardwicke's return to the Park made a subject of animadversion in the House of Commons.

"To such as may be unacquainted as to the situation of the Viceregal Lodge at the Phœnix Park, it may be necessary to say that it is distant from the Royal Barrack about one mile and a quarter, and that the barracks, which are upon the road from the one to the other, are somewhat less than one mile from the Castle. It requires no more, in point of time, than twenty minutes to arrive from the Lodge to the Castle, and about one half that time from the Lodge to the Royal Barracks.

"After the instructions given to the commander of the forces, it was by no means necessary for military or police duty, or even personal safety, that the lord lieutenant should have remained in the Castle. Yet in the statement made under the authority of General Fox several points are referred to, all of them irrelevant to his justification—that no council was summoned, and that the chancellor and lord mayor had not been informed.

"In answer to this remark it is sufficient to say that there was not time for proclamation of the council, or consultation with the chancellor (perhaps the want of communication with the lord mayer was the only error), all that appeared requisite at the moment being military precaution. But surely no inadvertence, or even want of propriety, on the part of the chief governor, if any such did exist, could be held out as a defence for want of precaution and promptitude on the side of the commander of the forces. It is further asserted that no communication had been made to the magistrates between the hours of two and three o'clock in the afternoon. That Wilson, the peace officer, acted under written orders, received by him at six o'clock, appears on evidence at Kearney's trial; and that Mr. Marsden had communication with fourteen magistrates of the county and city of Dublin, before the hour of six o'clock, can be proved by the list of persons who called, on the 25th, at his office in the Castle.

"The general is said to have asserted, in the statement which had such circulation in London, that magistrates ought to have been sent to the several barracks, and that the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*

not having been applied for until after the insurrection had been commenced, the troops consequently could not act but on the defensive.

"To those observations it is to be objected that neither the promise of a magistrate, nor the previous suspension of the Act (however useful it might have been as a means of precaution), was necessary to justify the most decided military interference to resist and suppress a rising of armed rebels.

"It may not be unnecessary to take notice on an observation which was made on the event of the 23rd July, and the means which ought to have been taken to prevent the insurrection from breaking out. It has been stated that General Fox ought to have received specific orders from the lord lieutenant himself. This observation however was not made by the general, and requires no other answer than that the lord lieutenant has never meddled with details purely military. To have done more than point out to General Fox the objects which more particularly required attention, must have been considered a very unnecessary interference, and his excellency could not be expected at any time to do more than communicate the intelligence he had received, and point out where most mischief was to be apprehended, leaving the particular details of precaution and preparation to the commander of the forces, and particularly when he considered himself (as General Fox did) commander of Dublin garrison.

"But though the lord lieutenant did not consider it necessary to issue orders for the particular measures to be taken, he had no idea that the propriety or necessity of adopting them would have been a subject of doubt or hesitation with the commander of the forces; for the idea of deliberating at the Royal Hospital on the authority of the intelligence communicated by the lord lieutenant, or detailed in presence of General Fox, could only have arisen from a total misconception of his relative duties, and which has possibly been a cause of the unfortunate delay on the part of the general.

[*Private.*]

"Royal Hospital, 12th July, 1803.

"DEAR SIR—Having understood from Colonel Beckwith that you are anxious that some troops should be stationed at Kildare and Rathangan, I find upon inquiry that there are already troops at the former and at Robertstown, only a few miles from Rathangan. But if you think that they would be better at Rathangan, they can be easily removed from Robertstown, or an additional party sent there.

"I also understand that you are of opinion that an additional party should be placed at Dunboyne, which may easily be done whenever accommodation is found for them.

(Signed) "H. E. Fox.

"To Alexander Marsden, Esq., Dublin Castle."

"July 23rd, 1803. Saturday, 2 o'clock.

"My Lord—On coming to town I find a considerable degree of alarm in the apprehension of a rising this night or to-morrow morning in Dublin. I have reason to think that something serious is intended. I wish your excellency would come to town with General Fox in your carriage, which I would not request upon any light grounds.

(Signed) "A. Marsden.

"To His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant."

[*Private.*]

"Phœnix Park, 23rd July, 1803.

"My Dear Sir—Lieutenant Colonel Aylmer, of the Kildare militia, called here between 7 and 8 o'clock to communicate to me some information he had received this morning, from a person of respectable character near Maynooth, who is a tenant of the Duke of Leinster. The object of the communication was, that a considerable party was to come to Dublin this night from Maynooth and that neighbourhood, and visit my house on the way.

"Mr. Clarke, the great manufacturer at Chapelizod, has also taken fresh alarm in consequence of all his workmen having appeared this morning dressed in their best clothes, and preparing to go out. His intelligence also states that a party is coming from Lucan.

"Colonel Aylmer called at Mr. Marsden's house in the Park, but did not find him, but on his return home left the enclosed note, in which he states, that according to the information he had received the mail coaches are to be stopped this night. Their guards are now doubled, but if it should appear that there is such a plan, it would perhaps be better to direct the escort to accompany them a few miles further than usual. I think it would create an alarm in the country to detain them to a later hour, but they might travel at a slower rate for the first stage without being much delayed, if it is thought fit that they should be escorted to that point. Colonel Aylmer stated that according to his information the plan of a rising in Dublin had not reached the lower order of people in the country; at the same time that he thought it right to communicate the information that he had received, he admits that he feels a difficulty in giving credit to it.

(Signed) "Hardwicke.

"P.S.—I have just learned that you have given directions for augmenting the guard here to an officer and thirty men. I conclude from it that you have received some further information which induces you to think it advisable, and that, as alarm has been given, that precaution will not greatly add to it.

"H.

"To the Right Hon. Lieutenant General Fox."

"Royal Hospital, 23rd July, 1803, 11 o'clock.

"My dear Lord—At the moment I was honoured with your lordship's letter, the firing in James'-street commenced, and I was, of course, anxious to ascertain the cause of it before I answered your excellency. The account given by the officer commanding the detachment of the 21st regiment in James'-street is, that a body of men with pikes rushed suddenly on his party, and that upon his firing on them part of them threw down their pikes and the whole dispersed. One of the privates was wounded, two men wounded and fifteen pikes taken. It is impossible for me to say how far it may be advisable for your excellency's family to remain in the Park or go to the Castle. If I was to give any it would be to remain at the Lodge this night.

"I have given orders to Colonel Cotton with his patrol to pay particular attention to all the avenues to the Park, and have directed your excellency's guard to be augmented to sixty men.

(Signed) "H. E. Fox.

"To his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant."

[*Private.*]

"Royal Hospital, 24th July, 1803.

"My dear Lord—The names of the two men I have seen who were seized by the officer commanding in St. Thomas-street are both inhabitants of Dublin—Patrick Kearney of Bow-bridge, and Maxwell Roach, 5, James's-gate. There are many other prisoners whom I have not seen at present in custody of 21st regiment, James's-street. I am sorry to say that it has been reported to me that Lieutenant-Colonel Brown of 21st regiment was killed, coming from his lodgings on Usher's-island to join his regiment in James's-street and Coombe barracks. As I wish much to have the honour of waiting upon your excellency, may I request to know when it may be convenient for me to do so in the morning.

"H. E. Fox.

"To his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant."

"Saturday, 23rd July, 1803.

"My dear Marsden—I understand that Naas was almost abandoned yesterday, and that to-day the loyalists are flocking into it for protection. I almost persuade myself that all the present alarm will be found to have originated, in the first instance, in the fear entertained by the people of the operations of the army of reserve, and afterwards in the fear of the loyal and higher classes, resulting from seeing the former abandon their dwellings. That the poorer people have been actuated by mischief-makers I make no doubt, and perhaps the bodies now marching on the canal are people flying into town for protection—for as to any serious attack upon Dublin, it must be laughed at and despised.

"Pray, do your yeomanry mean to parade to-night? It is necessary that we should know, that we may not jostle against them in the dark,* and mistake them.

"F. Beckwith.

"To Alexander Marsden, Esq."

"Kilmainham, 23rd July, 1803.

"My dear Marsden—The general will send a patrol up the line of canal. I wish it could be ascertained on what part of the line those bodies are marching.

"F. Beckwith.

"To A. Marsden, Esq."

"Barracks—before day, at 11 o'clock, 24th July, 1803.

"Dear Sir—I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and to acquaint you that I have sent patrols out in every direction, and that two hundred men are now in the neighbourhood of Thomas-street, with Mr. Darley the magistrate, searching all the houses in that quarter. The Bank has been reinforced with a captain and fifty men, patrols of cavalry have marched to Lucan and Chapelizod, and one hundred and fifty men of the 21st are gone to Stephen's-green. Several pikes have been found. Two of the 62nd are brought in wounded, and it is reported that Colonel Brown of the 21st is killed.

"The troops are under arms, and will remain so until it is daylight and all is quiet.

"Charles Asgill.

"To Alexander Marsden, Esq."

"Half-past 3 o'clock, A.D.O., 24th July, 1803.

"Dear Sir—As I think it very essential after the late discovery to make an active and extensive search into all the suspicious houses, I wish you would be so good, *as soon as possible*, to desire one or two of the most intelligent magistrates to come here to attend the detachments which I intend to send out when I can procure guides. If the further search is delayed I fear the rascals will contrive to remove their pikes, and you must be aware that when it is daylight it ought to take place.

"C. Asgill.

"P.S.—I am sorry to tell you that two dragoons and Colonel Brown are killed.

"To Alexander Marsden, Esq."

* The yeomanry had been but lately armed, and had not received the full appointments in clothing.

[*Secret.*] "Royal Hospital, 23rd July, 1805.

"Sir—I am directed by Lieutenant-General Fox to acquaint you that government have received information of some intended disturbance in or near Dublin this night, and that although the informations are frequently without foundation, or at least much exaggerated, the Pigeon House and other ordnance depots are of such importance that he has thought it right to give you the information, that you may give the necessary orders to take such precautions, without giving alarm, as may appear most advisable.

"But his excellency desires me to repeat the necessity of being very cautious in not giving an alarm.

"C. Pell, *Aide-de-Camp.*

"To Colonel Manly, *Com. Royal Artillery.*"

Upon the receipt of this letter Colonel Manly, who resided in Denzille-street, on the north-east side of Merrion-square, immediately sent to Captain Godfrey, who was fire-master in the laboratory, and who had whatever related to the ammunition and stores under his superintendence, and who lived in the adjoining house, desiring him to proceed to the Pigeon House to order Major Maclean to come to Dublin. He also wrote to Captain Cannicross, of the artillery, directing him to take the necessary precautions against a surprise, to which the force stationed there was fully adequate, as it consisted of forty artillerymen and two subalterns of the 21st, with *sixty privates of the same regiment.*

Colonel Manly immediately answered the note of General Fox, by the orderly dragoon, and suggested the necessity of attending particularly to the post at Chapelizod, on account of the quantity of ammunition deposited there. To this note General Fox retured the following answer:

"Royal Hospital, 23rd July, 1803.

"Sir—I am directed by the commander of the forces to acquaint you that orders have been given to reinforce the post at Chapelizod, and to desire that you will send a proper person to point out where the musket ammunition is deposited to the officer commanding there.

"C. Pell, *Aide-de-Camp.*

"To Colonel Manly, *Com. Royal Artillery.*"

APPENDIX V.

TESTIMONIAL TO THE LATE LORD PLUNKET.

In November, 1855, a meeting of the bar of Ireland was held for the purpose of considering the best mode of paying a suitable mark of respect to the memory of the late Lord Chancellor Plunket,

Sir Thomas Staples, Q.C., in the Chair.

The requisition to call the meeting was signed by 128 members of the Irish bar, including 49 queen's counsel.

The first resolution, proposed by the attorney-general, was to the following effect:

"That we desire to express our deep respect for the memory of the late Lord Chancellor Plunket, as well as our admiration of the integrity, learning, eloquence, and ability which so eminently marked his illustrious career in the university, at the bar, in the senate, and on the bench."

The second resolution was proposed by Mr. Napier, Q.C., to the effect:

"That it is the desire of the Irish bar to record their sentiments of admiration with regard to the late Lord Plunket by an appropriate testimonial to his memory."

Mr. Napier, in proposing this resolution, said, Lord Plunket entered the Dublin university at the early age of fifteen, and even then he realized the sentiment of the poet, that self-respect and self-knowledge form the foundation of greatness. He (Mr. Napier) had examined the college records of the young Plunket's triumphs and distinctions. Though opposed to and confronted with the ablest competitors, he became more than ordinarily distinguished in classics and in science. In the year 1782 he was a scholar, and in 1784 he achieved a signal collegiate triumph. In the year 1787 he was called to the Irish bar, and if any young friends wished to see a specimen of his earlier powers, let them read his speech before the select committee of the House of Commons. The Duke of Wellington was on that committee; Plunket was there, with other able men—Beresford, Burrowes, &c. That speech of his in vindication of the rights of the minor scholars was a miracle of eloquence and argument. It was thus interesting to see how deeply he laid the foundation of his future eminence and success. His love of classic lore and of logical acquirement, not crammed for a temporary purpose, but sedulously cultivated, adhered to him throughout his career. He used to say that many of his happiest thoughts were gathered from his perusal of Livy and Sallust rather than from the orations of Cicero or Demosthenes (hear, hear). It would be indeed desirable if his speeches were collected and published. They would form a delightful and valuable study. The attorney-general had alluded to the noble stand he made in the House of Commons against the proposed Act of Union, and his glorious struggle to withstand and defeat what he believed would be detrimental to the interests of his country (hear). Yes—he struggled to oppose it to the last; but from the moment the die was cast, and that measure had been consummated, he acted on the principle of sustaining the law, taking as it were for his motto, "*Fieri non debuit, factum valet*," and his most strenuous efforts were devoted to falsify his own predictions as to the consequences of the measure he had so ably opposed (cheers). He (Mr. Napier) would hurry over Lord Plunket's speeches in the case of the Sheareses, on the crown prosecution of Robert Emmet, &c., and also his great speech in 1830.

Mr. Whiteside, Q.C., seconded the resolution. He said allusion had been made to the speeches delivered by Lord Plunket, but there was one occasion to which he should refer, for if he believed that Lord Plunket had done what he was falsely charged with doing on the trial of the unfortunate Emmet, it would be his (Mr. Whiteside's) duty to resist the vote they were now called upon to give (hear, hear). It was said that he insulted a dying and defenceless man. The answer was that it was false—utterly and absolutely false. He conceived it to be an important question to discuss, and he had read all the reports he could meet with of that painful trial, and was unable to find a trace of the fact. It was not, then, true that Lord Plunket insulted that unhappy man; but it was true that the attorney-general of that day requested Lord Plunket—when Emmet offered no evidence, and would not suffer his counsel to address the court—to speak. He (Mr. Whiteside) thought Lord Plunket was bound to obey that call from his position, and he believed he was asked to make that speech in order that he might deliver a practical exhortation to the rest of his majesty's subjects, to warn them from pursuing the same course as the misguided but brilliant young man who stood there with no fearing heart in the dock. He (Mr. Whiteside) could not approve of that proceeding, but still the memory of Lord Plunket was clear of the heavy stain which was attempted to be cast upon it. Lord Plunket reached the bench; his course through life was brilliant; but we cannot forbear to notice the close of his distinguished life, because it imparted a lesson to the profession of which it behoved them to take heed. He was expelled from the bench, not by his political enemies, but by his political friends. He was expelled against the sense of the profession, against the opinion of the people, and under extraordinary circumstances—he was thrust aside in his old age, after he had, by his surprising eloquence, done the greatest service for the party to which he lent his talents.

The third resolution was proposed by the solicitor-general:

"That a committee be appointed to carry into effect the object of the meeting."

Mr. O'Hagan, in seconding that resolution, said there were many questions upon which many of them perhaps did not agree with Lord Plunket—many of his acts of which some of them might disapprove; but be their sect what it might be, be their party what it might be, they should all recognise him a great Irishman—great in understanding, great in resolution, great in conduct—whose glory was the common possession of them all. In the early part of his public life, when great men were amongst them—when genius still had its career in Ireland—when national spirit was still permitted to enlarge the faculties and ennoble the minds of Irishmen—he stood in the front rank of that illustrious array of statesmen and of lawyers who had left to them, in the remembrance of their great endowments and their high achievements, a position which they could never willingly let perish (hear and applause). When he passed to a higher

sphere of action, and matched himself with the powerful statesmanship of England, they all knew what triumphs his masculine eloquence achieved—what respect his classical intellect commanded—and how, from time to time, he advanced the landmarks of liberty and human progress; and they all well knew with what moral power he sustained himself in circumstances of trial, of embarrassment, and of discouragement in a strange legislature, and at the same time sustained the reputation and the dignity of his native land (applause).

The business of the meeting terminated in the adoption of a resolution:

"That a statue be erected to the memory of the late Lord Plunket."

A very able man, commending the proposed testimonial to Lord Plunket, has, in a short compass, very effectively set forth the claims of his memory, and the characteristics of his unsurpassed eloquence in the senate:

"There still linger in the popular mind vague ideas which detract from that unbiassed estimate so essential to a true comprehension of his character. As time however wears on, the stains will vanish in the general brightness, and the student of the political history of Ireland will recognise in Lord Plunket one of those mighty minds that exalt a nation, whose renown is imperishably interwoven with the history and the fortunes of their country. Plunket's eloquence has long gained for itself the highest prize of fame. In a period eminent for intellectual distinction, both in Ireland and in England, he vindicated to himself universal admiration. Owing nothing of his celebrity to birth, wealth, or official rank, he required none of these factitious supports to move freely in the loftiest regions of professional and parliamentary effect, dignity, and distinction.

"Plunket's certificate of character from the Irish house passed for nothing in England. It rather operated against him; for where so much had been expected there must be a corresponding effort of power to sustain so high an estimate—and Plunket fully justified the confident reliance of his country. The judgment of the Irish was confirmed by the unqualified and unreserved admiration of the British parliament. He at once took up a position in the front rank of English orators. His supremacy was admitted by all, even before he delivered those imperishable monuments of practical vigour combined with essential wisdom—of irresistible reasoning conveyed in stately, solemn, and classic language—his speeches on the Catholic question. These orations carried his reputation to the loftiest point, and identified him with the first masters of an art which counts fewer proficients than any other department of the human intellect. If Plunket had no other claims on the national gratitude than his inflexible and untiring devotion to that great cause, no monument could be too costly to commemorate the value, the variety, and extent of his services. O'Connell often declared that Plunket's wonderful reasoning had softened or subdued prejudices which stood proof

against all antecedent efforts. He furnished a new and higher class of arguments to the advocates of the Catholic claims. They absorbed his whole being. He thought upon them, and thought deeply. His speeches on the question display profound meditation in every sentence; and though Lord Brougham expressed astonishment how any man could have thrown off such compact masses of the closest reasoning with less effort than others did the ordinary dulness of debate, his lordship's surprise may abate when he understands the previous processes which prepared Lord Plunket for the display. Long meditation, profound reflection, a prodigious memory, and one of the finest instruments, in the shape of a severe and classic style, that ever subserved the requirements of a public speaker, were the springs of his power. He spoke rarely; but when he did he left 'a footmark on the shores of time.' We need not particularise the other great features of his public character—they are for the historian, not the journalist; and when the important public transactions in which Lord Plunket acted a distinguished part are recorded, the figure of the great Irishman will stand prominent in the foreground. It would be ungenerous to allude to faults which might reasonably be urged against the living, but ought not to affect our judgment of the dead. When a great man has passed from amongst us, with a generous oblivion we overlook the blemishes which refract the rays, and remember only the grander traits on which history will found its judgment. If the grave confounds all distinctions, so does it bury all enmities."

If the grave can confound all distinctions between politicians, and bury all differences between professional rivals and competitors for legal honours and preferment—so let it be. There are however remembrances of acts which the grave cannot cover, and it is not desirable should be buried in oblivion, and which it is in vain to daub over the obloquy of, with eulogy. The acts I refer to are such as those of W. C. Plunket in relation to the friend of his youth and the companion of his studies—Thomas Addis Emmet—when W. C. Plunket was in parliament and T. A. Emmet was in Newgate, in August, 1798; and of the same individual in relation to the young and gifted brother of that early friend and companion, when Plunket was a crown lawyer, volunteering to do the duty of a solicitor-general, and Robert Emmet was a prisoner in the dock, in September, 1803.

APPENDIX VI.

SECRET SERVICE REVELATIONS—WALTER COX AND ANTHONY CONWELL.

The recently published volume of "The Civil Correspondence and Memoranda of the Duke of Wellington, K.G.," edited by his son, 1859 [Ireland, from March, 1807, to April, 1809], at p. 120, reveals the secret services of a person who figured in the ranks of the United Irishmen, and long subsequently to the rebellion in the pages of a

periodical vehemently patriotic and violently national—Mr. Walter Cox.

In a letter from Sir Arthur Wellesley's private secretary, Mr. James Trail, to his chief, dated from Dublin Castle, 16th July, 1807, there is an account of a remarkable conversation of Mr. Trail with "a very shrewd man, who had been in the rebellion of 1798, and who, although he declares he never will engage again in any treasonable conspiracy, could not conceal a deep-rooted antipathy to Great Britain and to the English government in Ireland." Mr. Trail observes: "This man was a gunsmith. The account of the general disaffection of the different classes of the people, and of their present inactivity, is confirmed by all the intelligence we receive. But I distrust his sincerity when he asserts that there is no intercourse with France, and that no Irishmen from thence have been lately here or are now in this country. He promised, however, to give information of any movement or of any emissary arriving from France, and says he must know all that passes among the disaffected in Dublin."

Mr. Walter Cox again figures in "The Civil Correspondence and Memoranda of the Duke of Wellington." The person alluded to in the letter I refer to, p. 535 of the Duke's Correspondence, was the notorious Mr. Walter Cox. The following letter of Mr. Pollock, in January, 1809, puts the perfidy of this man beyond much doubt.

Mr. John Pollock, the crown-solicitor of celebrity in 1798, the gentleman "who managed M'Nally," as we are informed in the Cornwallis Correspondence, writes to the Irish chief secretary, Sir Arthur Wellesley, the 12th January, 1809, in the following terms, of Mr. Walter Cox, a bookseller then in a small way of business, living in Anglesea-street, Dublin:

"My informant (says Mr. Pollock, alluding to an alleged treasonable book, entitled "Pieces of Irish History") states that it is the precursor of a French invasion; and certainly the whole object of the book is calculated and with great ability executed in order to serve the purpose of a separation from England, and to promote a French army to be received here: *as although* your means of information no doubt are most ample, it may, however, not be improper in me to say, that if you have Cox, who keeps a small book-shop in Anglesea-street, he can let you into the whole matter of sending the book to Ireland at this time; and further, if you have not Cox, believe me that no sum of money at all within reason would be misapplied in rivetting him to the government."

MR. ANTHONY CONWELL, STUDENT OF THE KING'S INNS.

In that great repository of secret service scoundrelism—Major Sirr's Papers—including his correspondence with spies and informers and stipendiary swearers of all grades in society, which are deposited in Trinity College library, there is a very remarkable letter of a

gentleman "moving in good society in Dublin" (as he takes care to state), and of the legal profession, who makes a tender of his services to government, to watch the movements of O'Connell and some of his associates, being acquainted particularly with Messrs. O'Connell and Costello, and so much in their confidence as to be in the secret of their real designs, which were in his opinion of a treasonable nature.

The writer gives it to be understood that he is a gentleman by position and profession; that he is a student of the King's Inns, and is now desirous of serving the government, as an informer against O'Connell and his private associates, being able to get evidence of those designs against them. This *gentleman* has the courage to sign his name to this letter—in plain terms, though not in so many distinct words, offering to practise against the lives of O'Connell and his associates; undertaking to get evidence of that which he must have known in his heart to have been a downright falsehood—a fabrication of his own concoction.

The reader, no doubt, will imagine this villany was of an old date—of the good old days of rampant ascendancy—of Tory politics in Ireland. Let him restrict the range of his remembrance, and bear in mind that down to the period even of Peel's retirement from office in Ireland, any ingenious device, secret denunciation, or malignant conspiracy, concocted with a view of affixing the black mark of disloyalty on the character of a Roman Catholic, was allowed to pass not only with impunity, but, generally speaking, with advantage to the plotter.

Was there any person of the name of Anthony Conwell on terms of intimacy, privately or publicly, holding any intercourse with O'Connell in 1831?

LETTER OF MR. ANTHONY CONWELL.

"Ballymilligan, 1st February, 1831.

"Sir—I do propose that I will either become a public or private agent to government. As private agent I consider that I could be of more service to government than otherwise, as I could find out all the private associates in Dublin that Mr. O'Connell is connected with, and the same daily report, as I have been in the habit of attending private meetings in Dublin where Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Costello presided, through the medium of words of admittance given by those gentlemen and others. My opinion is, that it is not Repeal of the Union that is meant—*it is only anarchy.* As I am a student of the King's Inns I am of course admissible to any company that may come in my way in this case. Any communication that I may be honoured with will be respectfully received and faithfully attended to. Please direct for me, Ballymilligan, Moneymore.

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"Anthony Conwell."

Accompanying the above original letter of Mr. Conwell there is another original letter, signed William Lenox Conyngham, addressed to the Right Hon. E. G. Stanley:

"Springhill, Moneymore, 1st February, 1831.

"Sir—With the writer of the enclosed I never had any conversation till this morning. He tells me that he has been in America for eleven years, and returned to Ireland about a year ago, and at his desire I forward his letter to you.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

"William Lenox Conyngham."

At the top of the above letter are the following words in pencil: "The Attorney-general;" and appended to the above letter we find the following astute opinion of the attorney-general, who evidently duly estimated the character and motives of Mr. Conwell:

"The object of Mr. Anthony Conwell seems to me to become a spy; he must be accredited in some way before any use can be made of him, or confidence reposed in him. For the present all that can be done is to require him to state facts (if he have any to state); if not, all that ought to be done is to note his name and place of abode, so that he may be found if required again.

(Signed) "F. Blackburne."

From the above original documents being in the possession of Major Sirr at the time of his decease, and now existing in the collection of his official correspondence, it may be presumed that they were handed over to him for the purpose of ascertaining the character of Mr. Conwell and the merits of his proposal; and as we hear no more, in this precious correspondence, of Mr. Anthony Conwell, it may be taken for granted that the major's inquiries were unfavourable to Mr. Conwell's object to become a spy, and that the difficulty of accrediting him in some way, before any use could be made of him, was an insuperable obstacle to the prosecution of O'Connell, and "all the private associates" of that gentleman, on the evidence of Mr. Anthony Conwell.

The documents above referred to are found at the end of the last volume of this collection of his papers deposited in Trinity College library. For the purpose of facilitating reference to those documents, the volume in which they exist is here indicated. The library marks on the back are, "Class N., Tab. 4, No. 5."

END OF THIRD SERIES.

Printed by John Mullany, 47, Fleet-street, Dublin.